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EDITED BY  
SHAMS-UL ULAMA DR. JIVANJI JAMSHEDJI MODI, B.A.,  
PH.D., C.I.E., JT. HON. SECRETARY.

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# INDO-IRANIAN PHILOLOGY\*

A Study of Semantic Etymology (History of Cultural Words)

By Prof. ERNEST P. HORRWITZ,

*of Hunter College, New York City.*

## NOTE.

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All foreign words are marked as such, *e.g.*, "Latin" *oculus* ; if not marked, they are Sanskrit. Latin and Gaelic *c* sound like *k* ; German *sch* and *v* like *sh* and *f*. French accents are dropt ; Lithuanian *sz* is spelt *s*. A dash inside a word (*oc-ulus*) divides root and termination ; a final dash (*vitul-*) indicates the omission of the termination. Words preceded by an asterisk\* are inferred, and not to be found in the dictionary.

### Sanskrit Pronunciation :

*ā*=a-re, *ai*=I, *au*=ou-r, *e* as in there, *ī*=ea-r, *o*=oa-r, *ṛ*=ri-d  
*ṛī*=ree-d, *ū*=oo-ze; *c* as in German *rei-ch*, *g* always hard as in *go*,  
*ṇ*=lo-ng, *th* as in *hothouse*.

*D*, *n*, *t*, *th* are dentals, but *ḍ*, *ṇ*, *ṭ*, *ṭh* are clicks. The former are pronounced by placing the tip of the tongue between the teeth (*Dante*), and the latter by raising it toward the palate. English *d*, *n*, *t*, are neither clicks nor dentals.

*Jn* (pron. "gni"), *nch*, *ng*, *nk*, *shn*, *sht* are rendered without diacritical signs. Final letters are occasionally dropt (*vasant-swāmi*) ; the labial semi-vowel is transliterated either *v* or *w*.

Constant reference is made to the cognate languages of Europe, so that this draft of Indo-Iranian Semantics is at the same time an outline of Aryan Semantics. "Aryan" is used throughout in the sense of Indo-European. In the age of Voltaire, the Science of Language was philosophical and positive ; the New Philology is historical and comparative.

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\* This paper forms the general subject of a series of eight lectures, divided in thirty-four parts, delivered in February 1928 by Prof. Ernest P. Horowitz, as the Government of Bombay Research Lecturer of the Institute for 1928.



A(ryan) F(rench) G(reek) L(atin)

## 1. PHONETICS AND SEMANTICS.

Manliness, the Romans called it virtue, is an abstract notion, but originally every concept was concrete. Manliness is abstracted from man; redness from rubies, roses or suchlike; the number four from the four feet of bullocks or other quadrupeds; and so on. It is not always easy to recombine qualities like virtue with the tangible elements (vir or man) from which they have been separated. According to the dictionary, "govern", to direct and control, has sprung from an old F verb, governor, which can be traced back to L gubernare, and ultimately to G kybernan. All this is phonetic etymology, concerned with mere changes of sound. Where Phonetics ends, Semantics begins.

The Gs were the earliest mariners among the A nations of Europe. In pre-Homeric times, the Knights of the Golden Fleece sailed across the Dardanelles and the Black Sea. Laden with precious furs and ruddy gold, the good ship "Argo" returned from the Pontic shores. Ulysses symbolizes later maritime and mercantile ventures. The typical corsair reached Greater Greece, that is, Sicily and the Neapolitan coast-strip. Nea-polis, now Naples, is a G name, signifying Newtown, Newton. G pirates founded the Italian Bombay, and dotted the whole littoral of Greater Greece with trade depots which grew into flourishing city states, each with a stable and efficient local government. When a name was needed for the administration of the new polities or municipalities, the weather-beaten buccaneers resorted to a familiar naval term. They knew how to "kybernan", how to steer a "kymbe" or cymbal-shaped boat, such as Pharaohs and Phenicians used. The G verb kybernan burst in wider bounds, and came to mean "to steer the ship of state, to govern". When Rome took over the government of Greater Greece, the spelling of kybernan was latinized to gubernare, whence our verb "govern".

## 2. THE CREATIVE WORD.

Semantics, the biography of words, is the queen of Philology; Phonetics is her humble handmaid. The Romans perfected government, but "poetry" is altogether a G conception. Dictionaries define poets as "makers", and poetry as a make-up, a composition in verse. The linguistic evolution of the word





true poet is a born genius. We can trust his intuition ; his credentials bear the Creator's stamp and imprint, -a creative mind! Cr-eate, again of L parentage, is spelt kr̥ in S. Av kereta means "created" ; "done" is far too abstract, bloodless and lifeless a rendering. Sacred song and magic chant change human hearts and even charm snakes ; influence is a creative act. Kāru (creative : poet) and kr̥tyā (magic) are V terms. The Celts spoke Gaulish in France, and Gælic in Ireland ; the former is extinct, and the latter, in spite of revivalist attempts, is dying. Gaulish changes Gælic c to p : cethir (four) to petor, and cr-eth (poetry) to pr-ydydd (poet). Li kereti (bewitch with the eye) and kuriu (build) belong to the same word-group. Craftsmanship is constructive ; architects are producers.

The minstrels of medieval France were the troubadours, from trouver (find, invent). On the spur of the moment, they enlarged or curtailed episodes of love and war, chosen from a well-thumbed ballad-book. Responding to spontaneous moods, these gifted and emotional rhapsodists extemporized and improvised, and were ever attuned to their audiences. But they were not creative as the prydydds. Bertrand de Born, sweetest of troubadours, was most inventive, but Dante is divine.

Look again at the word "poet" in your dictionary, and you will realize the vast difference between the romance of words and the science of sounds. The New Philology is not content to investigate the dead letter, the gross form, the buried past ; the linguistic renaissance is biological, -a constant search for the living spirit, the hidden spark of life, the ever-present Now.

### 3. DISTRIBUTION OF LANGUAGES.

A wide divergence in physical characteristics is noticeable between the populace of London and the Scotch Lowlands, or Berlin and the Bavarian Highlands, or Paris and the sunny Provence. Yet the entire national culture is embedded in the literary languages of England, Germany and France respectively. Speech reflects racial conditions more accurately than anthropological measurements, or the color of the eyes and the hair. Take Persia and England ! Mixed marriages have long diverted the physical type and temperament of ancient Iran. Since the advent of Islam, the country has been largely semitized, but the language, notwithstanding an Arabic sprinkling, has remained

pp (past participle) R(ussian) Ro(mance) RV(Rig Veda)  
S(anskrit) Sl(avic) V(edic)

4      A(ryan) Av(estic) B(altic) BS(Balto-Slavic) C(eltic)  
E(nglish) F(rench)

A. The E race is even more of an ethnological hotchpotch, considering the ample C and Norman-F admixture to Anglo-Saxon blood. The precise percentage of N, C, F and L words in an E sentence is easily determined ; it is more difficult to analyze the racial status of the E-speaking world, especially in the U. S. of America. The slipshod, but convenient term " race " is applied to language rather than bodily structure in the following pages.

Three speech-groups, A, Semitic and Mongol, predominate on earth. Chinese is the highest summit attained by Mongol civilization ; imitative Japan is culturally dependent on China. The loftiest Semitic peaks are Arabic and Hebrew, but neither produced a Kalidas or Cankara, a Sophocles or Plato, a Shakespeare or Kant. A, the profoundest and sublimest of the three, is divided in II and West-A, the latter consisting of G, L, C, N and Sl. All Europe and America are A-speaking, except the scattered Mongol area, occupied by Turks, Finns, Magyars and Basques ; Eskimos and Redskins. Jews do not speak Hebrew any longer.

#### 4. GREEK.

Homer wrote in Ionic, Sappho in Aeolic, and Pindar in Doric. Ionic gained the supremacy over the two sister-dialects, and developed to Athenian or Attic, best represented by the writings of Sophocles and Plato. About B.C. 300, Alexander conquered the ancient world, and founded Alexandria ; the Egyptian emporium became the " hub " of G thought. Egyptians, Arabs, Jews, all sorts of aliens who had taken out G citizenship papers, learned to speak G which turned on their untutored lips from classical Attic to Empire G or Hellenistic, the language of the Gospels and Epistles. The ordinary talk in the streets of Alexandria was intermixed with L idioms ; the vulgar tongue reverberates from the pages of the Evangel according to St. Mark. About A.D. 600, the centre of G civilization shifted once more to the city of Constantine, the kaiser of the East-Roman Empire ; Byzantium was the prechristian name of Constantinople. Hellenistic changed to Byzantine ; each was a living language for nine hundred years. In the fifteenth century, the Turks occupied Constantinople ; many alien vocables passed into Byzantine G which came to be called Romaic, because it was spoken in the " Roman " Empire of the

Li(thuanian) N(ordic) O(ld) ON(Old Norse) OS(Old  
Slavic) P(ersian)

East. Byzantine (A.D. 600-1500) intervenes between Hellenistic (B.C. 300—A.D. 600) and Romaic or Modern G.E., abounds in G words, relating to poetry and the drama, ethics and psychology, pharmacy and hygiene, physics and mathematics, politics and economics, in fact, to all higher branches of thought.

## 5. ITALO-CELTIC.

Far back in the Age of Stone, the IIs split, possibly in the Oxus valley, in Ps and Hindus; and the IC unit in the Danube plains, near Vienna, in Romans and Celts. The slang and jargon used by the common man in the thoroughfares of ancient Rome resounds from the rollicking farces penned by Plautus; his Early L had to make room for the standard style of Cicero and Cæsar about B. C. 75. At the beginning of our era, the language of the golden classics dimmed, and yielded to Silver L which, in turn, was succeeded by Late L (A. D. 200—600) and Low L (600—1500), the latter being synchronous to Byzantine G. Numerous E words, bearing on administration and government, the army and the navy, commerce and colonialism, law and sanitation, are of L parentage.

Romaic is modern G., but the five Ro tongues are Neo-L. They are Italian, F, Spanish, Portuguese and the vernacular of Rumania, one of the earliest Roman colonies.

C is almost as closely affiliated to L as Av is to S. Linguists, familiar with A sound-laws, have little difficulty in transliterating a V hymn into Av, or a Ciceronian speech into OI. About B. C. 500, C was current where now E and Ro are spoken. Gaulish prevailed in France, Switzerland and Lombardy. Welsh still survives in Wales, and I or Gaelic in the country districts of Galway, Clare and Kerry, also among the poor crofters in the Scotch Highlands, and the fishermen off the Glasgow coast. England was once C territory; the miners' greeting in Durham is: good afternoon! The aspiration of t and the dropping of an initial p are C features; L pater is OI athir. C pronunciation is responsible for the silent p in words like psalm or psychology, and for the suppression of internal consonants in dau<sup>tr</sup>, Lester, Mannering, etc., written daughter, Leicester, Mainwaring. After the Anglo-Saxon Conquest, the Celts pronounced E after their own fashion.

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S(anskrit) Sl(avic) V(edic)

## 6. NORDIC.

N speech comprises Gothic, Norse, E and Ge. Gothic, extinct like Gaulish, is as important to N philologists as S is to Aryanists. The Gothic barbarians abounded in youthful vim and vigor when they assaulted and overthrew the decayed Roman Empire. The rude Goths established kingdoms in Italy and Spain. The hardy Norsemen knew every creek and rock-bound inlet from the Finnish to the I coast. The daring viking-mariners carried the ON tongue and the Eddic sagas of gods and heroes from Norway to Iceland; they colonized and christianized the island about A.D. 1000. The Edda, the Homeric songs and the RV supply the chief material to Comparative A Folklore. New Norse comprises Swedish and Danish; an archaic Danish circulates in Norway and Iceland. The sea-roving Norsemen also occupied Normandy which is named after them; in Normandy they exchanged ON for F. In the eleventh century, the Norman cavaliers conquered England. Anglo-Saxon blended with Norman-F; the final result was E. The E dictionary is rich from without, but the treasury of Ge words is richer from within. Once the west of Germany was C; Rhine and Danube bear C names. Ge is the lingua franca of Central Europe.

## 7. BALTO-SLAVIC.

The BS ancestry broke up in two speech-groups, B and Sl. After the conversion of the Slavs, the Bible was translated into OS, the vanished vernacular of the Thessalonian Slavs in the district of Saloniki. OS became the liturgical language of the Eastern Orthodox Church, and has deeply affected all Sl speech which consists of R, a western and southern section. R like E is a world-tongue, reaching from the Ge border to the gateway of Japan, and linking the Pacific with the B Sea. Prominent among R dialects are Ukrainian, current in the Kiev and Charkov areas, and Byel, spoken, as the name suggests, near the B shores. B (sparkling) and byel (white) are connected with Av bā (shine) and E "bones" (the bleached skeleton). West-Sl embraces Polish and Czecho-Slovak; the latter prevails in Bohemia, Moravia and the north of Hungary. South-Sl consists of Serbo-Croatian (also spoken in Montenegro and Dalmatia) and Bulgarian, the most disrupted of all Sl

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Slavic) P(ersian)

tongues. Wild hordes Of Volga-Mongols seized Volgaria or Bulgaria, and adopted the language of the vanquished Slavs. Eastern Germany was once Sl territory ; Berlin, Leipzig and the river Oder bear Sl names. Voda from which Oder is derived signifies "water"; the diminutive vodka (liquor) is the national drink of Russia, and corresponds, in letter as well as spirit, to Scotch and Irish "whiskey."

B dialects, closely allied to Sl, are distributed over Latvia and Lithuania, and represent a most archaic type of A speech. Only a few centuries ago, Ge superseded B in East-Prussia.

## 8. THRACO-ILLYRIAN.

II, G, IC, N and BS constitute A speech ; a sixth group is Thraco-Illyrian. The Gs were the first A arrival in Europe ; the Thraco-Illyrians came second. B.C. 500, Thrace was a powerful and prosperous kingdom, covering the present site of the Sl south and Rumania. Thracians were the earliest grape-growers in Europe ; the cultivation of the vine, imported from the model gardens of Iran, was followed by the cult of the wine-god who traveled from the East via Thrace to Greece. Vineyards need sunny skies and brittle soil ; Bacchus is a child of Zeus (sky) and Semele (earth). The mother's name is reflected in Av zem and Li zheme. Both words mean earth ; pronounce zh like s in measure. Novaya Zemlia (New Earth, Newland) is a R island in the Arctic Sea. Armenian, an offspring of the Thracian tongue, has many words in common with Iranian and BS. Thracian vintners established trade stations in Armenia and Troas. The priams or merchant-princes who directed the commerce of Troy grew so wealthy and mighty that the business men of rising Greece became seriously alarmed. War seemed inevitable ; the mercantile control of the Aegean Sea and the command of the marine gate through the Dardanelles to the Black Sea were at stake ! The Trojan War, the first trade-war in Europe on a large scale, broke out ; Helen's capture by Priam's son appears like a poetic figure for the capture of G trade by the Thracians. But Helen was recaptured in the end, and had to return to Hellas.

Illyrian of which even less is known than of Thracian was once spoken in the present tracts of Durazzo, Trieste and Venice. Albanian is a direct descendant of Illyrian. In both

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languages dard means "pear." Homer mentions the Dardans ; they were horticulturists, pear-growers. The Dardans planted fine orchards, and established social order along the Dardanelles. Illyrian colonists proceeded to virgin-woods, not yet cleared for cultivation, and tenanted by howling jackals and hooting byzas or owls. The new Dardan outpost was named Byzantium or Owlhurst ; Uhlenhorst, a Hamburg suburb, signifies the same. Ages hence, in the seventh century B. C., an aristocratic colony from Doric Greece captured Byzantium from the Illyrian occupants. In the fourth century A.D., the golden-turreted city on the Bosphorus was raised to the Christian capital of the Roman Emperor of the East ; in the fifteenth, Ottoman Turks seized the Byzantine Empire. Then Russia became heir to Byzantine art and architecture. The Moscow Arts Theatre spreads the " synthesis of the muses " over the beauty-loving world ; all actors sing and dance, each face speaks, every movement expresses the soul's inmost emotions. Byzantine and R church services are identical except in the matter of language ; the former are conducted in medieval G, and the latter in OS. The Byzantine style of building in gay mosaic and marble, with elaborately sculptured capitals and symmetric cupolas, survives in Muscovite churches and Mohammedan mosques. The beauties of the Taj Mahal in Agra are ultimately a creation of G genius ! The G renaissance of the fifteenth century is incomplete without its R consummation in the twentieth. The pendulum has swung convulsively from the atrocities of zarism to the other diseased extreme of bolshevism, but the Soviet Union regains social stability more and more. Each healthy child gets the measles, and R history, possibly the last and most momentous chapter in A annals, is still in its infancy.

## 9. THE SAKAS.

Volumes of controversy on the contested homeland of the A race are still pouring forth, especially from Ge pundits. They all agree that the forsaken nest was neither India nor Italy nor Greece, but while some fix on Scandinavia as the centre whence the various A rays diverged, the "undivided Aryans" are located by other scholars in the illimitable Eurasian expanse north of the Aral, Caspian and Black Seas which in a past geological age were "one sheet of water," sam-udra. Gautamas, superlatively (tama) rich in cattle (gau), roamed over those

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vast prairies, speaking the same mother-tongue, dialectically differentiated, but not yet broken up in II, G, Thraco-Illyrian, IC, N and BS. The two theories do not conflict. From Scandinavia the Aryans spread to the samudra shores where economic pressure resulted in a racial split. An ever increasing birthrate produced over-population, and the surplus had to leave the congested pastures. Clan after clan migrated; the exodus became general. The Aryans who stayed in Three-Lake-Land were known as Sakas to the IIs, and as Scythians to the classical nations of Europe. The ancient shahs were proud of their descent from the roving Sakas, those expert shots and rough-riders. Gautama Buddha himself traced his lineage to Saka-Gautamas or Scythian cattle-lords; the lord of nirvāṇa was revered as the Scythian lion-heart (singh) and silent sage (muni), as Saka-singh and Sakyamuni. There is a Gaelic tradition that the Scots hail from Scythia; perhaps Scottish and Scythian archers are related by name as well as blood. Survivals of Saka speech are Ossete in the Caucasus, and the persianized Pamir dialects.

## 10. INDO-IRANIAN.

The vernaculars of Iran and Hindustan constitute II. The most ancient type of Hindu speech is VS from which Pali, the foremost prakrit or dialect at Buddha's time, is derived. The prakrits, current some fifteen hundred years ago, and well known from the Little Clay Cart and other plays, are the source of the modern Hindu vernaculars which extend from Gujerat to Kashmir, and east to Bengal. Most widely spoken is Hindi; the introduction of numerous P words after the Mogul Conquest (1483; thirty years after the Turkish seizure of Constantinople) converted Hindi to Urdu. Hindi, written in S characters, is almost free from P and Arabic influences, while Urdu has adopted the Arabic alphabet, and is averse to S. During the British occupation, Urdu and Hindi blended in Hindustani; the vocabulary has a fair E admixture. Every Indian, whatever his vernacular, understands Hindustani. Social reformers like Gandhi (born 1868) wish to raise Hindi to the international speech of India. Others say that Bengali and E have a better chance and juster claim. Pliant Bengali is more adaptable to modern thought than classical Hindi, and E keeps the stagnant civilization of the East in living touch with the world's rapid progress.

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When the grandiloquent shahs sent an armada against Greece, P was the official language of West-Iran ; Av. lingered on in East-Iran. The Moslem Conquest flooded Pehlevi, as P was then called, with Arabic vocabables ; the Koran supplanted the Avesta. The persecuted Zoroastrians took flight ; generous Bombay offered shelter and hospitality to the Parsis who have preserved many old Iranian traits better than the Ps. Firdusi weeded the neglected Pehlevi garden ; the Shah Name only retains such Semitic expressions as have been thoroughly assimilated to the versatile P genius. Related to P are Kurdish, Baluchi and guttural Pushtu, the vernacular of the Afghan Highlanders.

## 11. MATUSHKA VOLGA.

The IIs hail from the bleak north country beyond the rivers Oxus and Jaxartes. Their enduring forebears rode over the endless flats and sand-wastes of savage Turan, as far west as Mother Volga's banks. Hindu tradition locates the Uttarakurus or Northern Sires north of the snowy mountains of wintry Himalay. Cyrus is a western spelling of II kuru, that is, "creating," fashioning, building a royal nest. Kuru and kula belong together: breeder and brood, planter and clan-plant. Ōi culain (artificer, smith) is also related, but G kyr-ios (lord) differs. Uttarakurus or "nest builders in the uttermost north" reappear in G legends as Hyperboreans, residing "beyond Boreas" or the north wind, in the Ultima Thule of N sagalore. Beyond Elburz and Caspian, in Kirghiz steppes and Volga vales, and even further north, at the ends of the earth, Iranian fancy located Airyana Vaejo, the "A seed." Vaejo; S bīja, is connected with "vigor," and signifies "seed." But the paradise was lost by the nest-builders of Thule when the Deluge drove them south. Av designations for El-burz and Caspian are Haraberezaiti (mountain-height) and Vouru-kasha (with broad bends and bays; V Uru-kaksha).

The S name of the Volga was *rasā*, Av *rañha*, literally, running water. The Sakas said *Rhā*; Scythian, like G and C, aspirates "r." Rheum, the running nostrils, is a G medical term; Rhine and Rhone, running rivers, are C names. *Rumo*, an old designation of the Tiber, is a L echo of the *Rhā*. "Rome" means riverside, L *ripa*. Other L relatives are *ru-ere* (run down,

**Li(thuanian) N(ordic) O(ld) ON(Old Norse) OS(Old  
Slavic) P(ersian)**

ru-in), rivus (river) and ros (running down: dewfall). Rosemary (dew-marine, ocean-dew) is poetry woven round that fragrant shrub. The race-proud Gs regarded all who had no Hellenic blood running in their veins as barbarians. A medicinal plant, imported in large quantities from the Volga-Sakas, was labeled by pharmacists "Rhā-barbarian." The world-old herb, rhu-barb, is no longer an alien, but home-grown, in most European countries.

From the Rhā, II bands proceeded along the Aral tributaries to Balkh on the Oxus, and then to Merv and Herat. Their sages and mages taught them to reverence the pure flame as a pattern and exemplar of bright minds and clean hearts. Fire is not earthy, but a pure element; fire and pure are cognate words! The fire-cult was carried west to Ragha, now Rai, near Teheran; Rai became the ecclesiastical seat of the zerdosht or chief of the magi. Another outpost of advancing Mazdaism, s.e. of Armenia, was Ādarbaijan, Av ātare-pāta (fire-protected). From Media the sacred flame blazed east across the Hilmend to Gandhāra-land. The Av name of the Hilmend is Haetu-mant, "full of haetus" or fords and shallows. Kandahar is a reminder, in name, though not in deed, of the vanished Gandhāra glory with equine pastures, golden ore and splendid Buddhist sculpture, carved after Hellenistic models. Gandhāra sheep-shearers and mountaineers, the Afghan ancestry, offered stout resistance to the intruding fire-devotees. Hindu sagalore records the music-loving Gandhāras under the name of Gandharvas. Though defeated by god Indra, the gay Gandharvas cheered his celestial board with dance and song. The Avesta warns the faithful against the infidel Gandarewas, and their seductive women-folk, the light-o'-love Peris.

## 12. VAGRANTS AND FARMERS.

During unhallowed winter's gloom, in the season of Ahriman, II cattle-breeders took shelter in subterranean katas or dugouts, from the Av verb kan (dig). But in genial spring, the clan-leader and pathfinder took the migrant graziers through dense jungles along lone long river-courses to far-off virgin-meads. The youthful wayfarers were all river-bound, anxious to be first ad-ripam which means in L "at the riverside;" hence our word ar-rival. The rival-clans or river-competitors followed the

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the dark-eyed Moselle unites with Father Rhine. II words for confluence are tripatha (three paths) and Av thrizantu (three pieces of land); the Romans said trivium (three ways). Settlements, made at a trivium, were so common in Italy that we still designate a commonplace as trivial, a trifle. The rush of rival-bands for a tripatha on the cool shore often led to bloodshed, and was the first armed conflict in the economic history of the A race. Let us hope that the World War was the last legalized manslaughter, and that the inevitable issue between the principle

of the PO, Arno and Kumbo. The migrants looked for fords, and called each "finding," as they bridged it, pont-, which still means "bridge" in F. Gaelic drops initial p, and aspirates the t. L pater and pont- are in OI athir (father) and ath (bridge; ford).

phy. It was in the lambing season when herbage is luxuriant that colonies of youthful swains set out from the congested pastures. Roads had to be cut through a primeval wilderness ; the forest guide who was, at the same time, astronomer and land surveyor directed the building operations. The RV alludes to pathikrts (pathfinders) ; they led the pathikas or wayfarers.

Slavic) P(ersian).

The Av name which might have been \*pathikeret was superseded by dastur, the guide and counselor of Iranian bands. Trī (to cross or pass) is the source of tarāṇa (raft, ferry) and tirtha (a crossing, ford). European kin are L trans (across) and transport (ferry or carry across); E through (across) and thoroughfare (passage across); Li tiltas (bridge), with the common change from r to l, seen in Catherine and Cathleen. The same root trī, combined with ap (water), yields V Trita Āptya; the "crossing of the water" is closely interlinked with early migrations and settlements. Rude pontoons or hurdle bridges were spanned from bank to bank across Mother Rhā and the twins, Oxus and Jaxartes. Vanaspatis or jungle lords, a thousand years old and more, were felled, and converted to tarāṇas or bamboo rafts; "quadruped and biped," Av pasuvīra, would cross the water on floating logs that looked like slain forest-giants. On the other side the ox-wagons were set close together in a ring, and rude log-huts were erected on the site of this provisional camp. Trita Āptya, Av Thrīta Athvya, whose element was water ere it was transformed to fire, was revered as the guardian spirit of the domestic hearth, an emblem of settled life which ended the vagrant state. V Hindus also learned to love the cheerful inglenook (agni), and the clean fireside (ugnis) was once adored in B lands. Before leaving her parental home, a Li bride would turn to the blazing hearth, and exclaim: Ugnis Svēt, o sacred flame, who is to tend and guard you now? The Mazdayasnas implored Thrīta to keep the wild vagabonds of Turkestan and Babel away from the neat enclosure; to smash the alien bands from Turan and Bavri, who prowled like savage wolves round the hedged farmstead. The foreign looters left a trail of death and devastation throughout Media and East Iran: a historic setting to the sanguinary feuds between Iran and Turan, which Firdusi's immortal brush has painted in glowing and picturesque colors! The IIs linked the crossing of the water to the new home where the heaven-descended flame was established, but Trita kept his aquatic character in G and Gaelic. "Tritons," court-musicians of the queen of the sea, guard wave-ruling Athens; their trumpets are marine shells, wreathed with dripping seaweed. An OI word for sea is triath, the crossing of the water. On their way from Portugal to Donegal, the Gaels crossed the East-Atlantic triath; I emigrants who cross the West-Atlantic triath as well, are a most valuable and welcome ingredient in the American crucible. •

pp (past participle) R(ussian) Ro(mance) RV(Rig Veda)  
S(anskrit) Sl(avic) V(edic)

The pathfinder from whom mage and brahmin sprung was honored in V India as pathikrt, and in ancient Italy as pontifex (path-maker ; bridge-builder). The name survives in the Roman Church unto this day ; the Supreme " Pontiff " still wears pontifical robes when he sings High Mass. But the pagan pontiff was both high-priest and forest guide in the primeval wilderness of neolithic Italy.

### 13. VASANT IN ITALY AND IRELAND.

After the dreary winter, at vasant, the surplus population, mostly young graziers, quitted home. It was in the month of March that the pathikrt, under the auspices of Trita Aptya (a personification of the crossing of the water), guided the A herdsmen across the broad streams of Don and Danube, Rhā and Rumo, amid untrodden woods. The pontiff appointed the hours of halting and wandering, according to the change of tides and moons, and fixed the lunar year which commenced in sacred spring, L ver sacrum, and ended at the winter solstice. New-year's Day was in March ; the seventh (L septimus) month of the Roman calendar was September, and the last or tenth (L decimus) was December, still written 10<sup>re</sup> in F. Tilak concludes that the circumpolar regions had two months of total darkness in the Interglacial Age, but enjoyed a temperate and equable climate, and that the Roman lunar year of ten months is due to reminiscences of the Arctic home of the Aryans.

The pontiff cut out permeable paths through dusky woodland up the blue Danube for the IC migrants. He was the forerunner of Roman diviners and fire-priests, augurs and flamens, and also of I druids. In Erin, dense forests alternated with emerald meads, intersected by many a glinting silver stream; Druids had charge of the venerable jungle lords, and the common belief was that the tall and stately trees were tenanted by woodfays or dryads as the G expression is. Tree, II dru, is related to dry-ad, whereas dru-id, akin to true, signifies "truth-knower," soothsayer.

Giant-oaks were felled, but not wantonly. Druids, masters of their craft, acted as overseers at the timber-yards where the mighty tree-trunks were joined to floating pontoons. Druids were mages ; the magic of their voice was attuned to the Infinite.

**Li(thuanian) N(ordic) O(ld) ON(Old Norse) OS(Old  
Slavic) P(ersian)**

They enchanted nature with bricht, that is, spell and charm ; druids instituted the cult of Brigit, the I goddess of leechcraft and learning. St. Brigit reveals the lore of healing herbs and starry skies. Her name is connected with S brh (bulge, swell, grow), brhat (grown up, big) and brahma (chant), the silent rhythmic chant that swells like organ-sounds. Brahmins were bricht-casters, enchanters ; their magic rites controlled spell-bound nature. Brāhmaṇas are ritualistic treatises. Brh recurs in Av berezat (big, high) and berezaiti (height ; P burz) ; hence El-burz (mountain-height). Belg-ians and Burg-undians were C hill-tribes ; Ge berg means " hill." As bhrātar (brother) is reflected in L frāter, so brahma (enchantment) in flamen (chanting priest) ; formally " flamen," is a neuter like L car-mēn (song). Flamens were in charge of the perpetual fire, and acted as bishops of Vestal sanctuaries ; their name was popularly associated with flame and flagrant (burning), two E words of L origin. ON bragr (chant and song) is the spirit of poetry, pervading Eddic runes and rhythms.

The Gaelic calendar began, like the Roman almanac, at vāsant, the vernal equinox in March. When young blossoms burst into fairy bloom, and the hedges ring with music, and the glad heart of man " swells " and breaks forth in holier song, the I peasantry offered the first " ovine milk " as a thanksgiving to Brigit. Oimeic or St. Brigit's Day on February 27th was the Gaelic spring festival. St. Patrick whose calendar day is March 17th supplanted pagan Brigit in Christian Ireland.

#### 14. THE RACIAL RIFT.

The A occupants of Iran split in rovers and settlers, the forefathers of Hindus and Parsis. The former, daevayasnas, sacrificed to the devas or celestial lights ; the latter, mazdayasnas, were monotheists, with the creed that the Almighty (Mazda) is a spirit (ahura). The S word is asura. The oldest Rg hymns which were composed in Iran before the polytheists entered the Punjab exalt the creative (ve-dhas) spirit (asura), the star-disposer, vi-dhātar. The lit-up night-sky and the roseate dawn, noon-blaze and sunset, break forth from Asur's cakti or creative energy ; all fires celestial and terrestrial are His reflection ! Fire was generated from Asur's womb ! utters an inspired V truth-seer ; asurasya jaṭharād ajāyata

pp (past participle) R(ussian) Ro(mance) RV(Rig Veda)  
S(anskrit) Sl(avic) V(edic)

(3, 29, 14). Ahura's tongue is the earth-consuming flame; pure ātar (fire) is the Word Divine! Mazdaism and Vedism, like Av and S, are two fragrant roses, flaming and flowering on the selfsame bush of II genius. But economic and religious friction enforced schism and separation. The regrettable result was that the two antagonists maligned each other. Devas were branded in Iran as daevas or devils. Indra, the guiding god of V warriors, was desecrated as the right hand of Ahriman, that prince of devils, "div of divs", daevanām daeva. A whole section, added to the Avesta, was anathema, "given out against divs", vi-daevo-dātem. The Ven-di-dad does not even mention the detested brahmins nor god Agni to whom they sacrificed. Of course, brahminism was not an II institution, but a purely Indian organization which arose after the racial rift.

The daevayasnas were not slow to retaliate. The spiteful Hindus tabooed Ahura, the supreme and only god of the Mazdaists; irony changed the meaning of asura from a good to an evil spirit. The Purāṇas record constant feuds between devas and asuras, gods and demons. Religious gall and venom, calling dissenters bad names, are a familiar feature in Christendom. The East-Goths, ruled in Italy, and the Visigoths or West-Goths in Spain. The latter were not orthodox Trinitarians like their Frankish cousins in France, but Unitarians, forerunners of Voltaire's daring freethought. Visigothic rationalists believed in the perfected humanity of Christ, but denied the Saviour's divinity, and discarded all faith in Scriptural revelation. Frankish churchmen denounced the Spanish devils as obstinate heretics and bigoted zealots; bigot is a debased clipping of Visigoth! The disgraced Nonconformists paid the insult back with compound interest, and defamed the holiest mantra in the Catholic Church. As the priest elevates the Sacred Host, he pronounces the magic formula: this is the body of Our Lord! Protestants besmudged the original L, hoc est corpus, and caricatured the words to "hocus-pocus", implying jugglery and trickery.

But in the first place, it was economic rather than sectarian discord which caused the racial rift of the East-Aryans. As family after family turned from nomadic habits to settled modes of life, the II community automatically separated in two hostile camps, agriculturists and predatory vagabonds who looted and imperiled the lowland farms. Led by kavis or scouts, the vagrants

fortified their lawless spirit with copious som-potions before engaging in a cattle raid. They mixed sweet milk and heather-honey with the herbal juice of a yellow milkweed-plant. The golden bloom grew profusely on the Elburz heights in the bracing uplands of div-bewitched Mazāna-darena, from Av maz (mighty, strong) and dar (hold). Mazen-deran was a "mighty stronghold", first of aliens, and then of Aryans. The exhilarating juice was "squeezed out" (suta, Av huta), and the mead-ferment, heady and heavy, was known as som, Av. haom. The daevayasnas praised and prized som as a god; the whole ninth canto of the RV is a panegyric to the glory of king Som. IIs drank the som-stimulant unpolluted, until Zarathushtra's prohibitive injunction toned the alcoholic intoxicant, which endangered national morals, down to the mild and medicinal haom which the Avesta eulogizes. Judging from the cognate G verb hy-cin (to rain), the oldest meaning of haom must have been "cloud-moisture", feeding the hill-side and its herbal bloom. On a rainy day, a G would say: Zeus hyei, the sky rains! The Ge affinity of som is "seim", the thick fluid of the honeycomb. Again, kavi (scout) is affiliated to Ge schau (look out!) and Eshow (sight, spectacle). The original initials were sk; they changed to N sh (spelt sch in Ge), and dwindled to k in II and L. Cave (look out; beware) is the L root-verb of "cautious" (wary, watchful).

Kavis were the historic successors of the more ancient pathfinders who were always on the look-out for hostile bands or ferocious beasts, breaking forth from the jungle, and infesting the riverside or migratory trail. The kavis were in the habit of getting som-drunk like fighting Indra, their celestial model and stimulus. These scouts and spies promised rich booty to the reckless robber-bands which they conducted. With mantra-chant and luring spell, the dare-devil leaders urged the raiders to swoop down on the richly stocked homesteads of order-loving Iran. The vagrants and their kavi-guides were daevayasnas who neither knew nor respected the decency and comfort of hearth and home. A clean "fireside", L ātrium, is suggestive of domestic bliss. After the day's farm labor, Iranian families would gladly gather at the snug inglenook; a fire (ātar, Pehlevi ādar) blazing in the cheerful hearth, and grateful hearts set aflame with the glow of good-will! Āthravans or fire-priests championed culture and refinement; their rise to power reflects

pp (past participle) R(ussian), Ro(mance) RV(Rig Veda)  
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**the rise of Iranian agriculture. Under their fearless and selfless direction, the mazdayasnas reclaimed bleak desert and wilderness, salt-steppe and sand-waste for cultivation.**

The āthravans loathed the tipsy kavis who misled rather than guided those devil-devotees, the daevayasnas. The execrated word kavi was changed to kavā, P kai. The name of Kavā Vishtāspa, the royal disciple of Zerdosht, is spelt Kai Gushtāsp in the Shah Name. But India raised the kavi to the status of seer and poet, though ancient songs, composed by Ṛṣhis, brand kavi-mages as arch-enemies of Indra. In the V age, kavis grew spiritual and disciplined ; they organized themselves as the brahminic hierarchy. The Dekhan and Farther India were brahminized. In Java, the Mahā-Bhārat was translated into Kavi, a sort of Indian prakrit which still serves as a literary vehicle on the Malay-speaking islo.

The āthravans who had conducted the II migrants from the Oxus valley westward became spiritual guides of farming Iran, and were the bird's-nest wherein the Zerdoshts or Elders of Rāgha were hatched. The atharvan or fire-priest of India bears a name which only slightly differs from āthraṇ; the "th" stamps both names as Ironlan. An older word, akin to Lātrium (fireside, hall), was ātar (fire) which Iran religiously preserved. But brahmins heartily disliked and haughtily rejected ātar for agni. Yet, āthraṇ charms, being deeply rooted in II consciousness were lovingly collected in Kashmir, and elsewhere in India, in the Atharva Veda. The orthodox priesthood denounced this black magic and devilry, and forbade the faithful, under pain of excommunication, ever to practise, or even listen to those cursed S spells and incantations, as long as the ātar-devotees, under the leadership of āthravans and zerdoshts, attacked the purs and hill-forts of daevayasnas. The F Government too prohibited Wagner operas and the use of the Ge language as a national offence during the last war. The Atharva Veda must be suppressed, while the mazdayasnas push the hostile ātar-cult, and kindle beacon-fires from the neat farmlands of Rāgha, across the Nisacan pastures where the finest thoroughbreds graze, to the royal studs of Balkh, nearer and ever nearer to the Punjab which we Hindus now occupy, in sacred trusteeship of the helpless natives!

Li(thuanian) N(ordic) O(lt) ON(Old Norse) OS(Old  
Slavic) P(ersian)

Zarathushtra is an agricultural name. The gerontes or G senators would have been named jarantas in ancient India. Jarad-gava, an "elder and cattle-owner," is a S name; Zarath-ushtas were "elders who owned camel-herds." Wealthy drovers and dampatis, "superlatively" (tema) rich in cattle (gao) or camels (ushtra), were called in Iran Gaotema and Zarathushtrotema. Father Abraham drove his countless flocks from Ur in the Chaldees to Palestine; zarathushtras or Iranian patriarchs became governors of Rāgha, and in the end chief high-priests, interpreters of the holy will of Ahura-mazda. The nomadic daevayasnas were ruthless cattle-raiders, but fought in vain against the stanch zarathushtras. These social and religious reformers worked out a farmers' code and cult, the fire-faith of the Parsis. Most famed of all was the Holy Prophet, revered in pre-Islamic Persia as Zerdosht, and known to Plato as Zoroaster. Zerdosht dealt the death-blow at predatory lawlessness and div-idolatry in Iran. Moses, possibly an elder contemporary of his, banished the golden calf from Israel, but modern Hebrews worship more than ever the almighty dollar, a pride-begetting and more depraved devil than all other divs together. Again, ages after Zerdosht, the prophet of Arabia cleansed desert witchcraft and polytheism. Mohammed refined the crude service and sacrifice, offered by superstitious bedouins to howling nature spirits; his sublimer islam implied social service and self-sacrifice. Salome, like Irene in G, signifies "peace"; the male form of the name is Solomon. The founders of Jeru-salem intended that city of turmoil to be a "city of peace." The Semitic formula of greeting is still salam! peace be with you! Islam, salaming Allah at the prescribed prayer hours, came to mean in Arabic "submission to God; perfect surrender of self-will."

Zerdosht put once for all a stop to the growing evil of intemperance. He reformed the symposial orgies, resulting from elaborate som-sacrifices. Mages and laymen were forbidden to get intoxicated with the head-splitting golden syrup. The new theology, adapted to settled and sober modes of life, transformed the maddening mead to a comforting cordial; changed som to haom. The mail-clad militarism of the sabre-rattling Homeric age had to make room for a Farmers' Almanac; "Field Labor and Holidays" was the title of the new G epic. The Avesta too is a creed for cultivators of the

pp (past participle) R(ussian) Ro(mance) RV(Rig.Veda)  
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it were : thin). Tone (a musical stretch and vibration) is of G, and tender (slender and delicate) of L origin. The same cluster of words holds OI tana, Li tenu, OS tinuk (with final k as in P) and R tonk- ; all four mean "thin." Also R tyanut (stretch) and perhaps tyelo (body). But E thin and Ge duenn have changed the initial ; the A type is more recognizable in R than in N.

Phonetics is the heavy body of philology; Semantics the soaring soul. A most romantic vocable is S go (Av gao) with three meanings : a lowing cow, a ray of light, and a flying arrow. Light, sound and motion are embedded in the monosyllable. These three forces ever co-operate and dovetail throughout nature. The sun rings out his daily symphony, and music exhales a golden aureole to the clairvoyant vision. Where is light, there is sound, and either is inseparable from vibration. Language re-echoes the tripartite force of nature. We speak of loud colors, floods of light and brilliant music. Every word can ultimately be traced back to one or the other of the three interlaced meanings. S go is one of the rare instances where all three significances meet, the threefold aspect of a hidden unity ! All nature is motion and emotion. A flash, a ring, a throb ; the breath of God seems to pervade the three qualities, the ever-flowing fount of articulate utterance. The finite cannot grasp the Infinite without a mediator ; essence can only be touched through creative energy (S cakti ) which, time without end, produces the sacred light, rhythmic swing and cosmic harmony. This phantom-life of dream-shapes, tune, tint and dance, is like a passing shadow, cast by reality on the mundane screen. Semblance mirrors substance. The word-symbol of real life, the life in God, is the hummed m-sound, short for a-u-m. Guttural (a), palatal (u) and labial (m) mark the base, ascent and final rung of the tone-ladder which our limited speech-organs are able to scale. "Om" is the word of God, his divine force or ideal expression.

## 16. TERMS OF RELATIONSHIP.

The Great Jungle Upanishad narrates that the two sexes were once united, but, being self-willed, fell (pat) asunder ; hence husband and wife are named pati and patnī. Akin to pat is im-pet-uous ("falling" upon an enemy) rushing forth, vehe-

pp (past participle) R(ussian) Ro(mance) RV(Rig Veda)  
S(anskrit) Sl(avic) V(edic)

ment), an adjective of L. origin. An expansion of tṛi (to cross) is trā (lead safely across, save). In order to support the customary superstition that the childless go to hell, Father Manu romances that a son is called putra because he can save (trā) his poor dad from "hell" (put). The brahmins who wrote the "Ordinances of Manu or Man" coined "put" ad hoc. The sportive puns on pati and putra served the useful purpose to eulogize soul-mariages, and stigmatize empty cradles. But the old Hindu fabulists must not be taken more seriously in questions of etymology than Terence, the Roman humorist, who sneers at amatory moods (amantes) as demented (amentes), or Shakespeare who compliments mulier (L for woman) on her "mollis aer" (gentle airs). If Yaska and Pāṇini lived today, the two illustrious grammarians would be the very first to break the chains of petrified tradition, and champion free research which invigorates like bracing mountain air. Every age has its preconceived notions. Education means riddance from inbred prejudices. All progress is negative, a constant weeding of the fair garden of knowledge.

There is not only alliteration, but an inner bond, between pitar, putra and pati; father, son and husband. All men shower affection on their offspring, and desire to protect what they produce. Language corroborates this common law in nature. \*Pu (be potent, produce; see part I) has been modified to pā (patronize, protect). Pātar (patron, guardian), pati (potent, husband), dampati (domestic potentate, house-father; Gdes-pot) and dampatnī (housewife) are akin to L pater (productive, father; S pitar) and puer (product, boy; S putra). Potential and possible (what may be productive, what **may come to pass**) are of L parentage.

The dampati, head of the joint-household, was a dynast and despot on his domain. The family property was "his own", swam, L suum. He was swāmi or land-owner; kinsfolk and domestics, biped and quadruped on the estate, were "his". A linguistic reflex of the solidarity and autocracy in ancient homes is the equation: Av hva-etu (one's own; kindred), G \*swe-taira, hetaira (a woman working on a man's farm, his "own"; a concubine) and the L derivative so-dality (one's own; kinship, fellowship). When the house-father's hair turned grey, the burden of the household fell on his sons. They had to breed and

**Li(thuanian) N(ordic) O(ld) ON(Old Norse) OS(Old  
Slavic) P(ersian)**

better the farm-stock, conduct the cattle sales, defend the property against raiders and robbers, and, last not least, look after the welfare of their sisters. After the father's demise, they had to find suitable husbands for the marriageable girls, or sanctify their swayanivar (nuptial choice). Sons were the prop and protection, the stay and support, of the dam or domicile; unmarried sisters addressed them affectionately and compassionately as "burden-bearer", shortened to "bearer", a concept which crystallized to "brother". The word is related to Av bar (to bear) and barethrī (child-bearer, mother), and recurs in all A tongues: bhrātar, Av brātar, L frāter, F frere, Ge bruder and R brat. G and Spanish restricted the vocable to members of a political and religious fraternity respectively; the substitute, provided for "brother", being co-uterine (a-delphos) and germane (hermano). In the thirteenth century, Spanish citizens formed a hermandad (brotherhood) for police and judicial purposes.—The eldest brother in particular guided and counseled his sisters. Obedient to tradition, he looked on them as "his own", swa; hence swasar or "sister". The word is found, like brother, in almost every A language: P hvāhar, OL sosor, L soror (hence sorority or sisterhood) and Li seser. E dislikes sr, and inserts t; S srotas and, OI sruth have been englished to s-t-ream, and Li seser to sis-t-er. Ge schwes-t-er and R syes-t-ra show the same antipathy. Responsibility of blood rings out of the words brother and sister, but dictionaries are silent about their inner life. With a girl's marriage, the trusteeship passed from one burden-bearer to another, from brother (bhrātar) to husband (bhartar), or rather to his father whose domicile the bride entered. The father-in-law became her legal guardian; he was \*swe-kyr or "lord of his own". Swe, ownership, comprised the sons, their wives and children. The various words for "husband's father" are: cwacur, Av hvasur, G hekyr-, L socer, Geschwieger, Li sesur- and R svyokor-. G kyrie (lord!) is alien to kuru (builder of a kula or royal nest), but akin to cūra, Av sūra (strong and brave). Lord, have mercy on us! Kyrie, eleison! is a G invocation, still used in the Roman Catholic mass. Kyriake, the Lord's House, was clipt to kirk which is Lowland Scotch for church. The Gothic people gave us "churches", and their Frankish rivals "chapels"; the former were G Catholics before they turned deists, and the latter conformed to Rome. Church is of G, and chapel of Low L origin.

pp (past participle) R(ussian) Ro(mance) RV(Rig Veda)  
S(anskrit) Sl(avic) V(edic)

## 17. THE ADVANCE OF CIVILIZATION.

S go (cow), in the extended sense of "cow-pasture, grassland", is reflected in G gaia and Alleman gau. Gaia is Mother Earth, the mate of Father Sky; gau means mother-soil in Alleman which is a South-Ge dialect. Alleman aar (water) is related to P āb and S ap. The Aar, a rapid torrent, traverses the romantic Aargau in Ge Switzerland.

The old Aryans were shepherds, but with the progress of civilization, pastoral words burst into wider bounds. Go-pa; cowherd, came to mean village elder, and then ruler or king; gotra, cow-pen, denotes a family, and goshtī, cow-stand, signifies an assembly-hall. Gopura (plenitude of cattle) first meant a cattle-shed, then the stable-door through which the beasts were driven, and last of all the principal town-gate. Cattle-raisers often named a new pasture-ground, which they seized, after some favorite quadruped, horse, sheep, calf, and so on. The green lawns of Oxford, however, have nothing to do with oxen. The name is anglicized from Exford (river-ford); C ex (river) survives in Exmouth and Exeter, located on the river Exe. The Acwa-rathā was a shallow stream in ancient India, fordable for "horse-carts" (acwa-ratha, Av aspo-ratha, Gaulish epo-reda). Avi (L ovis, E ewe) forms the first part of Avi-sthala or Sheep-stand, an old Hindu cattle-mart; Shipton, an E town, is clipt from Sheep-town.

Nir-vāṇa, from vā (be windy, blow), is a spiritual state which, is attained when all evil passions are "blown away" (ver-weht in Ge), when relative attachments are liquidated, and the heart's knot is cut asunder. A verbal extension of vā is vat (rush), thinned to at (go). A "year" was conceived in India as a "rush" of time, saṁvat; similarly in Greece as\* vet-os, etos; and in Rome as a "go" (at), a merry-go-round or revolving ring of seasons: \* at-nus, annus; hence annual (yearly). G peri-od (a go-round) was latinized to circu-it, and germanized to rund-gang. "Year", Av yāre, is a rundgang of time, from yā (go).

Saṁvat (the full year), formed like saṁrāj (supreme ruler), was enlarged to saṁvatsara. The contraction vatsara was no longer understood in the age of the Upanishads which play on

Li(thuanian) N(ordic) Q(ld) ON(Old Norse) OS(Old  
Slavic) P(ersian)

the word : saṁvatsyanti saṁvatsaram, they shall stay a full year with us! From saṁvat, without the prefix, is derived vatsa, "yearling" or calf. The Horses invaded the Thames valley, and the Vatsas seized the Ganges plain where they raised yearlings; in Epic times, Vatsa-land abounded in calves. The relation between saṁvat and vatsa is the same as between G etos (year) and italos (calf). L has preserved the v-initial in vetus (advanced in years, old; veterans are aged soldiers) and vitul-(calf; hence veal). If Italy, the land of vituls or yearlings, were a L word, it would begin with v. Obviously, the ancient farmers of Greater Greece coined the name which the Romans adopted, probably through the intermediary of the Oscans, a pastoral Italian tribe, settled between Rome and Naples.

Ajra (grassland), from aj (drive; L ag-ere) is, like gopa and gotra, a landmark on the route of advancing civilization. Av azra denotes a desert-waste, infested by packs of prowling wolves. But L ager, genitive agri, no longer signifies waste land or pasture-ground over which droves of grazing cattle are driven, but a cultivated field. Ager marks the transition of Roman drovers to farmers who worshiped Sower and Mower, Sator (or Saturn) and Messor. E "acre", a measure of land, is a further step ahead. Another signpost, even more advanced, is the word "colony". Kir-ati (scatters), quite a farming term, is spelt in L with an "l": col-it (scatters seed, cultivates the soil). Agri-culture, cultivation of the plow-field, was shortened and sublimated to culture, that is, plowing and furrowing the mental soil. Territorial expansion raises cultivators to colonists who colonize; colonialism, more and more antagonized by the growing spirit of self-determination, has an agricultural background.

A verbal extension of kir- is kṛsh (to furrow and farm; Av karesh). Hence the Av nouns karshi (farmland), karshivat (farmer) and karshvar, the agricultural zone girdling the Elburz heights. In S the color of the plow-land is called kṛsh-na or black. When the Hindu rovers turned settlers, they adored the sacred mother-soil, and personified, in pagan fashion, the dear dark sod as god Krishna. No wonder that Krishnaism, love of the mother-country, blossomed forth in matchless bhakti, supreme devotion to Krishna, the spirit of agriculture. Bande Mataram! hail, beloved mother-land, the ground whereon I stand is holy!

pp (past participle) R(ussian) Ro(mance) RV(Rig Veda)  
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## 18. LINKS BETWEEN EAST AND WEST.

The R word for black is chorni. Chernagora where the brave Sl hillmen stemmed the Turkish tide for centuries means "Black Mountains", and is better known by the Italian name Montenegro. The cultivation of "black mold", R chorno-syom, grew into the cult of Chernobog, the fruitful soil, tended and served like a "bog" or god by Sl plowmen. Chernagora and Chernobog: Black Mountains and Black Soil! The S transliteration would be Kṛṣṇa-giri and Kṛṣṇa-Bhaga whose priceless teachings are laid down in the Bhagavad Gītā. Slavs are the cultural link between East and West! Ahuramazda is the light-giver; his very name is spenta (sacred). The pagan Slavs adored Svento-vit, the "sacred light", by the side of Chernobog, the dark sod. Sky and earth are mated in the Avesta (asman and zem) and in R sagalore (kamen and zemlia). The Age of Stone naively fancied that thunderbolts are stones, hurled from on high; hence R kamen (stone) came to mean "sky". Related to kamen is E hammer (stone-tool).

Civilization points to ancient intimacies between Asiatic Aryans and Balto-Slavs ; part 15 cited cata (hundred) as an illustration. Another example is cwā (hound), Av spā (pronounce sbā) and Li sū. R sobaka (dog) is an Iranian loan-word ; when babe Cyrus was abandoned, a shako or wolf-hound, according to tradition, nurtured the future shah. . But the classical, C and N words bear no sibilant initial : G ky-, OI kū (spelt cu), Ge hund (hound). Again, cwid (shine, turn white) and cweta (white and light), Av spaeta (bright and pure) and spenta (holy), BS svent- (holy), all begin with a sibilant, but “ white ” and “ wheat ” (white grain) are initialed “ hw ” in OE. An honorary title held by Zerdosht was Spaetotema or Spitama. “ most pure and holy ”. Farmers are naturally reluctant to kill a good milch-cow on whom they depend for cheese and butter, milk and cream. She is consecrated for domestic use ; Av gao-sperta, P gospand, the “ sacred cow ”. Hindu communities can charge their Moslem fellow-citizens with no more heinous crime than gau-hatya or cow-slaughter ; they retaliate by passing Indian mosques with blaring music during devotions. When will Indians learn to sink spite and discord in a common national cause ? Not chaos and night, but concord and light are needed. In the “ sacred (Av spenta, BS svent) light ”, order and harmony sway the

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“ world ” which is known in G as cosmos (orderly), in L as mundus (neat and clean ; F monde), and in R as svyēt (the sacred light). The R word re-echoes the East-A sun-cult and fire-devotion.

R universities have good reason, far above political schemes, for fostering and furthering II studies. The cultural heritage of the A past slips fast from senescent Western Europe to nascent Slavdom, even as it passed fifteen hundred years ago from decadent Rome to the despised northern barbarians.

## 19. THORP AND TOWN.

Only a few compound words are common to various A speech-groups. Such are “ house-father ” (dam-pati, G des-pot, Li dimsti-patis, Av genitive dempat-) and “ husband’s father ”, cwacur, Av hvasur, G hekyr- and Li sesur-. Dam means domicile, and \*swe, Li se, expresses ownership. But nouns with a mere prefix like re-sidence are local manufacture, restricted to one particular language ; in this case to L and its progeny. One notable exception to the general rule is the pan-A word “ nest ”. Building one’s nest, seems to have been the oldest expression for settling in thorp or town. \*Ni-sed (sit down, settle, rest) and \*ni-zdo (resting-place, nest), possibly used by antediluvian tree-dwellers and later on by cavemen, are linguistic prototypes which prefigure nīda (nest, lair, abode), upa-nishad (“ sitting down near ” an instructor : metaphysical teaching) and sādī or nishādī (sitting on horseback, rider). The Nishāda horsemen were a wild hill-tribe in the uplands of Nysa, Av Nisaya, between Kabul and the upper Indus. Horse herds grazed on those bracing altitudes, and the vine-clad slopes rang with the praises of Dio-nysos, the wine-god of Nysa who was to conquer Thrace and Thebes. Armenian “ nist ” is a settlement or estate ; G ozd- (Ge ast), a leafy “ twig ” whereon birds and monkeys rest, may be a distant connection of \*nizdo. L nīdus and R gnezdo both mean “ nest ”. “ Sit ”, without a prefix, is the etymon of N nests such as Dor-set and Somer-set in England, or Al-sace, an ancient Alleman settlement. From the earliest ages, blood-relations nestled together like birdies in a nest, the human (jīva-ja) bread-winner being forced into the same economic struggle, search for food, as his egg-born (aṇḍa-ja) rival.

Migratory bands slip into a new nest, “ enter ” (vic) it ; vic, Av vīs, denotes “ settler ” and “ settlement ”. The village head-

pp (past participle) R(ussian) Ro(mance) RV(Rig Veda)  
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man bore the title *vicpati*, Av *vīspaiti*, Li *vespats* ; another pan-A compound ! All villagers, the whole vic, were known as *vicwa*, Av *vīspa*, R *vyso* ; the three words took the general sense " all, whole." Astro-nomy signifies star-law ; the first part of economy (domestic law) is derived from G \**voik-os*, *oikos* (domicile). L *vicus* (colony of farmers) dwindled to \**vicula*, *villa* (farmstead, country-seat). Round the villa or manor of the landed lord clustered the cottages of farm-laborers, the nucleus of the village. The villa grew to a " town", F *ville*. The village or diminutive town was known as *vic-inity* or neighbourhood ; L *vic-inus*, F *voisin*, means " neighbor". Villagers used to be serfs on the farm-land of their feudal lord ; menial service, " villainage", often rendered them cunning and " villainous". Imperial citizenship is an improvement on vassalage, but also a subtle restraint on fitness for self-government which needs the basic thrill of liberty. N kin of village and vicinity is found in place-names like Greenwich (village green) and Sleswick, the cradle of the Anglo-Saxon race. The sleepy village on the river Slei still vegetates in northern Germany. South-Sl *vis* and West-Sl *ves* also denote a village. Frederick the Great whose best biographer is Carlyle planted near Potsdam a colony of Czech weavers : Nova-ves was germanized by the last kaiser to Neuen-dorf or Newthorp.

Gr-ām is an ag-gr-egate of farmers, a colony of kinsmen, a village community. The a-gor-a or market-place where Athenians congregated was a centre of forensic oratory and Attic wit. We are indebted to the gr-eges or herds of Roman shepherds for the words greg-arious (herding together) and congreg-ation, a flock gathered by the pastor in a fold. After clashing with the Alsatian Allemans, the F dubbed every Ge an Allemand. The case is by no means isolated. The first Hellenes with whom the Romans came in contact were herdsmen, Gr-eeks. Italy is a G name, and Greece is L! OI *graign* means a herd of horses.

The pp of *pr-nāti* (fills) is *pūrṇa* (filled, full) ; *puru*, Av *pouru* (plenty, much). Go-pura (plenty of cattle, cowshed, town-gate) is mentioned in part 17. Pur (enclosure, stronghold, fortified town) is altogether released from pastoral associations. *Puru*, a ruling cattle-lord, was an ancient dynast ; his descendants in the Epic Age resided near Delhi, at Hastinapur or Tuskersville.

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Rajputan teems with ancient purs or boroughs. Udaipur was founded by Udai in the sixteenth century, and Jaipur by Jai Singh in the seventeenth. Udaya signifies "sunrise", and jaya "victory", but the two city names mean no more Sunrise Hill and Victoria than Singhala (Ceylon) which Singhs or Lionhearts first aryanized means Isle of Lions. An expansion of pur (town) is purusha (townsman, man). When we guard this tenement of clay, this bodily stronghold, from the allurements of our own nature and idiosyncrasy, when we refuse to listen to the siren-song of self-will, that will-o'-the-wisp phantom and arch-enchantedress, then alone we realize the purusha or royal person, the eternal soul and governor of our temporary pur, the vicegerent of parama-purusha or universal soul. All this is sound Sāṅkhya teaching, Hindu psycho-analysis.

The European representative of Asiatic r is l. Poly (plenteous, much) and pol-is (the crowded city; the city-state) are G words. But more purs are recorded on the map of India than pols in the geography of Europe. Naples, G Neā-polis, corresponds to S Navā-pur (new town). Kaiser Constantine resided in the city of Constantino-ple, and Greno-ble is located in the Alps. Dwellers in a pol- are pol-itai or citizens. Hence our words police (city force; civil officers for the preservation of order), politics (civic concerns, management of state affairs) and polite (city-bred, civil). The world of art and science in Athens was apt to look down on the prosperous and humdrum middle classes. Wealthy tradesmen were regarded more as respectable than cultured; self-sufficient politai or burghers are vulgar in taste and narrow-minded everywhere; they are not graced by the sacred spark of enthusiasm for ideals which promise no material advantage. The word which Athens coined for the broad-visioned and big-hearted minority whose sympathies rush out to mankind, and who are ever ready to share human weal and woe, was cosmopolitan or "citizen of the world"; the F say sur-patriote or supernatural. Finance is international, but art is supernatural. The reduplication of L pl-ēnus (plentiful, full) is popul-(plenty-plenty, i.e., people, populace). N connections are full, folk and Ge viel (much.)

A clean and orderly family life is the foundation of a well disciplined state; the dampati is the forerunner of the mahārāj

pp (past participle) R(ussian) Ro(mance) RV(Rig Veda)  
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Related to řju (right, direct) are řāj (director of public affairs, regent) and řāshtra (realm). "Regal" and "royal" are derived from L rex, genitive regis (king); his domain is the regnum or realm. Rāj and mahārāj recur in OI righ, genitive rīg, and ardrigh (high-king); the Ard-ennes or Belgian Highlands bear a C name, but ard-uous (high; difficult to climb) is a L derivative. In Hindustani, a queen is addressed rānī, in L regina, and in OI rīgan. Regan, Queenie, was one of Lear's wicked daughters. Ancient kings directed the state policy, and righted or corrected wrongs. The ruler was a "righter"; Ge richter means "judge", and recht is right or "law". An excellent civil-recht and straf-recht or criminal law, recently revised, prevails in the "reich" (S rāshtra) which is economically enslaved, and unfairly handicapped, yet a model republic. Modern Germany is perhaps the nearest approach to a true democracy, the supreme power being vested in an educated and efficient people.

## 20. BARTER AND TRADE.

“Following” with the eye is the N conception of sight. Gothic *saihwā* (I see ; *Gesehe*) is connected with *Li seku* (I follow ; *L sequor*). The guttural *k* (*L qu*, Gothic *hw*) is labialized in *G hep-omai* (I follow). *Merc-antile* and *com-merc-ial*, both *L* derivatives, are related to *G marp-tein* (seize). The rovers and drovers of old did not purchase what they needed, but seized cattle, and wives too. The Roman swains, in a historic raid, kidnaped Sabine maids, and then sacrificed to *Merc-ury*, the god of thieves and traders. Such were the rude beginnings of commerce and marriage.

Many an old custom is corroborated by the evidence of language. Before domestic animals were stabled, their stand was round a post to which graziers would tether them with cords; Av pas (bind) is the root-verb of pasu (cattle), akin to L pecus and OE feoh (cattle; Ge vieh). In the pastoral period, payment was made in cattle; fee (honorarium) is an E affinity of L pecunia (money; hence pecuniary). Again OE heafod (head; Ge haupt) is identical with L caput, the source of Low L captale, "head" of cattle; hence our word "cattle". R skot (cattle) is a shepherds' word, but its N relatives reflect a more complex state of social life: Ge schatz (prized, tax) and E scot-free (tax-

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free). The Neolithic Age was premetallic, and had no monetary standard ; kine was coin. Trade originated in barter, exchanging cattle for deer-skins or stone implements.

Migrants cleared patches of woodland here and there ; the impervious forest " between " (IC medius, E mid, R mezhdu ; pronounce mezh- like meas-ure) two settlements was a natural " boundary " (R mezha). C drops initial p ; lānum means " plain ". Gaulish vagrants converted the Lombard woods to level land. Medio-lānum, now Milan, was such a " forest plain " or clearance of the woods ; the traditional rendering of the name is " amid the plain." Before East-Prussia was germanized, B medyosei or wood-reeves were guardians of the medyan (border ; wood). Forestry, the protection of venerable trees, and the regulation of the " chase " (B medyone), was almost a sacred office when lawless huntsmen of the neighborhood hotly pursued the wild boar and bear, the fleet stag and timid hare, regardless of age and the pairing season. Adjoining households claimed the " track of the wild game " in common ; the medyan was no-man's-land. Manslaughter, committed at the border, frequently bred family feuds and sanguinary vendetta. The medyosei, fearless because they were god-fearing, were often approached by irreconcilable litigants, as the pontiffs were in Rome, to act as arbiters and mediators. Semantics endeavors to reconstruct unrecorded history. Mrj (rove, range ; Av marez) is the root-verb of mrga (wild animals roving in the forest), mārğa (hunter's track) and P marz (borderland). " Margin " (border, edge), a word of L origin, has passed from the hunter's to the trader's dictionary. The OI word for boundary is mruig or bruig. N kin are ON murk (the dusky wood ; hence murky), E march (borderland) and " mark ", a sign showing the border *IKL*. The march that divided Wessex from Northumbria was known as Mercia, and the Prefect of the Marches as margrave or marquess.

It was at the border, across the mārğa or hunters' trail, that traders and traders displayed their mutual merchandize for barter and exchange. They hardly understood each other ; in those clannish times, when altruism and fellow-feeling would have been laughed to scorn, dialects differed much more than now. The devotees of Mercury had to use the ten fingers for their numeric transactions. Ten hunting knives for a bullock !

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**Five fledged arrows for a stone axe! Two fox-hides for a bow of yielding yew or elmwood, with a strip of cowhide, serving as a bowstring! Thus the decimal system originated. It is quite primitive like the lunar calendar, if compared to duodecimalism and the solar year.**

The initial of ghn-anti (they strike or slay) is dropt in han (strike) and haṇsa, literally "striking" or flapping the wings : a wild "goose" or migratory "swan". Cognate words are L hanser, pronounced by Roman cockneys anser (hence "anserine") and Ge gans (goose). Possibly L hos-tis meant "slayer, outcast", ere it came to mean stranger and enemy. In primitive communities the stranger within the gates, most often a parricide, was shunned as hostile ; clansmen had a perfect right to slay the vagrant offender, and rid the "nest" of a public pest and peril. A homeless vagabond, severed from his sib, was more wretched than louring wolves in the wild wood. Aliens were robbed and killed with impunity until exchange of goods and gifts changed hostility to hospitality, and converted the hos-tis to a gues-t. Under the new conditions, the master of the household changed from a foe to a friend and patron of strangers whose goods he purchased. The clients of Ju-piter (All-father) called the family-head \*hos-piter (guest-father) ; hence hospitable, clipt to "host". The South-Sl title of a ruling prince is hos-podar (guest-lord) ; R gos-podin means "master, Mr." The initials of host and guest indicate that the former is of L, and the latter of N origin. In case of sickness, a hospice or guest-house was turned into a hospital ; hostel and hotel are abbreviations.

The social lift given by the expanse of trade is quite as remarkable in the East as in the West. Purchasers looked on a salesman from a clan, not their own, as an ari or alien. Ari came to mean "foe"; Av arika, aîra, even means "fiend". The early Zoroastrian notion was that foreign vagrants had aîra-mainyu or Ahriman, the very devil, in them, while blood-relations were supposed to be guarded and guided by Spenta-mainyu, the Holy Spirit. But with the increase of intertribal deals, the ari or alien pedlar ceased to be a suspect, and was recognized as a friend, arya, Av airya, OP ariya. "Loyal, noble, true", the usual rendering given to A, is a choice afterthought. Commercial travelers in Iran began to realize that the dialect and deity of nearly every farmstead were very much like their

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own. The word *airya* leapt into a racial meaning. The flat-nosed darkies with high cheekbones and receding foreheads, nose-rings and tattooed limbs, the aliens of savage Turan, were designated as *an-airya* (non-A) and, with an ancient pun, as *an-areta* or lawless. When A clansmen still haunted caves, and dwelt in mud-huts, long before they furrowed the soil in Iran and Erin, some of them would make friends of outsiders, and call them Aryans, in contrast to the darkies of alien speech. The interpretation of A as tiller of the "arable" land is an anachronism.

## 21. MITHRA.

The verb "move," a L derivative, is connected with *mā* (to measure) and *me* (to exchange, to trade and traffic); both *mā* and *me* have the same pp *mita*. Itinerant pedlars, moving from place to place, measured and assorted their various commodities for the purpose of barter and exchange. *Mās* (time-measurer, chronometer) signifies "moon" as well as "month," the time needed for a lunar spin round the earth. *Mātar* means "measurer" and "mother"; child-bearers give measure, that is, provide shape and form, to the unborn babe. Mind cannot be measured like merchandize, but is *amita*, immeasurable and boundless. Matter is *māyā*, measurable. The philosopher's vision pierces the fluttering veil of *māyā*, and realizes that matter is not a simple, but a compound, not durable, but wears out, and is illusory. *Māyā* came to mean illusion. Transcendentalism is an Indian growth which has taken root wherever philosophy is prized, but A economics started in Iran; migrant Hindus adopted her superior trade methods. *Mith* (to meet each other in a business way) is a S verb of Iranian origin; the aspiration of *t* is an Av feature (*puthra*, *mithra*, and so on). Av *mitha* (changeable, deceitful) and *mithva* (goods exchanged; paired) recur in S loan-words: *mithas* (mutually), *mithuna* (pair; couple) and *mithyā* (by fraud). European developments of *me* (exchange, traffic) are OI *maeth* (to defraud, to wrong) and the N prefix in *misdeed* (wrongful deed).

*Me-tre*, a G derivative, first of all meant commercial "measure," and then the rhythmic swing in poetry. G *a-moe-ba* (change) is applied to the endless "varieties" of form in the simplest life-units. Extensions of L *me*-are (move, about as

pp (past participle) R(ussian) Ro(mance) RV(Rig Veda)  
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signifies "given by Mithra." Relics and ruins of Mithra temples, set up by Roman legionaries, have been excavated in Germany and England.

## 22. THE DRAGON FIGHT.

Vasant defeats the dragon-brood of frosty clouds and leaden skies ; spring is vrtra-han, Av verethra-ghna, the giant-killer. After the drear winter in northern latitudes, the young swains with their portion of live-stock left the old nest. In the sacred springtime when the delicate young verdure sprouts forth, and heavy snowstorms are forgotten over blue-eyed violets and sweet forget-me-nots, when gentle breezes fan the balmy air, the youthful herdsmen with bullock carts and tent-waggon, young wives and tender babes, bag and baggage, quitted the congested homeland. Led by a sage pathfinder, they set forth on their venturesome journey. Vasant was a time of sadness and gladness, of sorrowful leave-taking from the old folks at home, and thrilling anticipations of an unknown future. Sad hearts were left behind, but the migrants felt buoyant and grateful. Youth is the time for romance, age for reflection !

Vasani, L ver sacrum, R vyesna, was a religious festival. The gods were praised, especially the spirit of spring who had just crushed the winter fury. The V age celebrated vasant annually with sañvādas or dramatic dialogues. Mystery plays in honor of Indra-Vṛtrahan were enacted. The subject of these vernal masques was the struggle between nascent spring and senescent winter, light and darkness, dragon-slayer and snap-dragon. Vṛtra snaps Lady Sunshine, and keeps her captive in his cloud-dungeon. But in vasant, young Indra flashes lightning-snakes and hurls thunderbolts, battering and shattering the gloomy frontage of the massive giant-clouds, the den of the cloud-giant. Every A settlement from India to Iceland, from Sakaland to Sumer, staged the Dragon Fight in spring. The Andrabhāgas whose supreme bhag or deity was Andra were Saka nomads in the Dniepr valley. They welcomed the vernal season when they could resume their roving life on horseback, and celebrated the Dragon Fight on Mount Andragoras or Indra Hill ; Andragairi would be the Av, and Indragiri the S transliteration. The alluvial plain between Balkh and Ghazni was

pp (past participle) R(ussian) Ro(mance) RV(Rig Veda)

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The storming of Vṛtrapur or Cloud-castle was also enacted in West-A lands. King Oedipus slays the sphinx, Sir Sigfrid shatters the Nibelungs or nebular mists; sig means victory in Ge. The calendar day of St. George, the dragon-slayer and patron-saint of England, is April 23rd, also her greatest poet's putative birthday and deathday. No wonder that Baconians regard Shakespeare as mythical, and maintain that the plays which bear his name on the title-page were actually written by Bacon.

The dramatis personae in the old dragon-masque were the grisly winter-giant, young Indra and his dashing cavaliers; the martial Maruts or march winds were clad in glittering mail-coat. Next, the sleeping beauty (Lady Sunshine), and the vaidya or medicine-man who had to bandage and rejuvenate the gruff greybeard, so that old pop might be fit for his assault and triumph next fall. After the Indra play which was performed in the open air came the depressing leave-taking, somewhat cheered by exhilarating som-potions, the farewell symposium. The last word spoken at the spring festival was a blessing from the quivering lips of the tear-stained dampati: O Vṛtrahan, protect the ways of my beloved son whom I shall never see again! Good angel Behram, be you his pathikrt, cut out his path of triumph along the lone rivers in the beast-infested jungle! Spirit of friendliness and goodwill, St. Vohu-mano, pray, guard and befriend my son.

### 23. AIRYANA VAEJO.

Tilak, laying a deeper meaning in the legend of the Dragon Fight, translates the elemental warfare in spring to Arctic skies under which the Caucasian race, both A and Semitic, is supposed to have lived in the Interglacial Age. When glaciation deluged Ultima Thule, the uttermost north, the Uttarakurus had to evacuate their circumpolar nest. Agonized mankind, driven out of the lost paradise, traversed endless snowfields, and steered their floating logs, crude dugouts, between huge icefloes. L nāvis (ship; S naus, Av nāvo) is derived from nāre (float). Crowds perished, and crowds survived. Scattered over a vast area, countless bands and hatches finally reached the present coast-belt which stretches from northern Siberia to the Finnish swamps. When the flood subsided, Father Manu's fleet of logs (naus) landed on Himalay at Nau-bandhan (ship-landing;

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The Aryans, children of light, and lovers of *vasant*, claim descent from *Vi-vas-vat*, *Av Vivañhvāt*. *Yima* sprang from the latter, and *Manu* from the former. When *Airyana Vaejo*, the Arctic Eden, was deluged with sleet and snow, *Yima* took his homeless folk to a new *vara* or enclosure; he led them to the warmer south. Mount *Meru*, the "mountain-height," *Av hara-berezaiti*, was in the course of ages forgotten, but tradition localized *Hara-Berezaiti* at *El-burz*, south of the Caspian Sea. *Vaejo*, *S bija*, means "seed," and is related to "vigor." It was in *Airyana Vaejo* that A seed and manhood, virility and vigor, had sprouted and germinated.

## 24. THE ARCTIC HOME.

Before *Anra Mainyu* smote the "seedland" with biting frost, the Arctic nest and nursery enjoyed a mild and genial climate. The use of the present tense will render *Tilak's* narrative more vivid. At the North Pole, six months of continuous sunshine alternate with an equal period of Egyptian darkness, partially relieved by revolving moons and the Great Bear; the seven stars shine overhead, and never set, at the roof of the world. According to the distance from the Pole, circumpolar summers increase from six to ten months. Arctic religion was largely devotional starlore; each *divodās* or "minister to the devas," a priest of noble lineage, observed the celestial luminaries, and sacrificed to them for one whole month. In the Arctic belt where the sun shines seven months, seven royal sages, the *saptarshis* or *rājarshis*, acted as official astronomers and sacrificers; they may well have been precursors of the seven legendary kings who ruled earliest Rome, the city set on seven hills.

The northern hemisphere is like an inverted cup; all around gleams sevenfold light, but below the rim yawns fivefold darkness, resembling an open *tala* or palm, with the five fingers stretched downward. *Sl tilo* (bottom) is related to *S tala* (bottom of the hand) and *talātala* (bottom without bottom, the bottomless pit below the rim of the terrestrial cup). *Tartarus* is the G name for the sunless abyss of the lower world. In Babylonian records, the long Arctic night is called *Tiamat*, the dragon of the "deep" (*abzu*). *Tiamat*, slightly changed, recurs in the first chapter of the Bible, and *tamāta* is the name of a dread snake in the *Atharva Veda*. The devas shine above,

pp (past participle) R(ussian) Ro(mance) RV(Rig Veda)  
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North Pole was a nine-gemmed (nava-ratna) land-belt where vipra-navagwas, the "sacred nine", officiated nine months. In commemoration, inspired (vipra, Av vifra) poet-priests who had a vision of the vanished past were celebrants at nava-rātra, the "nine sacred nights", at the beginning of vasant. The Avesta mentions Vifra Navāza who struggled in total darkness until the powers of light relieved and rescued him. Nine muses preside over the sacred arts which include songcraft and starlore, the rhythm of sound and the harmony of spheres.

Best preserved are the Arctic traditions of the southernmost zone, nearest the Polar Circle, with ten months' constant sunshine, prior to the Glacial Age. Dacagwas, the "sacred ten" pastors, tended the ruddy cows (summer months) in the celestial "stable for the ten" (daca-vraja). The dragon had shut the stable, but the dragon-slayer reopened dacavraja. Indra, sings a V rshi, is borne along by ten milk-white steeds in his triumphal car; his very self moves tenfold, ātmā dacadhā charati. In the Epic Age, the puzzling "ten" (daca), yoked to the "car" (ratha), crystallized round the person of Dacaratha, a solar dynast, and father of king Rām. Possibly the decemvirs were dacagwas before their conversion to Roman magistrates. They fixed the early Roman calendar which consisted of ten sacrificial months, lasting from Lent to Yule. March was the first month of the year; December, as the name implies, was the tenth. When glaciation set in, dacagwa-land was visited with ten months of gloom and grief. The RV narrates how the son of Divodās battled against ten "non-sacrificing" (a-yajyu) kings. But the "Ten Kings' Battle" was fought out in Arctic skies, long before Dācarājna was staged in Sapta-sindhu, the Punjab. Rām on whom Indra's mantle fell slew a ten-headed monster, and scattered its tenfold trickery (māyā).

Fairest of all lights is the roseate dawn, and the hymns dedicated to Ushas are the most exquisite in the RV. Aurora is lovelier in the temperate zone than in the tropics which rapidly pass from day to night, and from dark to light. Even more gorgeous is the Aurora Borealis, the rosy-fingered daughter of vidhātār, the star-disposer. After the long intimidating night, the Arctic Aryans jubilantly hailed and hymned the sacred light.

The coming of the Ice Age with fell and fatal winters reverberates from the pages of the Vendidad. Ahura sounded a war

pp (past participle) R(ussian) Ro(mance) RV(Rig Veda)

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harbored white polar bears. Saptarksha became a word-riddle ; the constellation was renamed saptarshi. A legend was promptly invented of seven sages being harnessed to the shining pegs of the celestial car. The wondrous beacon-light above Mount Meru, outshining lesser luminaries, reflected, to the vision of seers, the matchless sovereignty of God. The mighty " essence " (ahura-hood) of the devas is one, mahad devānām asuratwam ekam ! That One is the star-disposer ; he transcends the Great Bear (saptarshin).

Rksha, Av aresho, L ursus and OI arth signify " bear " ; the strength of the animal must have been redoubtable, otherwise Arthur and Ursula would never have been chosen as proper names. G arktos denotes the Great Bear as well. We still designate the uttermost north, with the Great Bear overhead, as the Arctic regions near the Arctic Sea. Iranian and Roman folklore followed in Indian footsteps. They changed the name of the constellation, when it was no longer intelligible, to haptoringa and septentrion respectively. Iringa, S linga, is a mark or characteristic. Hapto-iringa, P haft-warang, refers to the seven bright marks of the " radiant lord of northern skies." Shakespeare uses septentrion in the sense of " north."

Saptarshi, septentrion and haft-warang, all three words are compounds. The second portion (rshi, trion and warang) is utterly corrupt, but the very debasement points to the long-forgotten Arctic origin of the A race. Veda and Edda, Avesta and Odyssey, the sagas of Cuchullin in Ireland, Arundel in England, and Igor in Russia, depict atmospheric phenomena which can only relate to the Northern Light or Aurora Borealis.

Tilak was far more revolutionary as a pundit than as a politician ; his scholarship was farther-reaching and more fruitful than his statesmanship. He was the last daring and original thinker India has produced. His fearless interpretation of the RV, and Brunnhofer's tradition-defying research, should be critically investigated together with the classical commentary, written by Śāyan in the fourteenth century, in order to get a right historic perspective of basic Aryanism. Only then an adequate translation, first in prose, and then rhythmic, will be possible, outshining the painstaking scholarly versions by Lud-

pp (past participle) R(ussian) Ro(mance) RV(Rig Veda)

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44. A(ryan) Av(estic) B(altic) BS(Balto-Slavic) C(eltic)  
E(nglish) F(rench)

wig and Geldner. The Dragon Fight, that fertile matrix, not only of the Indian Theatre, but of the Elizabethan stage and the Wagner Ring, reflects, if we may believe Tilak, the ancient warfare between Arctic sunshine and circumpolar darkness.

## 26. ROMANCE OF NUMBERS.

Nature is differentiated, split in twos; the second numeral may have arisen from a concrete notion such as "two twigs", two green shoots of the same sap. Dwis, Av and L bis, G dis, signify "twice"; dwi, nominative dwau, is "two". Our body is largely dual; we have two eyes and ears, two hands and feet, and so forth. Hastau (hands) meant the two hands, without any particular thought of a dual sense; hastās (all hands) is a later creation. S has preserved the dual, but L has lost it, except in the words duo (two) and ambo (both); S dwau and ubhau. The duality of the physical body is the source of grammatical duals from which plurals have sprung.

Things connected with the body are often dual or decimal, twofold or tenfold. Evolutionists look on the ten toes and fingers as a survival of ancestral habits to climb up a cocoanut palm, or some other giant of the wood, for the sake of edible fruit, or of shade and shelter. The ten daktyls or fingers suggested the G numeral deka (ten); the ten "toes" (OE tǣn) our number "ten". Primitive barter was conducted by pra-pancha, the "outstretched" hand. Five stone hammers for a goat! ten deer-skins for a milchcow! Five and ten became standard numbers, a numeric unit, just as we talk, in a slangy and slipshod fashion, of a fiver or tenner. G deik-(point at) and daktyl (pointer, i.e., finger) are related to dic, Av dis (to show), and daca, Av dasa (ten), also to L in-dic-ator and dec-em (ten); digit (index, i.e., finger) is likewise of L origin.

Pitar (father) and pank-ti (the span of the extended fingers; a group of five) are accented on the last syllable; hence t and k are softened in OE to d and g: faeder and finger; f is the regular N representative of p. Traders curtailed prapancha, the expanse of the fingers, to pancha (five). In Hindu philosophy, prapancha is the cosmic expanse which, like a spider's web, entangles the reality of things, and conceals essence in the meshes of fleeting

Li(thuanian) N(ordic) O(ld) ON(Old Norse) OS(Old  
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semblance. \*Pemp is the G and N, \*kenk the IC echo of pancha: G pemp-tos (fifth) and Gothic fmf, L quinque, OI coic; all three mean "five."

Derived from tar-ati (he crosses; root tṛī; see part 12) is acwa-tara (equine cross-breed; mule). L affinities are tr-ans (across, beyond), tres (beyond two, that is, "three") and ter (thrice).

The number five evolved from the spread-out fingers; four from four-footed animals. Beast and man, quadruped and biped, chatuspad and dwipad, are closer companions in the country than in town. Steed and steer, colt and calf, are ever before the eyes of horsemen and herdsman. The wild Turanians or Turkmans are expert riders; their turag speeds like lightning over the lone steppe and desert. Indian bullocks, the most patient quadrupeds in the service of man, pull a heavy load (anas) from dawn to sundown, with a few hours' rest in between. Even in V times, Brother Bullock was prized and pitied as a burden-bearer or load-carrier, anad-vah, L\*onus-vehens. The formidable compound sounds more familiar to English ears, if compared to the words ex-on-erated (freed from the "load" of a criminal charge) and veh-icle (carriage).

The verb tṛī (cross a stream, go yonder) was intensified to tūr (pash on, be quick); tura-ga means "quick-goer", i.e., horse (Av tūra). Cha-tura (very quick) was associated with the speeding feet of the turag; hence chatur (four). The Gaelic words for "cattle" and "four" are almost identical. Chatur, without the reduplicative prefix, survives in II and G: tur-īya (fourth; Av tūryo) and tra-pezo (four-footed, i.e., table, swing-board). L qua-ter means "four times". The reduplicative qu is also guttural in OI (c) and Li (k), but is changed to ch in S and R, and is t in G. Chatur (four) is OI ce-thir, Li ke-turi, R che-twero and G te-tra, used in compounds like tetra-gon, a figure of four angles.

Four became a stabilized number like five and ten. There are four weeks to a lunar month, four sessions in the year, four yugas or world-ages (caveman, shepherd, farmer, industrial worker), and four Vedas or scriptural portions (nature poetry, sacred tunes, sacrificial rites and magical charms). There are

pp (past participle) R(ussian) Ro(mance) RV(Rig Veda)  
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four castes (clerical, military, commercial and menial), all equally honored, whether swāmi or sweeper, if they fulfil their dharma, and equally base, if they shirk their duty. Four was a unit, a lot (ashta). The pp of ac (obtain) is ashta (portion, allotment). Four bullocks or horses were one ashta; eight were ashtau or two lots. Ashtau which came to mean "eight" is a dual like dwau (two) or ubhau (both); L duo and ambo. L octo and Gothic ahtau mean "eight", and also preserve the archaic dual form. When OE tūn (enclosure) developed to "town", the old sense was lost; it survives in Ge zaun (hedge). When ashta (lot) was used for numeric purposes (eight), the original meaning was transferred to the cognate word anca (portion). Ashta (portion) is formed like vā-ta (wind), but S dictionaries only record the pp ashta (obtained). Five and ten are cave numerals, associated with primitive barter, but four and eight are pastoral and farmers' terms, like gotra (cow-shed, family) and gopa (herdsman, gaikwar, king).

## 27. THE DECIMAL SYSTEM.

Six, seven and nine have yet to be explained. Let us take the last number first. After coining ashtau, Hindu cattlemen needed a name for the next higher numeral. They called the "new" number nava which, like F neuf, means "nine" as well as "new." The daily question "what's the news?" implies no curiosity for past history, but for the present; what happens nu (now) is nava (new.) The ever-present "now" gave birth to "new" which is the matrix of "nine". New and nine are in Ge neu and neun, and in L novus and novem. "Now" was generalized to "new" which was specialized to "nine".

The most interesting number, semantically, is six. The arctic calendar of the dacagwas, and the Roman calendar of the decemvirs, ignored the two winter months during which the bright devas were held captive in Tartarus. Chaldean stargazers fixed the twelve months' year, thus correcting the antiquated calendar which ended with Decem-ber, the tenth month. The science of Babylon divided the egg-trail of our planetary sphere in twelve zodiacal sections, beginning at vasant, the vernal equinox, when the sun seems to stand in the fish-sign. In mathematics and astronomy, A ṛshissat at the feet of Chaldean rabbis. Itinerant pedlars grafted the new reckoning on to the

Li(thuanian) N(ordic) O(ld) ON(Old Norse) OS(Old  
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finger-counting of A huntsmen and graziers ; eggs and earthenware were no longer sold by the decad, but by the dozen. Babel was the first to divide the year in twelve months, and the day in twelve hours ; Aryanism adopted the startling innovation. It is due to Chaldean calculations that twelve pence make a shilling, and that a foot measures twelve inches. Numbers, typical of decimalism, are ten, hundred and thousand ; duodecimalism is represented by six, twelve, sixty and possibly twenty. Shad-gava, six head of cattle, came to mean a yoke or group of six, half-a-dozen ; Ge schock (threescore) is a Babylonian loan-word like "sack", coarse cloth big enough to hold sixty small articles. F numerals show a rift after sixty. Seventy is called threescore-ten (soixante-dix), eighty is fourscore (quatre-vingt), and ninety "fourscore-ten". E numerals are decimal numbers back to thirteen (three-ten) ; one to twelve are formed differently.

The tentative etymologies, proposed for the first numeric decad, are all home-made, except six for which no satisfactory A etymology can be found. Shash, G hex, L sex, OI se, Gothic sahs and Li ses, defy analysis because the number has been borrowed from Babylon, together with the duodecimal computations of her learned astronomers.

The meaning of L sec-undus (second) and Li sek-mas (seventh) seems to be sequ-ent (on the first or sixth respectively). G hepa (follow) is the source of hepta (seven), but sapta (seven) must not be traced to sach-(follow), but rather to the side-track verb sap-(follow to the grave, honor the dead), from which saparyā (memorial service, ancestral worship) is also derived. Again, L septem (seven) is not directly connected with sequ-(follow), but with sep-elio (I follow to the grave, I bury) ; hence sepulture (burial) and sepulchre (place of burial, tomb). The relationship between Av hach-(follow) and hapta (seven; P haft) is similar. The p-forms possibly belong to dialects, once current in India, Iran and Italy.

Eft, the gipsy word for seven, sounds like P haft. The gipsies, low-browed tinkers, thieves and fortune-tellers, hail from India. Vagrancy led the swarthy wanderers to Iran where they tamed and swapped horses, and to Singhala or Ceylon ; hence they are known in Italy as zingari, in Germany as zigeuner, and in Russia as zigani. The gipsies style themselves Romany,

pp (past participle) R(ussian) Ro(mance) RV(Rig Veda)

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in memory of their long stay in Erze-rum and East-Rome or Byzantium. A long sojourn in Egypt and Bohemia also left traces on their variety of names. Gipsy is short for Egyptian : artists, indulging in loose and irregular habits, are nicknamed "Bohemians", the F name for gipsies. Their music is wild and spontaneous, their moods free and lawless, their life roving and romantic. They live in traveling wagons or dingy tents. When mealtime comes, a fire is made in the open. An eldritch hag, her tatters rich in sky and sunset, stirs the cauldron-pot which dangles from a tripod ; and how good the rabbit soup smells ! After sundown, merry dance and music, and the clatter of castanets and dice, fill the picturesque camp. Originally the gipsies were vagabonds of the vilest type, talking some debased prakrit. Their melting-pot of a vocabulary contains S numerals like dwi (two) and panch (five), bits of Hindustani such as pani (water) and churi (knife), and words from every land through which they passed.

In conclusion, a few words on cata and sahasra, hundred and thousand! Numbers like nineteen (nine-ten) and ninety (nine decads) unmistakably point to the decimal basis of our numeric system. In S, nine-ty is nava-ti, and \*ten-ty (hundred) is \*daca-ta, clipt to cata. The same word-shearing is noticeable in Av sa-tem (from dasa), L cen-tum (from decem) and Gothic hun-d (from taihun). At first, hundred meant a "long hundred" or six score. In king Alfred's time, hund-red, the standard number by which percentage, the bank-rate, is now fixed, still denoted ten dozens (120), and not ten decads (100). Everywhere, duo-decimalism overlapped the older decimal system.

Hundred is a pan-A word, but "thousand" was coined independently by Hs, the classical nations of Europe and Ns. To them it must have been as dazing and dazzling a figure as trillions and quadrillions are now. L mille, the thousandth part of a million, seemed so gigantic and prolific to the Romans that they named that number after the teeming millet seeds. Thousand paces were a mile, and thousand soldiers formed a mil-itary unit. Thou-sand is a fat sum, comparable to the bulgy thu-mb; L relatives are tu-mor (swelling) and tu-mult (swell and uproar). Again, cha-os and cha-sm did not bewilder the astonished Gs more than the fabulous sum of a chi-liad, a thousand; and \*ha-sra, the Indian affinity, stunned the Hindus

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like a hiatus or yawning gap. \*Hasra (thousand) is inferred from sa-hasra (one-thousand), Av ha-zāhira; a similar extension is G he-katon (one-hundred). Sahasra was popularly associated with sahas (might and "victory": Ge sig); before lakhs and crores came in vogue, a "thousand" seemed a "mighty" lot.

## 28. MAZDAISM AND MOSAISM.

If Aryanism is indebted to Semitic culture, the pupil has certainly outstript the preceptor. Hebrew and Moslem genius were too feeble-winged to soar to the bracing altitudes of a Sophocles and Shakespeare, or reach the daring heights of Platonism and Vedānt. In the Middle Ages, Christian scholastics fostered the spirit of Plato in St. Augustine's presentation, whereas Semitic erudition preferred the logic of the Lyceum to the idealism of the Academy. In the twelfth century, Aristotle was annotated by two of his most illustrious commentators, the one an Israelite, and the other an Islamite. But even the sagacity of Maimonides and Averroes reflects the hair-splitting legalism of the Levites rather than the eagle-vision of the Prophets.

Mosaism and Mazdaism show many points of contact. Yahveh and Ahura, though etymologically unconnected, both mean "that which is." Each revealed himself as "I am that I am," ahmi yad ahmi; see Exodus 3, 14. Moses heard the divine command out of a burning bush, and Zerdosht saw asha, the eternal order of things, in the sacred flame. The lawgivers of Israel and Iran realized the omnipresence of God and Satan; the duality of good and evil struggles for the possession of our souls.

All who wilfully dissociate themselves from fellow-influence, and social service, stagnate, wither and retrograde. This applies to nations as well as individuals. A healthy give and take, both industrial and cultural, shows vitality and progress, and is the stepping-stone to international co-operation and universal brotherhood. The Periclean age would not have been so creative, if the Homeric age had been less responsive to Cretan craftsmanship, wondrously improved in Mycenaean art and architecture, and to the mercantile spirit of the slick Phenicians, a brother-tribe of shrewd Israel. Cadmus set up Tyrian smelting,

pp (past participle) R(ussian) Ro(mance) RV(Rig Veda)

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hearted or out of temper, never carry sour features among men, but pray Ahuramazda to send his good angel Vohumano into your needy soul!

## 29. THE HOLY NAME.

Iranian shepherds concocted healing herbs as a cure for sick men and cattle. Wild honey, mixed with herbal juice, made an excellent ferment which proved a tonic and stimulant at the same time. Av madh (to heal with herbs and honey) is the root-verb of madhu (honey; mead) and madha (knowledge of herbs and their medicinal qualities). The verb is pan-A, but generally spelt mad or med. Sweet flowers like honeysuckle attract the bee, S madhu-lih or honey-sucker. S kin without the aspirate are mada (intoxicant) and madira (maddening, gladdening). Med-icine (healing potion) is of L origin; medical science began with herbal lore. In Great Britain and Ireland we find OI mid (mead) and E mad (excited by mead). In merry old England, ale ousted mead as a national liquor. Derived from R myod (honey; mead) is myod-ved or medvyed (honey-eater, i.e., bear). Classical scholars are familiar with the interchange of "d" and "l"; G dakry (a tear) reappears in L as lacrima, F larme, and Odyss-eus as Ulyss-es. In Albanian, a cousin of Armenian, myal (L mel, OI mil) means "honey", and myaltre, G meli-tta, is a "bee".

Mazda sounds somewhat like magic; but issues from a different source. The Holy Name may be related to madhu which like haom was administered as a medicine. Mazda is the divine healer whose unfailing remedies calm the troubled breast, and make the sick soul sound again. He is also maz-dāo, "giver of might" and strength. Mazda is furthermore connected with mazdāh, S medhā (mindfulness): God minds those who mind him! All three etymologies seem to blend in the Holy Name, perhaps to remind us that the spirit of self-sacrifice energizes, and has power to heal our sinful state. The heavenly bodies set a shining example; they move along their pre-ordained orbits, not self-willed, but in unison with a higher law. Medhā is akin to G math (remember, memorize). The instructor draws geometric figures on the blackboard, and explains the measurements; to remember the lesson, and memorize the mensuration, is the first step in math-ematics. The lessons of Mazdaism

pp (past participle) R(ussian) Ro(mance) RV(Rig Veda)

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are mathematically correct ; let us memorize their spirit day by day, be true in thought, word and deed, and never defy the immutable law of asha !

Breath (as-u) and blood (as-an) constitute vitality. Hence II **as-ti** (he has breath and being; he "is"). Cognate forms are **G** and **Li esti**, **L** and **Fest**, and **OR yesti**; initial "e" is more archaic than II "a." As four and five were suggested by cows' feet and by fingers, so the auxiliary "is" by the breath in our lungs and the blood in our veins. Medieval schoolmen coined from **L esse** (to be) an expression for Being, viz. "essence", the reality of things. Essence, "that which is", is identical with **asura**, **Av ahura**. Faith transubstantiates all things to their unmanifest state, to **ahura-hood** or essence. **Ahura** is the breath of our life, our heart's blood and very being. His Holy Name recurs in Gothic **anses** and **ON aesir** (gods); the genitive plural of **OGe os** (god) is **osna**. **Os-wald** means "God wields; **Ahura** is my strength!" Discrimination is the rainbow bridge which leads from semblance to substance, from this world of shadows to the radiant gods. The pagan Germans fancied that the gay-tinted rainbow is a "bridge of the gods", and named one of their oldest and quaintest cities **Osna-bruck**.

### 30. GOD IN ENGLAND AND RUSSIA.

Fear of nature's destructive aspects, and the wish to propitiate the hostile elements, seem to underlie the earliest observable phenomena of religion. When the lightning flashed, the thunder clapped, and black monster-clouds obscured the sky; when an eclipse threatened to swallow sun or moon, as a prairie wolf might devour a shepherd's pet lamb; when blizzard or hurricane swept over the nomadic tent-settlements; when the swollen streams flooded the luxuriant grassland, II wizards would mutter weird incantations to charm the howling spirits by whom the whole creation, insensate as well as animate, was believed to be possessed. The spirit-conjurer (hotar) chanted invocations, mantras, in order to scatter the foul fiends of drought, famine and plague from the stricken land, or to banish the demon of disease from broken limb and leprous skin.

Hotar, Av zaotar, means literally "invoker", and hūtam, originally \*ghū-tom, is that "which is invoked" with

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magic spells ; the dread spirit-world ! Ghūtom, with the accent on the o, corresponds, letter by letter, to " God " who is formally a pp neuter like hūtam. " Let your light shine on us, dispel dark demons ! " was a hūti or invocation with which the deva-hū or mantra-chanter " called " on the devas. In the RV, hotars are leading priests who chant sacrificial prayers.

Anglo-Saxon lords, as the word indicates, were hlaf-ords or loaf-warders ; they doled out the daily bread to their tenants and retainers. The Hindu dampati did exactly the same ; each member of the joint-household " received " (ac ; pp ashta) his proper share. As the house-father appoints and apportions the food-supply, so the Heavenly Father dispenses and disposes of each man's destiny. " Apportion, dispense " is " nem " or " dai " in G, and " bhaj " in S. All three verbs have leapt from a concrete to an abstract meaning, from food to fate.

Nemos and nemesis are G words. Nem-os is a plot of grass-land, apportioned to vagrant graziers ; nem-esis (settled portion ; deserved fate) developed to nom-os (retributive justice ; law). Eco-nomy means " domestic law ". L kin are Num-a, the first legislator of Rome, and num-erals or figures in their lawful place, in arithmetic order. Ge nim-m (take your portion !) is an imperative.

G dai-s (meal, portion) is connected with S day (apportion). Fair fortune and ill luck, personal gifts and defects, are our dai-mon or human lot which is sure to turn to a demon or evil spirit if we foolishly rebel against our allotted fate.

The pp of bhaj (allot) is bhakta, Av baht ; -aht sounds guttural as in Ge n-acht (night). In the II belief, babes are not so innocent as they look ; they are born according to past doings and desert ; each with a bhaga or individual lot and luck. The " allotter " counsels Arjun in the Song of Destiny (Bhagavad Gītā) to take up his cross, and do his appointed duty ; this is bhakti (service and devotion) ! Av bagha, OP бага and Thracian bag (hellenized to bagaios), express destiny and Deity, the divine disposer of life and death, of fortune and failure, since all things are preordained and pre-established ere they come to pass, depending like flowers on their quality of seed. The Zoroastrian term for predestined fate or dispensation of pro-

pp (past participle) R(ussian) Ro(mance) RV(Rig Veda)

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vidence is bagha-baht, "dispensed by the dispenser". Providence guided an Iranian band of aristocrats to the Tigris shores where they settled by divine command. They named the new site Bagho-dât, "set up by Bagha"; alien mosques have long supplanted the ancient fire-temples of Bag-dad. Western relations of bh i j (allo.) are G fag-ein (to get one's share, to eat), and E buckwheat and beech-nuts, the one being food, and the other fodder. More important is the equation of OP baga and R bog; both words mean "God." The first and last champion of Indo-Europeanism, A past and future, each with an inbred faith in the disposer of the destinies of nations! Iran and Russia share the same word to express his Holy Name. Outside the fire-circles of Bombay, Mazdaism is nowhere better understood, and more clearly interpreted, than in R universities. Ge pundits plunge deep intellectually, but R rshis or seers soar aloft. They revitalize the tradition-dimmed spirit of Zerdosht, and R recasts always vibrate rhythmically to modern social problems! Part 7 mentions byel (white, light). Byelbog, the sacred light, was indeed "holy" (Av spenta, BS svent) to the pagan Slavs; they adored Byelbog as Sventovit, just as Catholic sailors praise Mary, the jewel in the skies, as Stella Maris or Star of the Sea.

### 31. THE SACRED LIGHT.

Magic and runecraft (God) are the N bedrock of the Holy Name ; fatalism (Bog) is its S1 foundation. What is the root-idea of God in L and Ro (deus, F dieu) ?

The vocative of div (daylight, skylight) is dyau, o sacred light! L relatives are dies (day) and deus (god of light) with the more general sense of "God"; F dieu and Italian dio. "Adieu" is ultimately a commendation to the adorable light and its divine source. Similar are the words for God in OI(de), ON(ty; plural tivar) and OE (tiw or tiu).

Aryans are children of light. During matin prayers, the sun-gazers in Hindustan turned their faces east to the rising orb. The south of India lay "to their right," dakshin, and was termed the Dekhan. The IC forms are L dexter (right-handed, dexterous) and OI deas (to the right; south). The pious sires watched for the dawning light, and prayed: Dyau-pitar, Father

Li(thuanian) N(ordic) O(ld) ON(Old Norse) OS(Old  
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Sky! our Father which art in Heaven! Iran perverted deva to div or devil; hence Dyaupitar, like brahmin and agni, is absent from the Av vocabulary. But the V invocation recurs in the L vocative Ju-piter (Father Sky), petrified to Father Jove. The Homeric vocative Zeu-pater (Fatherly Light, Kindly Light) was also conventionalized to Father "Zeus." Learning consists in a mass of traditional formulas which deaden rather than quicken our judgment; the critical spirit of science has to clear the intellectual atmosphere from age to age, in order to touch the very groundwork of human thought. The names by which the pagan E and I adored the kindly light were Father Tiu (still preserved in Tue's-day) and Dag De-athir (good Father Sky), clipt to Dagde (le bon dieu).

The Slavs worshiped Sventovit, and the Lithuanians "Ugnis Svent," again the Sacred Light; see part 12. Ugnis is identical with R ogon, North E ingle, L ignis and S agni, the agile element. Ignis never transcended the physical sense; ignite means "to set afire." But every N land paid divine honors to the ingleside or fireside. Ingeborg (fire-shielded) is quite a common name among Swedish girls. Ingol-stadt in Bavaria and Ingham in England were ancient sites of fire-temples like Ādarbaijan. The A conquerors of Iran were grouped in lords spiritual and temporal, fire-priests (āthravan) and car-warriors (rathaeshtār). The Anglo-Saxons also consisted of a powerful hierarchy and a military caste, defenders of the ingle-faith and of the land; even now the initials of ingle and England sound alike. Originally the Angles were fire-devotees, whereas the Saxon nobles excelled as swordsmen. L sax-(stone) is derived from sec-(cut; hence inter-sec-t or cut asunder). The N sax was a stone-sword, as hammers were stone-malls; both words were coined in the Age of Stone.

Father Sky and Mother Earth, the pure ethereal flame and the prolific mother, matrix and womb of a wanton and wilful creation! Adoration of the Sacred Light is an A article of faith; earth-cult and the concomitant phallus-worship are alien intruders. Lower tribes were subjugated and incorporated in the A polity, but their vile sex-sorcery could not be stamped out altogether; it was certainly refined and uplifted by contact with Aryanism. Mythology mated Father Sky to Mother Earth, R matka zemlia, OE folde moder, G de-meter, S mahā

pp. (past participle) R(ussian) Ro(mance) RV(Rig Veda)

S(anskrit) Sl(avic) V(edic)

**ambā** (the great mother). In the seventeenth century, Malabar pirates, cruising in palvas or galleys, forced a nau-bandhan (landing) at Bombay, on Malabar Hill and what was called "Kuli beach" or Colaba. Palva-bandhan was debased to "Apollo Bunder" where the dread sea-robbers, with gruesome rites, offered human sacrifice to the Great Mother. Blood and witchcraft were to propitiate the Dread Power which is productive of medicinal and poisonous herbage, of sanity and sickness, of benign and malignant spirits. The place where the Dravidian corsairs invoked Mahā Ambā was known as Mumba, further corrupted, if the tradition be correct, by punning buccaneers from Lisbon to Bom-bahia which means "good harbor" in the Portuguese language. From Bombahia to Bombay it is but a short step of the glib tongue. The Dravid-speaking Dekhan bears an A name, but beautiful Bombay, though A-speaking, is a Kuli word, ill-handled by Lusian sailors! Others connect the "Gateway of India" with bombax which means cotton in Low L.

## 32. METAPHYSICS.

“One” is a metaphysical number. Unity is no rudimentary notion, but a philosophical concept. All A languages employ the same word for the series “two to ten,” but have no common vocable for “one” which was evidently coined independently after the racial rift and break-up of the A mother-tongue. Agriculturists do not cultivate adwait; oneness does not belong to the raw empiricism of cattle-deals, but to the reflective age of critical reason. In the highest meditation, mind and senses stop all activity; in the vision of unity the body turns rigid and motionless like a lifeless corpse. The multiform universe rolls away from a supernormal consciousness which is no longer dissipated and scattered over a thousand things and thoughts, but intensely concentrated, and almost merged in the all-enfolding One. In a superconscious state, subject and object, seer and seen, become one, the One without a second. A higher plane of being is attained than this short-sighted shadow-world and dream-reality can offer.

The ideas of "thousand" and "one," quantitative and qualitative infinitude, never entered the A mind in the vast prairies east and west of Matushka Volga. "One" was a choice afterthought. Sim-ilar (alike), a word of L origin, and "one and the same" recur in S \*sm-krt, sakrt (on one occasion, once)

Li(thuanian) N(ordic) O(ld) ON(Old Norse) OS(Old  
Slavic) P(ersian)

and the G feminine \*sm-ia, mia (one). Other languages form "one" from the demonstrative pronoun "i" (there ! pointing to an object as it were ; compare E "it") which in II is modified to e and ae. E-ka and Av ae-va signify "one." F u-n and Ge ei-n express the Infinite (one) as well as the indefinite (an) ; un chien, ein hund, mean both "a dog" and "one dog." E-ka, ae-va, o-ne, have each a different suffix ; moreover, they vary radically from their ordinals and multiples which, in the case of other numbers, are the offspring of cardinals. Dwis (twice) and dwitiya (second) are derived from dwi (two) ; tris (thrice) and tṛtiya (third) from tri(three), and so on. But eka(one) differs entirely from prathama (foremost, first) and sakṛt (once). "One," the sun and centre of all figures, is the smallest number, and at the same time the big and boundless, all-embracing One!

Since the system of Vedānt has a V background, it is apposite to enquire into the origin of the S word. Veda is a transcendental term with a most romantic and chequered history. Some biographical sketch of self-made men may contain the story of a poor lad who sold newspapers in the streets of New York, and rose to be President of the U. S. Hindu doctors are prone to associate veda (wisdom) with the healer's art, since a vaidya is a medical man. But all this is modern information, the presidential aspect of the Veda. Where does the newsvender come in, the caveman who handled the word ages before the scientist and the sage ?

Current vocables constantly change their appearance, vitality and significance like the rest of the organic world. That is why Volapuk and Esperanto are still-born. The Biology of Words endeavors to disengage the tangled relations between conceptions which differ as widely as hostility and hospitality, or witchcraft and idealism. "Truth," "virtue," "logic," all abstract terms, rest on a lower concrete stratum which has to be unearthed, before the upper layer of language can be historically understood. The traditional interpretation of A as "noble" or "stanch" is unsatisfactory, because blue blood and loyalty are not basic notions, but much later developments of thought. Semantics provides a more rudimentary definition of such hoary words as A and Veda. In the Age of Stone, our ancestry dwelt in mud-huts and subterranean caverns. Their daily work was to push and pull, tear and tread, dig and rub, kick and knock,

pp (past participle) R(ussian) Ro(mance) RV(Rig Veda)  
 S(anskrit) Sl(avic) V(edic)



split and fell, pound and pierce. Suchlike palaeolithic activities, and no grand notions of loyalty and wisdom, struggled in their awakening minds for rude expression.

Parts 26 and 27 allude to ac (obtain) and L sequer (I follow). L ac-us (a sharp needle) and oc-ulus (the piercing eye; S ak-shi) point to a concreter and more archaic sense of the verb ac, such as "pierce with a stone-tool, force a passage; reach, obtain." Ac-ute (sharp as a needle; Americans say cute) and ac-id (sharp, sour) are of L parentage; edge (a sharp point) is an E relative. The Roman eagle-eye (oculus) pierced every purpose; the N vision "follows" and pursues its aim; see part 20. Again, vidh (to wound) must first have meant "to pierce," say, a deer-skin with a bone-needle. An Av connection is vi-vaedh-a (hit at, came across). "D" is more primitive than "dh"; mad (heal; see part 29) than madh, and vid than vidh. The older unaspirated form is preserved in R vid-at (pierce with a glance: see) and L vid-i (I saw), pp visus. Veda, Av vaeda (I saw: I know) marks a further step in advance; all knowledge rests on sense perceptions! Vid is a most prolific root: vaidya (knower, that is, medicine-man, doctor) and veda (knowledge both magical and medical); G\*vid, id-(to see) and \*voida, oida (I know; Go weisz); OR vyed (knowledge, witchcraft, medical skill) and R vyedat (to know). The co-existence of G id-and oida, and R vidat (see) and vyedat (know), shows the historic wealth of the two languages. Derived from vyedat are vyedenyc (knowledge) and vyedomosti (intelligence, newspaper). E kin are un-wit-tingly (unknowingly), wise (knowing), wizard (magician, sorcerer; OR vyedum) and witch (wise woman; R vyedma). In parts of eastern Prussia where once B was spoken, a wald-graf or wood-ranger is still called waidler (wizard), from the B verb waid-(to know). The high efficiency of Prussian forest academies is largely due to the loving care given to forestry by B waidlers or medyosei, as their official title was; see part 20.

V wisdom culminates in Vedānt, the sudden flash of unity and community on the illumined mind. Plato saw the inner reason or id-*ea* of things at a glance. His idealism, like Cankara's *advait*, never yielded to the cheap realities of middle-class empiricism. The sluggish majority to whom the visible is real, and the unseen a fiction, needs tangible signs and images to

Li(thuanian) N(ordic) O(ld) ON(Old Norse) OS(Old  
Slavic) P(ersian)

come in touch with the world of ideas to which only creative genius is admitted. Ideals were materialized to idols, and spirit to spirits, confined in Hades. \*A-vid-es, Hades, means "invisible." Tilak avers that Hades is a G reminiscence of the long Arctic night, and that tradition metamorphosed gloom and darkness to a netherworld. Anyhow, Hades suggested to Virgil, and Virgil to Dante, the idea of an Inferno.

Vision, a L reflex of veda and idea, is not mundane intelligence, but a direct perception of the essence of things. We often lose sight of essentials by paying overmuch attention to accidentals. E "wit" and "wisdom" also rest less on book-learning than on spontaneous gleams of light and enlightenment. If a man tells me he has seen a ghost, my reason rebels. The test of wisdom is that reason never contradicts wisdom's flights. In this sense, Saadi and Goethe were wise. Systematized "knowledge," Ge wissen, is wissen-schaft or science. Veda, idealism, vision, wissenschaft, wit and wisdom, what a rich harvest of human achievement, no longer moving in dank mountain caves, but on sunlit peaks of loftiest aspiration!

The entire creation is a flash and throb of the Infinite, filmed on the screen of matter; divine reality flushes and blushes over the whole display of nature. Ge scheinen (shine) has evolved to er-scheinen (shine forth: appear, be manifest); S bhā (shine) to bhū (appear, become). Bhānu is sunshine, and bhūmi the world of appearances, the earth. In Av all these words begin with b instead of bh. G pha-os (the light) is the parent of Phoe-bus (sunlight, sungod) and phe-nomenon (shining forth: appearance; Ge er-scheinung); phy-sis (appearances, nature) is the source of "physical" (natural). Physis has been latinized to "nature," that is, "natal" or "nascent" life. What enters the world has to depart again, nascent things are potentially senescent and evanescent, but their ingrained substance abides. Derived from L fā-ri (blaze forth, rush into expression: speak) is fa-te (uttered, decreed, pre-ordained); the fabled fays or fairies personify fate, and weave the thread of life out of prenatal actions. Other kinsfolk of bhā are L fu-it (appeared, was; F fut) and fu-ture (what is to be); E bo-nes (shining, bleached; Ge ge-bei-ne) and be (appear, exist); Ge bonen (make shine, polish) and bin (appear, am); R byel-(white) and byelit (to bleach). The B Sea conjures up "sparkling" waves.

pp (past participle) R(ussian) Ro(mance) RV(Rig Veda)  
S(anskrit) Sl(avic) V(edic)

Wisdom, jñān, is able to discriminate between appearance and reality, shadow and substance, semblance and essence, the seen and the unseen. Jñān is certainly a metaphysical term, and deserves analysis. Offspring of jan (generate) are jñā (generate thought, have a productive mind) and jñān (creative ideas; the spark of intuition). Receptive and retentive intellects may laboriously acquire a mass of knowledge, but jñān, superior to learning, is inbred wit and wisdom. The mundane stage on which we act resembles a big fancy-dress ball where the jñāni or true knower intuitively spots the Infinite masquerading as the finite, the Impersonal disguised in a thousand forms impersonating their various parts in life. Av zan (beget, bear ; know) is the source of Pehlevi zand (knowledge : critical interpretation of Av texts). Scholars of the last century called the Av language Zend. Hindus still cherish the fancy that the A race originated in India, and that S is the archetype of A speech. Both theories are long exploded in western universities. In the vicinity of Riga, Li peasants utter vowel-sounds, more archaic than their congeners in the R.V. and the word-swing of the delightful dainos or B folk-songs is quite as ancient as R̥g or Gāthā rhythms. Again, initial g has been shunted on an II side-track (j, Av z). The G equivalent of jñān is gnosis ; a-gnostics ignore the spiritual basis of the universe. Jñān and zand bear debased initials ; normal is the g in G gnostic and L genius ; Romans pronounced gen- as the last syllable in a-gain. The fire of genius cleanses and refines-individual effort ; gnostics calmly contemplate the dream of mortality under an eternal angle. Other relatives of jan are gen-erate (produce, create) and i-gn-orant (not knowing, nescient), both of L origin ; Lowland Scotch ken (E know ; Ge kennen) and R zn-at (know) which is phonetically decayed life Av zan.

All of us have an outer "appearance" and an inner "being" (Ge wesen), the essence of our moral character. Wesen is our true and enduring self; Ge wahr, wesen-like, means "true." Related are L ver-us (true; F vrai) and R vvera (verity, i.e., faith). The godman has vivid visions of the Infinite, and realizes immortality. Worldlings can only perceive the ever-shifting relations of things, but the gnostic sees Sat, the thing itself, and is the true seer. All Upanishads begin with the benison Om Tat Sat! remember that "which is," and which you are in truth! You are neither mind nor body, but their inner

Li(thuanian) N(ordic) O(ld) ON(Old Norse) OS(Old  
Slavic) P(ersian)

idea, a guide and witness of your brain and flesh ! Sat, the ever-present One, is a neuter ; the accusative masculine is santam, Av hentem. Zerdosht praised âtrem hentem, perpetual fire, the first-born of asha. Through âtar we are led to Asha, through cakti (creative energy) to Sat, through sonship (dependence on a higher will) to the Father. Appearances are deceptive, but Sat is satya, Being is truth!

### 33 MORALS AND MUSIC.

Morality stands on truth ; asha which establishes social order is the link between morals and metaphysics. The pp of r (run) is rta, the "run" of things in a well-ordered community where the divine plan is manifest in upright conduct. Rta is OP arta, and Av asha. Artaxerxes signifies "giving dominion to Mazdaist law", and Artatama, the name of a Cappadocian chieftain in the second millennium B.C., means "most excellent in arta". An immutable law governs the course of planets and the flight of birds, the growth of bud and babe, and the discipline of human institutions. There is an O Ge prophecy that muspilli, a universal conflagration, will consume the earth, should it get out of order, and spurn the Will Divine.

Cosmic order is "set by God", Av mazda-dhâta, but trade agreements and other man-made contracts are hwa-dhâta, self-set. Swa-dhâ is customary law and self-determination. In ancient India, village communities had self-government, and home industries flourished. Swa-dhâ which shares the first syllable with swa-sar (sister) has been compared to e-thics, a G derivative, and to Ge si-tte (manners and morals ; OE si-du). "Nest" is the only known example of a prefixed verbal noun, found in cognate tongues both east and west, but pan-A compounds are less rare, though by no means common : dampati, dyaupitar, vicpati, cwacur, saptarshi and swadhâ !

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Plato wanted to raise ideal citizens for his Republic of Justice. The philosopher founded an Academy at Athens. Music as taught in the Platonic Academy was necessarily moral. The muses are chaste goddesses, and soft melodies which pamper

pp (past participle) R(ussian) Ro(mance) RV(Rig Veda)  
 S(anskrit) Sl(avic) V(edic)

the senses were prohibited by Plato. The word "music" had then a wider meaning; paintings and sculpture, all fine arts exhibited in museums, are inspired by the muses. Parts 2, 21 and 29 deal with mā (measure) and man (take mental measure, be mindful, size up in thought). The ramification of the two-forked root includes man-tra (uttered in me-tre; rhythmic spell) and muni (mindful of divine things, the silent sage). An Iranian seer whose name occurs in the RV was Manadhātār; he "set his mind" on Mazda, and cultivated medhā or devout concentration. Mentality (Av mainyu) may be pious (spenta) or godless (aīra). Two dispositions, angelic and diabolic, fight in our souls; we have to choose between the Holy Spirit and Ahriman! Reason controls passion in "rational" beings; that is the meaning of man-hood or mind. Min-erva is the Roman goddess of wisdom, and the \*mun-yai or muses, the sacred nine, preside over higher thought, the rhythmic works of genius.

Art was synthetic in ancient Greece and India. To vāṇa airs, priestly choristers trod the sacred measure, and chanted Ṛg mantras or metres. Ṛch, changed to ṛg before the letter v, means "splendor", and is related to ṛksha, the "resplendent" polar bear. The "Veda of a thousand songs" flashes like sparkling gems or gleaming blades, although dance and music, the rhythmic essentials of the RV, have been irretrievably lost in the lapse of millenniums. The Moscow Arts Theatre, inspired by Schiller's Homage to the Arts, has reconstructed, with rare skill, the synthesis of the Athenian stage; let us hope that a R Sanskritist will also recast the Reigen-weisheit as the RV is called in Ge. The vāṇa was a sylvan reed or woodland pipe, possibly a flute with seven finger-holes; anyhow, much more archaic than the seven-stringed vīṇā or lute. Vāṇa, gāṭha and nāṭha; music, song and dance, blended in perfect unison at sacrificial celebrations. Nāṭha means dancing and acting; nāṭhaka is a dancer and an actor, and a drama too. The earliest Hindu plays were yā-tras or religious processions; the word is related to yea-r (procession of time; see part 17).

Gr-ām (village) has been explained as a con-gr-egation of graziers in part 19. Prakrit "gām" means an aggregate of notes; the Indian music-scale is the parent of our "gamut" or tone-ladder. The seven basic notes of the gamut chime in concord like soft rainbow tints or the bright stars of the Great

Li(thuanian) N(ordic) O(ld) ON(Old Norse) OS(Old  
Slavic) P(ersian)

Bear. The second note was known as *rshabha*, strong as a "bull", the fourth as *madhyamā* or middle, and the next as *pāṇchamā* or fifth. The three were shortened by Hindu musicians to "r, ma, pa". In Iran, both sequence and syllable were altered; "re, mi, fa" refer to notes 2,3, 4. The old S clippings, "ut re mi fa sol la si", are still in use in music conservatories all over the world. The word *gamut* (*gām*) and the adoption of several Semitic instruments suggest migratory melodies, created in Asia. Hebrew drummers first beat the *tambourine*; *kettledrum* (*S dundubhi*) and *bagpipe* originated in Babylon. But Semitic music was, at best, a springboard for A instrumentation; Jerusalem and Niniveh never listened to the divine harmonies of a Bach or Beethoven.

### 34. THE "ROMANCE OF WORDS" IN SCHOOLS.

The Old Philology deals with phonetic laws which govern the change of sounds in Indo-European speech. Without a knowledge of phonology, and the historic setting of cultural words, Semantics is like a house built on sand. It is the function of Semasiology to determine, often tentatively, but always guided by the results of phonetic and historic research, how words have attained their present meaning. For example, it was an old II custom, before stables existed, to tie cattle with cords to poles. The derivation of Av *pasu* (cattle) from *pas* (bind), "u" being a formative suffix, is perfectly justified, unless a more convincing etymology can be given.

The Government Research Lectures on II Philology, delivered in Bombay 1928, and put in literary shape in the foregoing treatise, are a first attempt to gather and arrange a vast mass of scattered material, with the object of placing a handy primer in the hands of instructors, and of arousing a more general interest in the Romance of Words which appeals to the imagination as strongly as to the intellect. As far back as the eighteenth century, the historian of the Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire felt the need of a Semantic Vocabulary.

The time must come when linguistic teaching without Semantics will be considered old-fashioned and incomplete. No Teachers' Training College can afford to disregard the New Philology any longer. Even village schools will recognize, after a first trial, that

pp (past participle) R(ussian) Ro(mance) RV(Rig Veda)  
 S(anskrit) Sl(avic) V(edic)

Vernacular Semantics stimulates the judgment, and enriches the fancy of peasant-lads. The great universities of Bombay, Calcutta and Madras should make haste to offer courses on Comparative Semantics. But a note of warning must be sounded. Let rash enthusiasts beware of pitfalls! Unless they are well-grounded in A Phonetics, it is unprofitable to teach the New Philology. The author hopes that his unpretentious "guide" will be widely read and reviewed, in order to pave the way for a more systematic and comprehensive textbook on A Semantics.

SRINAGAR, KASHMIR,

AUGUST 1928.

# A PETITION IN PERSIAN VERSE, BY DASTUR KAIKOBAD OF NAOSARI TO EMPEROR JAHANGIR.\*

A STUDY.

BY DR. JIVANJI JAMSHEDJI MODI.

## I.

In my paper, entitled "The Parsees at the Court of Akbar and Dastur Meherjee Rana," read before the Bombay Branch Royal Asiatic Society on 19th December 1901,<sup>1</sup> I have referred in the Appendix<sup>2</sup> to the Manuscript of a Persian *Dārāb-nāmah*, copied by Dastur Kaikobad, the son of Meherji Rana, from a MS. of the library of King Akbar. At the end of that reference, I said: "It is said that laudatory poems were composed by Kaikobad in honour of Jahangir and Prince Khurram (afterwards *Shāh-Jehān*), and that he had visited the Mogul Court in the time of Jahangir also. Anyhow this old manuscript (*i.e.*, the MS. of *Dārāb-nāmah*) shows that Kaikobad was versed in Persian, and that he also had visited the Court of Akbar later on."<sup>3</sup>

When I made this statement, I had not seen, the poem, which I then, from what I had heard, called the "laudatory poem" in honour of Jahangir. Since then, the poem came into my hands. Later on, in my paper, entitled "Notes of Anquetil Du Perron (1755-61) on King Akbar and Dastur Meherjee Rānā," read before the B. B. R. A. Society on 13th July 1903, I quoted a few lines from this poem, to support Anquetil's statement.<sup>4</sup> I have now studied the poem and the present paper is the result. The petition was submitted by Kaikobad to Jahangir in his old age, just after being released on account of sickness from prison on substituting his nephew in his place. The

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\* A discourse was delivered on the subject of this paper, at the K. R. Cama Oriental Institute, on 20th August 1928, the occasion of the celebration of the 19th anniversary of the death of Mr. K. R. Cama.

<sup>1</sup> J.B.B.R.A.S., Vol. XXI, No. LVIII, pp. 67-245.

<sup>2</sup> Ibid pp. 239-43. *Vide* my book "The Parsees at the Court of Akbar and Dastur Meherji Rana," pp. 171-75.

<sup>3</sup> Ibid p. 243. Ibid p. 175.

<sup>4</sup> Ibid p. 545. *Vide* my "Parsees at the Court of Akbar" p. 392.



imprisonment was ordered on account of, ~~what~~ was alleged to be, a debt he owed to Government. I propose giving in this paper the Text and Translation of the petition and Notes on the personages, places and events mentioned therein.

The poem is not a laudatory poem, as said by me in 1901 from what I had heard, but a petition in verse. The Poem, not a laudatory poem, but a Petition. An old manuscript of the petition, which bears no colophon to help us to determine its date, and which I have followed to give my Text, bears in a corner, on the right hand side at the top, a heading in Gujarati saying: “પાદશા જહાંગીરની તારીફની બેનો કુશરી i.e., Persian couplets in praise of King Jahangir.” A previous owner of this manuscript seems to have given this heading without entering into all the contents of the manuscript, because the preliminary couplets contain, as in the case of all such writings, the praise of the king to whom the petition is addressed. Such couplets serve the purpose of the address in modern petitions, wherein the names of the dignitaries to whom the writings are addressed, are given with all their titles and designations, and which begin with certain conventional forms of respect. In former times, in the case, not only of petitions, but also in the case of respectful letters, and, at times, even in the case of ordinary letters, the preliminary parts, wherein the persons written to were addressed, were unduly long, containing valedictory statements and adjectives about the addressees. As illustrations of a somewhat similar style of using a number of adjectives, one may point to the preliminary parts of the letters in Persian, written by the Parsee priests of Persia to their co-religionists in India, contained in the Persian Rivayets of the Parsees. In one of such letters, we find about fifty adjectives applied to the Parsees, addressed to, in India.<sup>1</sup> Prof. Jadunath Sarkar says on this subject: “As regards the style of official correspondence, namely letters from the Emperor and despatches and petitions to him, it was highly ornate, prolix, redundant like a legal deed, and

<sup>1</sup> *Vide* the Rivāyat-i Dārāb Hormuzdyār by Ervad M. R. Unwala with my Introduction, Vol. II, p. 471. *Vide* my paper, entitled “ગઈ સદીની પત્રો લખવાની પારસી રીઝીરતિ” (The Epistolary style of the Parsees of the last century, in the Kurrachee Rahnumā (રહનુમા) of September 1927, Vol. II, pp. 233-36). *Vide* the Akbar-nāmah of Abu Fazl (Introduction, Beveridge's Translation, Vol. I, pp. 16-20), wherein the author applies a long list of about 100 appellations and adjectives to Akbar.

superlatively superlative as regards the use of epithets. They all felt bound to follow the vicious style used by Abul Fazl in his letters written on behalf of Akbar. In addition to having this bad model, the *munshis* were also fettered by official convention which fixed the epithets for the princes and his officers beforehand,—sometimes running to six lines of foolscap folio in the case of a ruling sovereign and three lines for a minister".<sup>1</sup> In the case of the petition under examination, there are about 25 couplets in the beginning which speak of the greatness of King Jahangir. So, the owner of the MS., or whoever who wrote the above Gujarati heading, reading these valedictory lines in the beginning, seems to have mistaken the writing for a laudatory poem in honour of Jahangir.

Manuscripts used I have used the following MSS. for the  
for this paper. text, collation and notes of this paper :

1. An old undated manuscript, referred to above, which I name J. S. M. from the fact, that it was kindly presented to me, about 25 years ago, by the late Mr. Jamsetjee Sorabji Dastur Meherji Rāna of Naosari. This MS. is written in a peculiar eccentric way in which some of such old MSS., mostly those meant for temporary purposes, were written. The arrangement of the couplets in each page is as follows :

(a) At first, the hemistiches or the halves of the couplets are written one below another in a line. This column of lines has 5 or 6 couplets.

(b) Then, there are two cross-wise written couplets.

(c) Then again, the couplets are as in (a).

(d) Then again, two cross-wise written couplets, as in (b).

(e) Then again, as in (a) and (c).

(f) Then, two couplets as in (b) and (d).

(g) As in (a), (c), (e).

(h) Two couplets written cross-wise as in (b), (d), (f).

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<sup>1</sup> Jadunath Sarkar's *Moghal Administration*, 2nd ed., p. 228.

The number of couplets on the different pages are as follows :

Page	1	..	..	..	..	30 couplets <sup>1</sup>
	2	..	..	..	..	30
	3	..	..	..	..	27 couplets <sup>2</sup>
	4	..	..	..	..	30
	5	..	..	..	..	32
	6	..	..	..	..	34
	7	..	..	..	..	30
	8	..	..	..	..	30
	9	..	..	..	..	1

2. The second Manuscript is a recent copy in a beautiful hand. It is headed thus in red ink :

احوال دستور کیقباد ماہیار کہ قریب سے ۳ صد سال شدہ در دہلی نژاد  
شاہ جہانگیر رفتہ و در آنجا چندین کار گزاران سرکار بر او ظلم را ندہ  
و بعد از آن بکعب شاہ جہانگیر بکابل رفتہ و از آنجا ہمراہ شاہ باز  
بدہلی آمدہ و احوال خود را بعرضہ نوشتہ شاہ جہانگیر دادہ<sup>3</sup>

*i.e.*, The Account of Dastur Kaikobad Māhyār, who had about 300 years ago gone to Dehli near king Jahangir, who was oppressed by some officials of Government, and who, after that, had gone after<sup>4</sup> Shah Jahangir to Kabul and had come back to Dehli in the company of the king, and, having written his own account in the form of a petition, had given it to King Jahangir.

Below this heading in red ink, we have the following lines in blue ink :

این نقل از اصل کہ پیش دستور ایرجی دستور بہرامجی مہرجی  
رانا باشد کہترین فدوی پوشون نوشیروان بدستخط..... منشی  
محمد اسمعیل آزاد مدرس سرکاری آردو اسکول گرفتہ شود  
موقوف یکم ذی الحجہ سنہ ۱۳۰۵ ہجری مطابق ۱۰ دہم آگست  
سنہ ۱۸۸۸ عیسوی

<sup>1</sup> The second hemistich of the 54th couplet is omitted. It is found in another MS. as سرفراز نمود اکبر پاکتن

<sup>2</sup> The second hemistich of the 79th couplet is attempted to be corrected by another hand in the form of a new line.

<sup>3</sup> The heading is not correct in the matter of the contents, because the oppression was after the return from a visit to Cabul and not before it. Again, the name Behramji is a mistake for Sohrabji (Vide p. 6).

<sup>4</sup> کعب ka'b the heel, the instep. On the heels of, *i.e.*, after.

i.e., this copy was taken, from the original, which must be with Dastur Erachji (son of) Dastur Behramji Meherji Rana, by humble devoted servant, Peshota Noshervan, with the (?)<sup>1</sup> handwriting of Munshi Mahammad Ismail Azad, teacher of the Government Urdu School, written on the first of Zil'-hijja year 1305, corresponding to the 10th of August, year 1888 of Christ.

I will speak of this MS. as D. E. (Dastur Erachjee). This MS. does not contain the first 39 couplets of our text. It begins with the couplet,<sup>2</sup>

سد پنجاه سالان بود عمر تو . . . بهر جشن و شادی بود جان تو

3. I have not been able to find the original MS. referred to in the above heading as belonging to Dastur Erachji, but, on my inquiry about it in the end of December 1927, during my visit of Naosari, Mr. Jahangir Mehta, the Librarian of the Dastur Meherji Rana Library, kindly sent to me a MS. bearing the following heading on the ridge :

نرنگ نرنگدین در پهلوی و فارسی و زیرنگها وغیره بابتها

i.e., the Nirang (ritual) of Nirangdin in Pahlavi and Persian and subjects of Nirang, etc.

This MS. contains, besides the *nirangs*, various subjects. In it on pages 23 to 27, we find 53 couplets, while our MS. contains, in all, 244 couplets. The couplets begin on the 23rd page of this MS. It bears the following heading :

این چند ابیات در وصف جهانگیر شاه ولد اکبر شاه دستور کیقباد  
ولد سایار رانا تصنیف کرده است

i.e., these few couplets in praise of Jehangir Shah, the son of Akbar Shah, are written by Dastur Kaikobad, son of Mahyār Rānā.

1 The first two or three letters being blotted the reading is doubtful. The word seems to be *nāchéz madān*, to express humility.

2 The reason for omitting these preliminary lines seems to be this, that the writer's object was to preserve a record of the work of Kaikobad. So, he did not think it necessary to preserve the preliminary lines of praise.

These 53 couplets end (on pp. 27-28) with the following Note :

تمام شد این ابیات بر کهنه کاغذی نوشته بود آن کهنه کاغذ در  
کتاب خانہ مرحوم دستور کیقبادجی رستمجی بود از آن نقل کردم  
بروز بہرام بمہا فروردین سنہ یکہزار و دو صد و پنجاہ و یک یزد  
چردی کاتب و مالک ایرچ دستور سہرابجی ولد دستور کاوسجی  
سہرجی رانا یزدان بکام باد

*i.e.*, finished. These couplets were written on an old paper. This old paper was in the library of the late Dastur Kaikobadji Rustomji. I made a copy from that, on day Behram, month Farvardin, year one thousand two hundred and fifty-one Yazdazardi. Writer and owner, Erach Dastur Sohrabji, son of Dastur Kavasji Meherji Rāna. May God be as desired.

As seen from the heading, viz., that the couplets are in praise of Shah Jehangir, and, as seen from the fact, that it has only 53 couplets, it seems that the original writer intended to take a copy of only these couplets which are in praise of Jahangir, though, at the end, there are a few couplets referring to Kaikobad's personal matter as narrated in the longer poem. I will speak of this MS. as M. L. (Meherji Rāna Library). For the Text of my work, I have followed the first old MS. J. S. M. I give the collations in the footnotes of my Translations. I have numbered the couplets to enable the reader to follow the translation.

The importance of the Petition lies, among other things, in the fact, that it illustrates several special characteristics of the Moghul administration.

It strikes one, why should Kaikobad make his petition in verse, and that again, in about 244 couplets.

Why a Petition in Verse. The reason seems to be that he wanted to catch the eyes of the king. Perhaps, a number of petitions of this kind went before the king every week or so. So, in order to attract the special attention of the king, he submitted his case in verse. His case was brief, viz., that he was represented as owing a sum of money to the State, in the matter of the Desāiship of Naosari and Parchol, conferred upon him by the king, and that, not being able to pay it off, he was sent to prison, from which he prayed to be released. To make his petition effective, he narrated some past events of his and his father's times, wherein they had come into some contact, both with Akbar and Jahangir.

In his praise of the king in the preliminary part of his address, he refers to the ancient Iranian kings, like Jamshed and Faridun.

The importance of the petition, as a historical document, is two-fold : (1) Firstly, it illustrates some

The Importance of the document. traits of the old Mogul administration. For example : (a) Various state officers, away from the court, had a person in the court known as *Vasileh*, who reminded the king or the proper authorities, now and then, of the officers' desires. (b) No sooner did a great officer die, then an officer from the court of the king went to take an inventory of his property and to take possession of it.

2. Secondly, the document throws fresh light, not only upon the lives of two great Dasturs of the Parsee community, but also upon the general condition of the community in the matter of the works of its members.

## II.

### Text.

که شاه جهانگیر شد خسروان .: تو خوش باد جاوید روشن روان  
 خدای جهان کرد جهانگیر شاه .: که شاه جهان از تو گیرد پناه  
 که شاهان ز مغرب که تا مشرق اند .: که با تاج بدرگاه تو سر نهند  
 نباشد که چون تو شد داد گر .: ترا کرد دادار بازیب و فر  
 که زبید ز تو تاج و تخت و کلاه .: تو هستی شد پاک زیبای ماه  
 جهان جهان هست که چون اختران .: تو روشن چو خورشید شاه در آن  
 بزرگان شاهان روی زمین .: سراسر بتو میکنند آفرین  
 که بر تخت هستی تو فرخنده پی .: که نامت بماند چو شاهان کی  
 خجسته بتو باد درفش کیان .: که چون بود جمشید نشان جهان  
 ترا باد فرخ کیانی کلاه .: چنانچه بفرخ فریدون شاه  
 بکن ناز بر تخت شاه زمین .: ترا باد پناه جهان آفرین  
 هم تاجداران بدرگاه تو .: هم سجده بکنند بتو پاکرو  
 که در داد دادن چو نوشیروان .: بعضی تو ندیدم سر خسروان  
 نهوایی تو آزار خلق از کسی .: که خلق از تو گیرند آرام بسی

- ۱۵ بوی گوی نیکی بهوگان راد .: خدای جهان از تو خشنود باد  
هم نام نیکی بنام تو باد .: که نقش عدالت نگین تو باد  
که جرس عدالت چنان صوت کرد .: نمائند بگیتی کس آزار مره  
که چون شاه عادل بود در جهان .: زبردست نسازد ستم بر کهان  
چنان نست بر عدل سعی تو بیش .: بیکجا خورد آب با گرگ میش
- ۲۰ هوانگه چو شاه بود با خبر .: که ظالم نشازد کسی را ضرر  
که نام تو روشن چو خورشید و ماه .: تو هستی همیشه غریبان پناه  
که خوش طالع شاه اکبر کامگار .: که قائم مقامش چو تو نامدار  
زوی بخت خلقان که در سایه تو .: آسایش نمایند ز تو پاک خو  
دعا میکنندت بروز و شبان .: تو هستی خلق خدا پاسبان
- ۲۵ ترا باد جاوید سائر و بون .: عدوی تو بادا هم سرنگون  
دعا و ثنا گوی تو کیقباد .: که بر تخت جاوید تو شاد باد  
خانم زاد شاه قدیم پدر غلام .: که پرورده شاه اکبر نیکنام  
که در سایه لطف خود آن پادشاه .: نوازید مارا در این بارگاه  
دو سه خدمتی کرد عنایت بمن .: سرفراز نمود اکبر پاک تن
- ۳۰ مدد معاش سیصد بیهکم کردوداد .: خدایا که در جنت او شاد باد  
بهشت برین باد سواوی او .: خدایا تو بخشی بروح پاک او  
توای شاه جهانگیرشهم نیکنام .: مواضع به بخش باین پدر غلام  
سواوی آن سیصد بیهکمی پاکرای .: که بخشی مواضع تو کشور کشای  
چو بخشد مواضع شه پاک و تیز .: که نام تو ماند که تا رستخیز
- ۳۵ میان هم پارسی این غلام .: سرفراز گردد ز تو نیکنام  
که در پارسیان عزت من بسی .: شود از شه پاک چون ماه وشی  
بآتشکده روز و شب آفرین .: نمایم بشه پاک شاه زمین  
از آن عرض کردم بشاه شهان .: تو بخشنده هستی شه مهربان  
همیشه ترا رود ورامش بهار .: هم خوردنی تو بود خوشگوار

- ۴۰ سه پنجاه سالان بود عمر تو .: هم جشن وشادی بود جان تو  
 ترا جلودان باد ایزدان پناه .: بکام تو گرداد خورشید و ماه  
 التماس نمایم .: بایستادگان .: به پای سریر شه آزادگان  
 که در خاطر پاک روشن روان .: که آید حقیقت ازین ناتوان  
 حقیقت چنانست شه لیکبخت .: کنم عرض خود پیش خسرو به تخت
- ۴۵ که چون شاه اکبر عرش آشیان .: نمود عزم صورت شه رامتان  
 که تشریف مبارک بسورت چوشاه .: ارزانی فرمودند عالم پناه  
 چهل و هشت سلمه که شد آزمان .: گرفتند صورت شه کامران  
 مرا پدر بد ماه یار بنام .: ملازمت او کرد بشهر نیکنام  
 چو آمد بدرگاه شاه زمین .: که سجده نمود و بکرد آفرین
- ۵۰ فراوان نوازش برو کرد شاه .: بهر رسید بسیار از دین و راه  
 بخدمت سعادت شهر نامدار .: با گره بیاورد شهر کامگار  
 اگوچه که او بود پیر ناتوان .: که در پای تخت شهر شد چون جوان  
 که با پدر همراه بود این غلام .: رکاب سعادت شهر نیکنام  
 1 دو سه خدمت کرد عنایت بمن .: سرفراز نمود اکبر پاک تن
- ۵۵ مران خدمت شد تغیر از غلام .: حسابس بد دفتر سپردم تمام  
 یکی تحویل بیت بوقت گذر .: عنایت نمود اکبر نامور  
 که چون شاه حضرت عرش آشیان .: برفتند بخت شهر راستان  
 که بر تخت شاهی گیان نیکبخت .: نشستم جهانگیر خداوند بخت  
 زرا از زکات ولایت تمام .: هم را تو بخشید شهر نیکنام
- ۶۰ که آن خدمت هم تغیر شد زمن .: ندادند دگر خدمت کسی بمن  
 کزان حاصل جود بد که در پیش من .: بجز آن مهرم شهر پاک تن  
 ز درگاه عالی عرش اشتباه .: توقع چنان بد مرا بی شباه  
 سرفراز سازد بمنصب چنان .: نوازش کند شهر مرا بیگمان  
 درینوقت هرکس که از دین پناه .: بمنصب سرفراز گشتند و جاه

<sup>1</sup> The second line is not given in our MS. The couplet is the same as couplet 29 where the second line runs as—

سرفراز نمود اکبر پاکتن

The copyist, already finding the couplet above in couplet 29, seems to have been doubtful, and so left the couplet incomplete. But it seems to be at its proper place in both the couplets.



۶۵ نا آمیدد بجز این غلام هیچ کس .: نگشتند ز درگاه فردوس رس  
 کسی خدمتی هم ندادند بمن .: که بپسکم شاه کیان پاکتن  
 که خدمت شهر پاک نمودم بسی .: ندادند علوه بما هیچ کسی  
 که چون شاه جهانگیر سرسروان .: که الغار نمود باسپاه گران  
 بدنبال خسرو چنان شیدوش .: الغار نمودند شهر تاج بخش

۷۰ غلام هم که درپای نشت کیان .: بخدمت که بودست بسته میان  
 شکاری که دست بدست نیکنام .: بکردند بگیرچپاک نندن مقام  
 غلامت نه پای بود آزمون .: بخدمت شهر پاک و روشن روان  
 که تشریف مبارک بکابل چو شاه .: ارزانی فرمودند با نشتگاه  
 غلامت بکابل که بدوقت آن .: که درپای سریر شه آزادگان

۷۵ دگر ده نفر پارسی بدُ بما .: بخدمت شهر پاک کشیدیم جفا  
 جلودار قرّاش سایش همچنان .: که بودند بخدمت شهر نوجوان  
 دو اسب و شتر هم که بدُ پیش من .: بخدمت شهر پاک پاکیزه تن  
 بهرجا رکابت که بدُ حاضرین .: بشاهی کیان پاک بود آفرین  
 که در راه کابل یکی جای مست .: بیگویند نیمه و را نیکبخت

۸۰ کهانی چنان بود بالا بسی .: برفتن که عاجز شدند هرکسی  
 در آنجا شتری نشسته از فقیر .: در آندم شهر پاک روشن ضمیر  
 که تشریف مبارک در آنجا یگاه .: ارزانی فرمودند زیبای شاه  
 زبان مبارک شهر نیک نام .: بپرسید بسیار لطف تمام  
 فرمودند شعر این نشسته ز نو .: بیارند گز عقب آهسته نیکو

۸۵ احوال بپرسید شهر نیکنام .: همه عرض خود کرد این پدرفلام  
 که بود آنچه احوال من آزمون .: القماس نمودم بصاحب قران  
 نوازش بسی کرد بر ناتوان .: که در باب من شهر خسروان  
 حکم صادر شد که خدمت نیکو .: عنایت فرمایم که در باب تو  
 وسیله نبود آنکسی نیکوای .: که یادی نماید شهر پاکوای

- ۹۰ فقیرم نتواند به نزدیک شاه : عرض میکند پیش جهانبان پناه  
 سراسر که خدمت ازین پیر غلام : که بر باد شد از بخت بد ما تمام  
 که از کم طالع این فقیر نژد : نهرسید ، از خود تو شاه بلند  
 بمرکار عالی شهر نیکنام : سه ساله علوفه که مانند از غلام  
 ندادند علوفه بما هیچ کس : از آن هیچ نبودى بها دست رس
- ۹۵ فقیر را نه قدرت همچنان : که التماس نماید بشاه قران  
 حسن بیگ بوزات شهر پاک بود : به پیشش التماس علوفه نمود  
 بما گفت علوفه جو دهم بتو : نداری تو خدمت شهر نیکرو  
 تغییر شده خدمت حواله تو بود : که فکر علوفه دیگر کن تو زود  
 بی خدمت شدی تو دهم ترا : چرا تصدیع میکنی تو مرا
- ۱۰۰ چو دیدم مشتخص که دادند جواب : دیگر پیش رفتن ندیدم صواب  
 برانکه چو صاحب سر خسروان : که الغار نمود با سپاهی گران  
 که در خاطر من گذاشته چنین : کجا تا رود پای شاهی زمین  
 تو ارم بپاید بخدمت روان : که در پای سریر شهر خسروان  
 که در لشکر ظفر قرین همچنان : نبود آنکسی آشنائی در آن
- ۱۰۵ که امداد قرض میکند او بما : زبی خرچی ما کشیدیم جفا  
 دو سه فاقه ای شاه کشید این فقیر : نبود آن زمان کس بما دستگیر  
 که از تحویل بیت به پیش این غلام : بقا مانده بود از شهر لاکلام  
 دو لک دام بیست و سه هزار دیگر : بقا مانده بود از شهر نامور  
 لا علاج زر پادشاه جهان : تصرف همه شد ازین ناتوان
- ۱۱۰ گرانی غلم بود که در لشکرت : از آن جهت همه شد تصرف زرت  
 در آنوقت روپیه که فی بود چنان : شصت و چهار تنگم که شد آنزمان  
 که آن پول سیاه را روپیه فقیر : ابدیاع نمود آن زمان لا گزیر  
 نهمینا روپیه که شد نیکنام : یک هزار و هشت صد که شد آن تمام  
 که در مهم کابل شکای چنان : که نوزده تنگم شد روپیه روان

- ۱۱۵ که دومی تفاوت کمی شد از آن .: ابتیاع مبلغی که شد آن زمان  
 بظانم نبردم زر ای نیکنام .: که در خدمت شاه تصرف تمام  
 یک هزار و هشتصد روپیه که بود .: در رکاب سعادت صرف می نمود  
 که در خاطر من گذشت آنچنان .: که چون آگوه میروند آن زمان  
 مستوفی که باقی بنام فقیر .: بدیوان نوشته ده لا گزیر  
 ۱۲۰ دیوانیان اعظام شاه بلند .: بطلبند ازان ازین مستمند  
 بجهتم زر باقی ما را به بند .: بکنند که در وقت پیری پسند  
 ندارم چنان کس در این جایگاه .: حقیقت التماس کند او بشاه  
 چو زر من ندارم دهم از کجا .: مرا می نمایند از انوقت مژا  
 بترسیدم از بندیخانه چنان .: مبادا نمایند مرا قید در آن  
 ۱۲۵ بجهتم زر باقی فرمان شاه .: که حاصل نمودم از عالم پناه  
 که فرمان دیسایگری را بدن .: عنایت نموده شهر پاک تن  
 زر از حاصل آن دیسایگری .: بیارم بدرگاه نیک اختری  
 که حاصل دوسه ساله یکجایگاه .: جمع کرده بیارم بدرگاه شاه  
 خزانه که حاضر شد نیکنام .: سپارم که آن باقی من تمام  
 ۱۳۰ که جاگیر سالار سپه آن زمان .: عنایت باو کرد شهر خسروان  
 که فرمان سعادت خداوند تخت .: بنزدیک سالار سپه نیک بخت  
 چو بودم به پیشش که دید آن زمان .: بموجب فرمان سعادت نشان  
 پروانه عنایت بمن کرد او .: متصرف پرکنه شدم من ازو  
 دیسایگری از پرکنه دو جا .: قدیم الايام از منوچهر ما  
 ۱۳۵ که آبادی امجد منوچهر که بود .: در ایام خود خدمتی می نمود  
 پرکنه پارچول نوساری دیگر .: منوچهر میکرد بعد از پدر  
 منوچهر را اکبر نامدار .: در رکاب سعادت شهر کامگار  
 به آگوه بیارود شهر نیکنام .: خزانچی خود کرد او را تمام  
 برادر منوچهر نوشیروان .: که او بد خدمت شهر خسروان  
 ۱۴۰ قرابت او هم که آنجا بدند .: بد خدمت شهر پاک یکجا شدند  
 نبود از کسی پارسی آنچنان .: که دیسایگری کند آن زمان  
 در آن پرکنه زتار داران بسی .: زراعت چو رعیت کنند هر کسی

- از آن مردم چله که بودند کلان .: مقدمی میکردند مواضع در آن  
 که از پنج مواضع مقدم بودند .: ابا یکدیگر خود متفق شده  
 ۱۴۵ چو دیدند نبود از ملوچهر کسی .: در اینجا نماید که کاران کسی  
 که از پنج مواضع مقدم که بود .: مواضع همه را قسمت می نمود  
 چو رفتم از اینجا بآنجاگاه .: دخل کردم از حکم و فرمان شاه  
 بموجب فرمان شاه جهان .: تغیر شد مقدم که بودند آن  
 رعایا فراری بملک فرنگ .: از آنجا دیارورده هم بدرنگ  
 ۱۵۰ بهر جا رعایا فراری ندهد .: بخانه خود آمده آبادان شدند  
 نماده از فراری در آنجا کسی .: که شد پرتکه آباد ز رعایا بسی  
 چو جاگیر سالار سپه شد تغیر .: ابو الحسن خواست ز صاحب سرپر  
 عنایت باو کرد شه نیکنام .: که سرکار صورت باو شد تمام  
 که بعد از تغیرش قلیچ خان شدند .: که از جانبش حاکم از عون بودند  
 ۱۵۵ دگر بود میرزا فضل الله بنام .: پسر قلیچ خان حاکم شد تمام  
 مقدمان بیامد که در پیش او .: بجانب خود کرد اورا نکو  
 برشوت که چون خاطرش شد جمع .: دیسایکری کرد مارا منع  
 برشوت ورا کرد از خود چنان .: بیدخل مرا کرد او آفرمان  
 که از رشوت رعایت آن میکند .: نه اندیشه از عاقبت میکند  
 ۱۶۰ بر آنجا که رشوت خوران باشد او .: کجا کار مسکین بود زان نکو  
 همه رشوت خور که بودند پاک .: نه آنرا ترس از خدا هیچ باک  
 چو گیرند رشوت دلش برخدای .: نماده پسندیده ای نیکوای  
 چو صاحب بداند نکو این خبر .: که رشوت کند کار زیرو زبر  
 بر آنکس که رشوت بگیرد نهان .: ازو راضی نیست خدای جهان  
 ۱۶۵ چو فرمان رد کرد که آن بردوان .: خدای جهان داد داد آن زمان  
 یکی کشته شد و دیگری بدیگاه .: که بردو جوان مرگ گشت آن تاه  
 کرامات شاه جهان نیکنام .: در آنجا که ظاهر شد آن تمام  
 بر آنکسی که فرمان شاه زمین .: تغیر کند آنکسی نه یقین  
 برو باه نفرین ز درگاه شاه .: گرفتار گردد بزندان و چاه

- ۱۷۸ فریادی بدرگاه شهر نیکنام :. که از نرس باقی نهم این غلام  
 برای عین مال قلچ خان که مرد :. زدرگاه بیامد عوض بیک ببره  
 درینجا واقعی نویس بد کسی :. برای غلام این بگفت او بسی  
 چو کیقباد باقی که داورد ز شاه :. اورا هم بیارید دراین جایگاه  
 عوض بیک مرا هم بدرگاه شاه :. بیاورده کردند مارا نگاه
- ۱۷۹ که بعد از سپهر شصت و دو این فقیر :. نوشتن چنان بد که باشد اسپر  
 که سه سال باشد غلامت به بلد :. برنج و بسختی که با درد مند  
 که در بند خانه عذابم بستی :. کشیدم که چون من نکشد کسی  
 در آنجا نثاردم شهر نیکنام :. گرسنه بهاندم که نه ماه تمام  
 بجز نثاردم بریان که چیزی دگر :. نثاردم که ای شاه والا گهر  
 ۱ مضمون بهلی نثاردم با سکر :. نثاردم بعضی این نه چیزی دگر
- ۱۸۰ هلاکی وجودم کشد آنچنان :. که گویا نموده که در تن عیان  
 مرا قید کرد آنکسی پاک تن :. که او مهربان شد که در لب من  
 موکلان ما پیش آن نیکنام :. حقیقت عرض کرد از ما تمام  
 که دیدند وجودم نماند بجای :. خلاصی مرا کرد آن نیکوای  
 برادر زاده این بجای فقیر :. که در بندیشانه بگردند اسپر
- ۱۸۱ بهارالخلافت لاهور به بند :. بگردند اورا بهمراه چند  
 پلاهور گرسنه بمیرد که او :. غلام هم گرسنه که در پای تو  
 درینجا بگم من که چون بیکسم :. ز بی خرچی بسیار جفا میکشم  
 ندارم درینجا کسی آشنا :. که امداد خرچی کند او بما  
 فقیه خدمت از شهر پاک دین :. که در ستم پیری که من یالت این
- ۱۹۰ که نقصیر واقع نشد زین غلام :. علونه عوض خرچ نمودم تمام  
 تصور چنان کردم ای نیکوای :. مسئولی علونه معترای می نمای  
 ندانسته بودم که این زر ز من :. بطلبند دیوان شهر پاک تن  
 چو زر من ندارم بهم از کجا :. به بخشد گناه مرا بی سزا  
 اگر زر ندارد بیکس این فقیر :. کجا تا بماند که در بند اسپر

<sup>1</sup> This line is omitted in J. S. M. It is taken from D E.

J. S. M. has بر. Corrected from D E.

۱۹۰. بشب بکلیگوراً که دیله میکنند : برونهره داراز و قفل می وندند.  
 ۱۹۱. اگر حاجت طهارت باشد بسی : فتوانه که جنبد از آنجا کسی  
 ۱۹۲. بشب واکله قفل را بپیکس : همانجا که شان نمایند بسی  
 ۱۹۳. بدریای زندان غرقم چنان : ندارم امیدی برایم از آن  
 ۱۹۴. مگر پای دادار پروردگار : برادر مرا او ازین در کنار  
 ۱۹۵. ایا شا جهانگیر شاه زمان : خلاصی کند او مرا بی گمان  
 ۱۹۶. هر اینجا غلام این بود ببکسی : ندارد بجز شاه پناه هیچ کسی  
 ۱۹۷. زری از زکاتست که درپیش من : به بخشید شهم پاک پاکیزه تن  
 ۱۹۸. زری از زکات ولایت تمام : هم را تو بخشی شهم نیکنام  
 ۱۹۹. کروا اگر در میشود از زکات : هم را تو بخشید شهم پاک ذات  
 ۲۰۰. موامم ببخشید شهم نیکنام : خانه زاده شاه قدیم این غلام  
 ۲۰۱. چه قدر زر این خداوند زور : هر آنجا تو بخشی کروا کروا  
 ۲۰۲. هم روز و شب تو به بخشی بسی : ناامید نگردد ز تو هر کسی  
 ۲۰۳. مرا چون نامید کند شاه دین : تو را روز و شب دعا کنم آفرین  
 ۲۰۴. که چون تو شهم پاک ایزدان پرست : ستم دیدگان بر چون تو یاور است  
 ۲۰۵. که فرمان تو چو تغیر میکنند : چرا بیگسان بر ستم میکنند  
 ۲۰۶. اگر تو نپرسی شهم پا کرای : ستم گر که باشد ستم می نمای  
 ۲۰۷. که داند نپرسند شاه از کسی : بنابر ستم میکنند هر کسی  
 ۲۰۸. مرا داد ده تو شهم پاکتن : بجز شاه ندهد کسی داد من  
 ۲۰۹. هر آنجا که چون تو شهم داد گر : که فرمان تو چون شهم نامور  
 ۲۱۰. چرا میکند آن مقدم تغیر : نترسد ز تو پاک صاحب سیر  
 ۲۱۱. که فرمان عزت ندارد از آن : تغیر میکنند مقدم گرا  
 ۲۱۲. بموجب فرمان شهم نیکنام : که حاصله و بسایگری از غلام  
 ۲۱۳. زری وایی ما که از حکم شاه : از آن میداند تو عالم بیان  
 ۲۱۴. درین باب منعی گزیده دونه آن : بطلبند که در پای نماند

- ۲۴۰ مضامین بگویند که با این فقیر .: چدارند سخن آنکم با این حقیر  
 که در پای تخت شهر نیکوای .: که از نیک و بد هر چه باشد گشای\*  
 چو تقصیر باشد که از هر کسی .: سیاست فرمایند که آنرا بسی  
 دگر بار نکند کسی بد چنان .: همه عبرت گیرند ز فعل بدایی  
 از آنسال که حضرت شهر پاکتن .: که فرمان عنایت نمودند بمن  
 ۲۴۱ تا امروز روپیه دوازده هزار .: جمع شد کزان حاصل ای نامدار  
 بهز این ندارم که جای دیگر .: کز آنجا بدهم زرای نامور  
 ز درگا یکی احدی باید چنان .: نگیرد (۱) زری این از آن مردمان  
 چو احدی بگیرد (۱) زری آن ازو .: سزایش بدید در آنجا نکو  
 سزایش بکنند آنچنان نامدار .: که باقی عمر با شدش یادگار  
 ۲۴۰ دگر بار گستاخ نبود کسی .: چوپیند دگر کسی سزایش بسی  
 که کعباده غلام شهر نیکنام .: نوازش بکن (۲) شا براین پیر غلام  
 که وابسته بامن بسی مردمان .: دعا مینماید بشاه جهان  
 منتظر خلاصی نمایم بسی .: کی آید بگوید خبر خوش کسی  
 بجهنم غلام این همه در فکر .: ن خواب و نه خوردن نه کار دگر  
 ۲۴۱ همه روز و شب آه و افسوس کنان .: برای غلام این شدند مردگان  
 چو شونده خلاصی همه مردمان .: به آتشکده میروند آن زمان  
 بآتشکده روز و شب آفرین .: ترا می نمایند شاه زمین  
 در رحمتی شاه در آن مردمان .: تو بکشاه شاه جهان و مهان  
 اگر شاه به بخشد زر این بها .: خانه زاد قدیمی غلام تو شاه  
 ۲۴۰ سزاوار تو بخش شاه جهان .: تو بداده نوازست شاه شاهان  
 ترا روز رامش بود با خوشی .: که بر تخت کیانی بکن رامش  
 چو جمشید شاه بود عمر تو .: چو فرخ فریدون بود نام تو  
 ترا یار باشد خداوند پاک .: ز دشمن نباشد ترا هیچ باک  
 ترا جاویدان بادا یزدان پناه  
 یکام تو گرداد خورشید و ماه

(1) The reading is a little doubtful in J. S. M. but is clear in D. E.

(2) For شاه. D. E. has شاه.

## III.

## TRANSLATION.

1. O<sup>1</sup> King Jahangir. King of Kings! May you be always happy and possessed of enlightened soul.<sup>2</sup>
2. The Master of the World (i.e., God) made Jahangir a king. The lesser<sup>3</sup> kings<sup>4</sup> take protection from thee.
3. Kings from West upto the East, place (i.e., submit) their crowned heads in your court.<sup>5</sup>
4. There is no king just as you. God has made (i.e., endowed) you with splendour and glory.<sup>6</sup>
5. The crown, throne and tiara, look graceful with you. You are a holy king, worthy of the throne.

<sup>1</sup> The first word *ke* or *kah* is used here, and several times, later on, as an interjection in the sense of "Lo or Behold." In some places, it is well-nigh redundant.

<sup>2</sup> In M.L. the first line runs as :

جهانگیر شاه از جهان آفرین .: همیشه تو خوش باد با آفرین  
i.e., O King Jahangir! May you always be happy with blessings from the Creator of the World.

<sup>3</sup> *Kehān* pl. of *keh*, small.

<sup>4</sup> " *shā* (for *shāh*) a king " (*Steingass*).

<sup>5</sup> M.L. has a following couplet before this

تو کرد ایزد سر سروزان .: بفرمان تو کرد نام آوران  
i.e., God (*Isad*) made you a leader of leaders and placed illustrious persons under your order.

Then the next couplet is given as

جهان آفرین کرد جهانگیر شاه .: که شاه جهان گیرند از تو پناه  
i.e., The Creator of the world made Jahangir a king. The kings of the world take protection from you.

<sup>6</sup> M.L. has *ز مغرب تا مشرق پادشاه .: بدرگاه تو سرنهند پا کلاه*  
i.e., The kings from the West to the East place their heads with their tiaras in your court.

The reference to the Kings of the West seems to be a reference to Persia in the near West, and Portugal and England in the further West where missionaries had come to the Moghal Court.

<sup>7</sup> M.L. has *نشانده چون تو شهر شه دادگر .: تو کرد دادار با زیب و فر*



6. All the kings of the earth are like stars and you are a king, brilliant among them like the Sun and the Moon.<sup>1</sup>
7. All the<sup>2</sup> great<sup>3</sup> kings on the surface of the earth utter blessings upon you.<sup>4</sup>
8. You are auspicious-footed on the throne.<sup>5</sup> Your name will last long like the Kayānian kings.
9. May the Kayānian banner be as auspicious to you, as it was to Jamshed a banner of the world (*i.e.*, the Kayānian banner with Jamshed showed his sovereignty over the whole world.<sup>6</sup>)

<sup>1</sup> Faulty couplet. I have translated according to M.L. which gives :  
شاهان جهانست بهم اختران .: تو روشن چو خورشید و ماه اندران  
or the word 'dar' may be taken separately in the sense of "gain, excellence" (Steingass); or the word may be taken as "durr, pearl".

<sup>2</sup> M.L. gives the following before this couplet :

سر شاه گردن فرازان نوی .: که شاه جهان پیش تو چو روی  
شاهان جهان پیش تو بنده اند .: بفرمان تو گردن افکنده اند  
*i.e.*, you are at the head of the exalted (lit. those who raise their necks) Kings. The king of the world (*i.e.*, the greatest of kings) is like a slave (*rahi*) before you. The kings of the world are slaves before you. They have thrown down their necks before your orders.

<sup>3</sup> M.L. gives بزرگان و شاهان

<sup>4</sup> This couplet is followed in M.L. by the following couplets:  
بفرمان تو سر در آرد رواست .: که تو در جهان سرسریاد شاست  
فرسند بدرگاه تو باج و ساو .: بدانند که مارا باد نیست تاو  
*i.e.*, If they (*i.e.*, other kings) place their heads under your order, that is proper, because you are, from end to end, king of the world. They send to your court tribute and contributions. They say (to themselves, lit. they know): "We have no breath and power" (*i.e.*, we are, as it were, breathless and powerless before him).

<sup>5</sup> M.L. has the first line as *i.e.*, May you be auspicious footed on (your) throne.

<sup>6</sup> The second line of the couplet in our text seems to be :

که چون بود جمشید نشان جهان

The letter ب be before Jamshid seems to have been omitted. This second line as given in M.L. is more acceptable.

که چون بود جمشید شاه جهان

*i.e.*, as it was to Jamshid the king of the world. Here the word Kayānian seems to be used in the ordinary sense of royal, kingly, glorious, because, the banner which specially came to be known as Kayānian began to be used later on, in the time of Faridun whom Jamshed preceded by a number of years

10. May the Kayanian tiara be auspicious to you, as it was to the fortunate Faridun.<sup>1</sup>
11. O King of the World! Practise gracefulness<sup>2</sup> on (your) throne May there be the protection of the Creator of the world upon you.<sup>3</sup>
12. Great kings (lit. the heads of the kings) pay homage in your court to you who walk on the path of purity.<sup>4</sup>
13. In giving justice like Noshervan, I have seen no great king except thee.
14. You do not wish harm to the world from anybody; (the creatures of) the world have much ease from you.<sup>5</sup>
15. May you carry<sup>6</sup> away the ball<sup>7</sup> of goodness with the bat of generosity. May the God of the world be pleased with you.
16. May the name of goodness be altogether (associated) with your name. May the picture of Justice be your Jewel.
17. May the bell<sup>8</sup> of Justice make such noise<sup>9</sup>, that there may remain<sup>10</sup> in the world no cruel man.<sup>11</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Faridun was a great king of the Peshādian family of Iran. He is the Thraetaona of the Avesta (*vide* my Dictionary of the Avestaic proper names, pp. 99-101. Faridun is spoken of as "farrokh" by Firdousi; cf.

فریدون فرخ فرشم نبود : ز مشک و ز عنبر سرشته بود  
(Macan's Ed. I., p. 46, l. 28. Vuller's Ed. I. p. 61. l. 532.

<sup>2</sup> Reading, as in M.L., nāz ناز for باز which is evidently a mistake in J.S.M.

<sup>3</sup> M.L. has for the second line : ترا باد زیزدان هم آفرین

<sup>4</sup> M.L. has the second line as کم سجده نماید بتو نیکخوا

<sup>5</sup> M.L. has the second line as بطلق خدا از تو آرام بسی

<sup>6</sup> M.L. has *barad* in place of *bari*.

<sup>7</sup> The metaphor is taken from the Iranian game of Chowgān gui. *Vide* my paper on "The Game of Ball-bat among the ancient Persians. (J.B. B.R.A.S., Vol. XVIII, pp. 39-46. *Vide* my Asiatic Papers, Part I, pp. 23-30).

<sup>8</sup> *Jaras*, a bell; or *jars*, a soft sound or clash.

<sup>9</sup> *Saut*, calling out, shriek of distress.

<sup>10</sup> Corrected according to M.L. which has *na-mānand*, in place of *na-mandeh* of our MS.

<sup>11</sup> *Āzār* cruel.

18. When there is a just king in the world, the strong-handed practise no oppression upon the lesser ones (i.e., the weak).
19. Your efforts<sup>1</sup> for justice are so much, that the sheep drinks water with the wolf at one (and the same) place.
20. Whenever the king is well-informed, the oppressor does no harm to anybody.<sup>2</sup>
21. Your name is brilliant like the sun and moon. You are always a protector of the poor.
22. King Akbar was fortunate<sup>3</sup> and one whose wishes were fulfilled, because he had an illustrious heir like you.
23. Fortunate are the people who are under your shelter. They enjoy rest through your good nature.<sup>5</sup>
24. They pray for you day and night. You are a protector of the world of God.<sup>6</sup>
25. May you always have the whole and the parts.<sup>7</sup> May your enemy be always crest-fallen (lit. head-downward).<sup>8</sup>

<sup>1</sup> *Say* attempt.

<sup>2</sup> M.L. gives the couplet as

هرانگم نوشه خود خبردار شد . ز ملکت ستم ناپدیدار شد

<sup>3</sup> M.L. has *zakh-bakht* in place of *khāsh tāl'a*.

<sup>4</sup> This statement of Kaikobad, that Akbar may be held to be very fortunate because he had an illustrious king like Jahangir, reminds us of the story in Herodotus, wherein Croesus, differing from the courtiers of Cambyses, held Cambyses's father Cyrus to be more fortunate than Cambyses. (Herodotus Bk. III, 34, Cary's Translation (1889), p. 185. This reminds us of the blessing in the marriage-ceremony (Ashirvād) saying "May you be more illustrious than your father (az padar nām-bardār bāsh).

<sup>5</sup> M.L. has, for the second line نو پاكيزه خود سازيش كند از نو پاكيزه خود سازيش

<sup>6</sup> M.L. has for the second line. تو هستی که بر خلق چون پاسبان

<sup>7</sup> Sāsir, "remainder, rest, (frequently employed to express the whole" (Steingass, p. 645, col. 1). *Baun* "a portion, or share." So "*Sāsir o baun*" mean "all, complete, everything." The second word may be taken as "bun," i.e., the origin. Then the meaning would be "the beginning and the rest or the end of everything." I am doubtful about my reading of the last two words, as the paper is a little torn off.

<sup>8</sup> M.L. omits this couplet.

26. Kaikobad<sup>1</sup> is the speaker of praise and prayer for you.  
 \* May you be always happy on (your) throne.<sup>2</sup>
27. He is one brought up (lit. born) in the house (of the king),  
 an old aged<sup>3</sup> slave who was brought up by the good-  
 named king Akbar.<sup>4</sup>
28. That king bestowed favour upon me in the shelter of his  
 own kindness in this Court.<sup>5</sup>
29. He (Akbar) bestowed upon me two or three offices<sup>6</sup> the  
 holy bodied Akbar exalted my head.
30. He made (*kard*<sup>7</sup>) and gave 300 *bighas*<sup>8</sup> as *madad-i-*  
*maāsh*.<sup>9</sup> O God! May<sup>10</sup> he be happy in the paradise.

1 Having named and praised the addressee, the king, to whom the petition was addressed, the writer (Kaikobad) now describes himself as the addressor.

2 M.L. gives the second line as که جاوید بر تخت تو شاه باد

3 Ptr. 4 M.L. has the couplet as

خانم زاده شہ قدیمی غلام .: پیرو درہ شاہ اکبر نیکنام

5 M.L. has the second line as سرفراز مرا کرد درین بارگاه

6 "Khidmat," office, service.

7 M. L. has کرده داد

8 *Bigha* is "a measure of a third of an acre (Steingass). M.L. has بنگم Gujarat *vingū* (ڤڻڻ). According to the *Ain-i Akbari* (Bk. III, *Āin* 10), a *bigah* is "a quantity of land 60 *gaz* long by 60 broad (قطعه زمینی (است در درازا و پنا شصت گز). Should there be any diminution in length or breadth or excess in either, it is brought into square measure and made to consist of 3,600 square *gaz* (Blochmann's Text, Vol. I, p. 296, l. 21. Translation, Vol. II, by Jarret, p. 62). "3,600 sq. *gaz* = 2,600 sq. yards = 0.538 or somewhat more than half an acre (Ibid n. 1).

9 *Madad-i maāsh* literally means, "help for the means of livelihood." This was a special form of gift. It was a grant of land given to those who had rendered some services to the court, but not directly in the court. It differs from *jāgīr*, which is a grant for service at court (Jour. Beng. As. Society, Vol. XXXVII, Part I, p. 126. *Vide* my "Parsees at the Court of Akbar and Dastur Meherji Rana," p. 39.

10 M.L. has بخت which is more acceptable than our در جنت

31. May the high heaven be his mansion ; O God ! be kind  
on his holy spirit.<sup>1</sup>
32. O you, good-named king Jahangir ! bestow some place  
(or post) on this old slave (*i.e.*, on me).
33. O you who rejoice the world, you of pious thought ! be-  
stow some post, besides these 300 bighas.
34. When you holy and bold (*tiz*) king will grant a post,  
your name will remain (*i.e.*, will be remembered) till the  
Resurrection day.
35. I (*lit.* this slave) will be exalted among the Parsees by  
you good-named (King).
36. My reputation will be much increased by the holy king  
among the Parsees like the moon.<sup>2</sup>
37. I will ask<sup>3</sup> for blessings in the Fire-temple, day and  
night, for the king, the holy king of the world.
38. I have therefore submitted (this) request to you, the  
king of kings. You are a bestower and a kind king.
39. May there be always a spring (*bahār*) of cheerfulness<sup>4</sup> and  
pleasure for you. May all that you eat be pleasant<sup>5</sup>  
(for you).<sup>6</sup>

1 M.L. has for the second line *از او ماند چون تو فرخ نیک خو*

2 Māhvash, moonlike; as high and bright as the moon.

3 Read *numāyam* for *بمایم* which is miswritten in our MS.

4 Rūd, cheerfulness.

5 Khushkwār. Joyful.

6 After the 31st couplet and before the 41st couplet of our text, M.L. omits several couplets and the order of some is much changed. In M.L. which contains only 53 couplets, this couplet is the last or 53rd. For the second line, it gives *هر آنچه تو نوشی بود خوشگوار* *i.e.*, Whenever you drink may be pleasant for you.

40. May your age be three fifty<sup>1</sup> (i.e., 150) years. May your life be always full of feasting and pleasure.
41. May there always be the protection of God over you. May the sun and moon revolve according to your desire.<sup>2</sup>
42. I submit a request with those who are standing<sup>3</sup> (i.e., I am one of your supplicants standing in your court) before the foot<sup>4</sup> of the throne (sarīr) of the king of the nobles.<sup>5</sup>
43. So that true facts from (me who am) powerless may reach your pious mind of enlightened soul.
44. O fortunate King! The fact is this: I myself submit it before the king on the throne.<sup>6</sup>

1 This is a characteristic Parsee benediction. In the recital of the Pazend *āshirvād* (marriage benediction), the marrying couple are blessed to have a long life of 150 years (der-zivashni va pāyandi sad-o-panjāh sal.) Vide my Paper on The Marriage Customs among the Parsees. Jour Anthropological Society of Bombay, Vol. V, p. 267). Vide booklet reprint, page 33. Vide my "Religious ceremonies and Customs of the Parsees (1922), page 35.

2 Between the 31st and the 41st couplets of our text, M.L. gives only the following two couplets:

تو هم شاه گیتی که فرمان بدی : عنایت بفرما تو ای پاک زن  
بفرمان سعادت ز درگاه تو : مرادم رسان شاه پاکیزه خو

The 40th and 41st couplets of our text begin the text of D.E. After these two couplets D.E. has a blank gap which can accommodate about 3 couplets. I think the couplets from 32 to 37 are out of order here. They are not required here.

3 Istādāgān (?) or perhaps, (from ایستادگی *istadgi* stability), I submit a request to the stable (power of His Majesty).

4 بپای Corrected according to D.E., Our MS. has کم دریایی

5 I have quoted cc. 42 to 52 in my paper entitled "Notes of Anquetil Du Perron on king Akbar and Dastur Meherji Rana" read before the B.B.R.A. Society on 13th July 1903. (J.B.B.R.A.S., Vol. XXI, p. 549.). Vide my "Parsees at the court of Akbar and Dastur Meherji Rana," p. 292,

6 D.E. has *khudavand-i takht* in place of *khurau ba takht*.

45. Since king Akbar, nestling at the foot of the divine throne,<sup>1</sup> the king of the truthful, set out on a journey to Surat.
46. Since this world-protecting King honoured Surat with a visit.
47. Since the time, when the fortunate king took Surat it is 48 years.<sup>2</sup>
48. My father was Mahyār by name. He attended to pay respects<sup>3</sup> to the illustrious king.
49. When he came into the court of the King of the earth, he bowed and blessed.<sup>4</sup>

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1 "Arsh-i-āshyān" miswritten *عرش آستان* in J.S.M.), "Nestling at the foot of the divine throne; a name given to the Emperor Akbar after his decease" (Steingass). "Arsh, throne; āshyān, a nest." Jahangir thus refers to this title and to the title of his other ancestors in his Tuzuk :

"In these Memoirs, whenever *Sahib qirāni* is written it refers to Amīr Timūr Gūrgūn; and whenever *Firdūs makāni* is mentioned, to Bābar Pādshāh; when *Jannat āshyāni* is used, to Humāyūn Pādshāh; and when 'Arsh-āshyāni is employed, to my revered father, Jalālu-d-din Muḥammad Akbar Pādshāh Ghāzi" (Tuzuk-i Jahangir by Rogers and Beveridge, I, p. 5). All the Mogul Emperors were, after their death, addressed, or spoken of, by different special titles. Prof. J. Sarkar says :

"They were each designated in life as the Khalifa and the Shadow of God, and after death by a distinct title, which required interpretation for later ages. Thus Babur, Humayun, Akbar, Jahangir, Shah Jahan, Aurangzib and Bahadur Shah I, were respectively remembered only as *Firdaus-makani*, *Jinnat-ashyani*, *Arsh-ashyani*, *Jinnat-makani*, *Ala-Hazrat Firdaus-ashyani*, *Khuld-makan* and *Khuld-manzil*, all these phrases meaning "seated in heaven" (Mogul Administration, 2nd ed. 1924, p. 229).

<sup>2</sup> Surat capitulated to Akbar on 26th of February 1573. As Kaikobad speaks of the event of his writing the petition as having occurred 48 years after the fall of Surat, the year of the petition comes to about (1573 + 48 =) 1621 A.C. But the date of the death of Kaikobad is roz 12, mah 12, 988 Yazdazardi, 29th October 1619 (Parsee Prakash I, p. 11). So, we must take it, that the number of years, as mentioned here, is according to the Mahomedan calculation. The Mahomedan year is shorter than the Christian year.

<sup>3</sup> Mulāzamat, "attendance, service, paying respects to a superior."

<sup>4</sup> For a reference, to the interview between King Akbar and Dastur Meherji Rana at Kankrakhari near Surat, by Anquetil Du Perron, *vide* my paper before the B.B.R.A.S. entitled "Notes of Anquetil Du Perron (1755-61) on King Akbar and Dastur Meherji Rana," Jour. B.B.R.A.S., Vol. XXI, pp. 537-48. (*Vide* my "Parsees at the Court of Akbar and Dastur Meherjee Rana," pp. 382-397). I had the pleasure of visiting this Kankrakhari, where Akbar had encamped, in December 1912, when I had an interesting walk—a walk of 22 miles from Naosari to Surat.

50. The king bestowed many favours upon him and made many inquiries about religion and customs.
51. The illustrious king, the fortunate king, brought him to Agra in his auspicious service.
52. Although he was a weak old man, he became young at the foot of the throne of the king.<sup>1</sup>
53. This slave (i.e., I) was a fellow-traveller with (my) father<sup>2</sup> following the auspicious stirrup of the illustrious king.
54. He (Akbar) bestowed upon me two or three offices. The holy-bodied Akbar exalted me.<sup>3</sup>
55. That office was changed<sup>4</sup> from slave (i.e., me) and I gave all account of it in the office (daftar).
56. The illustrious Akbar, at the time of his death, (lit. passing away) had bestowed the transfer<sup>5</sup> of an office (bait).<sup>6</sup>
57. When His Majesty, the nestler at the foot of the divine throne,<sup>7</sup> (Akbar) the king of the righteous, went to heaven.

<sup>1</sup> D.E. has the second line as *که در پای تخت که شد چو جوان*

<sup>2</sup> D.E. has the 1st line as *که یابد امن که بود این غلام* i.e., in order that he (my father) may obtain security (amn), this slave (i.e., I) followed, etc. According to the *Māhyār-namah* of Dastur Erachji Sohrabji Meherji Rana, Dastur Meherji Rana had three sons, Hirji, Minochehr and Kaikobad. Kaikobad was the youngest and was more intelligent than others. So he accompanied his father.

<sup>3</sup> The second line of this couplet is wanting in our MS. (J.S.M.). The copyist seems to have forgotten to write it. We find the whole couplet as follows in D.E.

*کنون خدمت کردند عفايت بمن . سرفراز نمود اکبر پاکتن*

i.e., He (the King) now bestowed upon me a service; the pure-bodied Akbar exalted me.

<sup>4</sup> I have corrected the last words of the first line according to D.E. J.S.M. has miswritten as *از تغیر غلام*. Teghir, change, alteration, removal. What is meant is "I left or was made to leave that office and gave all account to the officer."

<sup>5</sup> *Tahvil* change, transfer, return.

<sup>6</sup> *Bait* "a house, office." (Wilson's *Oriental Language Glossary of terms*, p. 48, col. 1.)

<sup>7</sup> "Arsh-ashyān. *Vide* above, footnote of c. 45.



58. Jahangir, the master of the throne, sat on the royal throne of the fortunate kings (kayān).
59. You, illustrious king gave up the money of the cesses (Zakāt)<sup>1</sup> to all, of all countries.
60. (Then) that office was taken away from me and nobody gave me any other office.
61. O holy king! I do not ask (ma-pursam) (anything) except that which brought me good<sup>2</sup> income before.<sup>3</sup>
62. From the exalted court, resembling<sup>4</sup> the divine throne, I undoubtedly expected,<sup>5</sup>
63. That the fortunate king would exalt me conferring by a mançab<sup>6</sup> upon me and undoubtedly favour me.

<sup>1</sup> It appears from the 8th *āin* of the *Āin-i Akbari* (Blochmann's Text, Vol. I, p. 204, ll. 5-9) that this import amounted to the tenth part of the produce. Jarett says as follows about this tax: "The poor rate, the portion therefrom given as the due of God by the possessor that he may purify it thereby, the root of the word, ك, denoting purity. The proportion varies, but is generally a fortieth or  $2\frac{1}{2}$  p.c., provided that the property is of a certain amount and has been in possession eleven months. (*Āin-i-Akbari*. Jarett's Translation, Vol. II, p. 57, n. 4). "The *zakāt* or tithe of  $2\frac{1}{2}$  per cent. on the incomes of Muslims had to be devoted solely to pious works" (J. Sarkar's *Mughal Administration*, 2nd Ed. p. 176). It seems that the event of the remitting of the *zakāt* by Akbar referred to by Kaikobad, is the first item of the 12 ordinances declared by Jahangir on his accession to the throne. *Vide* below, the section on the Identification of Events.

<sup>2</sup> Jūd, "excellent, liberal."

<sup>3</sup> The reading of this couplet is a little difficult.

D. E. gives گزان حاصل بود که در پیش من . . . بجز هیچ سپردم شه پاکتن

<sup>4</sup> *Ishtibāh*, resembling. "*Arsh istibah*" means "resembling the throne of God."

<sup>5</sup> *Bi-shubah*, without doubt.

<sup>6</sup> *Mançab*, an office, a post. There is a special *āin* (Bk. II *āin* 3) in the *Āin-i Akbari* on the *Mançabdārs*. Abu Fazl says, that God, at first, chooses a ruler and "as the strength of one man is scarcely adequate to such an arduous undertaking, he selects, guided by the light of his knowledge, some excellent men to help him, appointing at the same time servants for them. For this cause did His Majesty establish the ranks of the *Mançabdārs*, from the *Dahbāshi* (commander of ten) to the *Dah Hazari* (Commander of ten thousand), limiting, however, all commands above Five Thousand, to his august sons." (Blochmann's Translation, Vol. I, p. 237). Blochmann has written a special Note on the *mançabs* (*Ibid.* pp. 238-47).

64. At this time, everybody was exalted with dignity and with a manab, by the protector of religion (i.e., the king).
65. (But) nobody turned away disappointed from your heaven-like court, except myself.<sup>1</sup>
66. Nobody gave me any office without (i.e., in the absence of) the order of the holy great King.
67. I have performed many services of the holy king ; nobody has given me any allowance.<sup>2</sup>
68. When King Jehangir, the chief among princes, had a swift march<sup>3</sup> with a large number of soldiers.
69. When the throne-bestowing king had a lion-like quick march in pursuit of Khusrau,<sup>4</sup>
70. I (lit., your slave) also<sup>5</sup> had girded my waist in service at the foot of the royal throne.

<sup>1</sup> Kaikobad seems to refer here to one of the 12 ordinances promulgated by Jahangir on his ascension to the throne. It is the 12th ordinance, according to the Tuzuk (Memoirs by Rogers and Beveridge I p. 9). It is the 10th according to the Wak'aât-i. Jahangiri (Elliot's History of India, Vol. VI, p. 286).

<sup>2</sup> 'Alufah, salary, stipend, pension; a'lûfa, "allowance" (Elliot's History of India, VI, p. 283, l. 26).

<sup>3</sup> Alghâr, swift walk. This word has passed into Parsee Gujarati, in the sense of "a long line of men", e.g., મણિસોની ચલણે લાગી i.e., there was a long row of men.

<sup>4</sup> This is an allusion to the rebellion of Jahangir's son Khusru in the early part of Jahangir's reign. Vide for an account of this event, the section of the "Identification of events." Vide for a brief of continuous account of Khusru's rebellion, Elliot's History of India, Vol. VI, pp. 291 et seq.

<sup>5</sup> M.L. (c. 40) has the first hemistich of the couplet as

غلام اینک در پای تخت کیان

Here *inak* meaning "behold, lo, now" shows alacrity, readiness."

71. In the hand to hand<sup>1</sup> hunting, you good king made your stay in Gīr Jahāk<sup>2</sup> Nandan.
72. I (lit., your slave) was in your holy fold,<sup>3</sup> in the service of the holy and brilliant-souled king, at that time.
73. When (you) the king honoured Kabul by a visit with (your) throne seat.<sup>4</sup>
74. I (lit., your slave)<sup>5</sup> was in Kabul at the time, at the foot of the throne of the king of the nobles.
75. There were other ten Parsees with me. We went through troubles<sup>6</sup> (of journey) in the service of (you) holy king.
76. They were (as) horse-attendants,<sup>7</sup> spreaders of carpets.<sup>8</sup> and syces<sup>9</sup> in the service of the young king.<sup>10</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Dast ba dast, lit., from hand to hand. This may be a reference to the King's personal part in the hunt. *Vide* the account of this hunting in the Section of Identification of Events. Jahangir says in his memoirs, that, "out of the 581 animals killed during the hunt 158 were killed by his own gun." (Memoirs by Rogers and Beveridge I, p. 83.) "Dast ba dast" also means "in haste" (Steingass, p. 519 col. 2), but in this hunt, as described in the Memoirs (I pp. 82-84), there was no haste, as it lasted for 3 months and 6 days. If we take the words to be miswritten for دشت بدشت, they would mean from "jungle to jungle."

<sup>2</sup> M.L. has گیر جای نندن. This hunt is referred by Jahangir in his Tuzuk (Ibid). *Vide* below, the section of Identification of Events.

<sup>3</sup> Tah fold, inner part, bottom. M.L. has the first line as

در آنجا غلام هم که بود آنزمان

<sup>4</sup> M.L. has the second line as ارزانی فرمودند زیبای ماه

<sup>5</sup> M.L. has غلام هم

<sup>6</sup> For the troubles of the journey to Kabul, *Vide* the account below, in the section of Identification, as based upon Jahangir's Tuzuks (I. p. 92). M.L. has this couplet as follows:

همه غلام این دیگر ده نفر : که بودند بخدمت شه نامور

This couplet omits the mention of the other 10 persons as Parsees. The mention of the 10 persons being Parsees is necessary, because, if otherwise, i.e. if the ten persons were other than Parsees, the mention of that fact was not necessary.

<sup>7</sup> Jilau-dār, one "who runs by the side of a rider holding to the bridle; an attendant, a groom (Steingass), from Jilau, a horse-bridle.

<sup>8</sup> Farrāsh is "one who spreads carpets or cushions i.e., the chamberlain in the palaces of kings and great men; an officer who superintends the pitching of tents" (Ibid).

<sup>9</sup> سائیس Sāis "a master of horse, horse-keeper, equery."

<sup>10</sup> This couplet shows that, about 300 years ago, Parsees were employed in various services in the Court of the Mogul Emperors.

77. Two horses and camel were with me, in the service of the pure-bodied holy king.<sup>1</sup>
78. These were present (*i.e.*, animals were produced) wherever went your cavalcade (*rikāb*). May there be<sup>2</sup> blessing upon the royal sovereignty.
79. On the road of Kabul, there was a narrow (or difficult) place, which good people call *Nimlā*.<sup>3</sup>
80. The Ghat<sup>4</sup> was so much (steep) higher up for climbing, that everybody got tired.
81. At that place, my (*lit.*, faqir's) camel sat down. At that (very) moment, the king of holy brilliant mind (*i.e.*, Your Majesty),
82. Did honour (*i.e.*, came) to the place. The gracefulness of the king bestowed favour upon the place.
83. The auspicious tongue of the illustrious king made many inquiries (about me with) all kindness.
84. Your Majesty said "They will slowly and carefully bring after you this camel which has sat down."

<sup>1</sup> M.L. has

دواب و شتریم کہ بود آن زمان . . . بخدمت شہ پاک نام آوران  
Here we have in place of *do asp dawāb* دواب *i.e.*, cattle, beasts.

<sup>2</sup> D.E. has *namūd* in place of *bāvad*. M.L. has the second line as

بشاه جهان میکنم آفرین

<sup>3</sup> *Nimlā* is a place in Afghanistan. Jahangir refers to it in his *Tuzuk* as a place near which he had a hunt. It is two stages, on this side of Cabul, from a place known as the garden of *Wafā*. Jahangir passed through this place on the 24th of *Jumādā-l-awwal* (*Memoirs* by Rogers and Beveridge (p. 125). For further particulars, *vide* below the section on the Identification of places.

<sup>4</sup> The first word of the line looks like *کہانتی kahānti, gahānti*. There is no word of that kind either in Persian or Pushtu, the language of Afghanistan. So, I think, it is the Hindustani word گہات *Ghāt* Marathi घाट (Sans. घट) "a pass of difficult passage over a hill." (*Shapurji Edalji's Gujarati-English Dictionary*). "A pass through the mountains" (*Wilson's Oriental Language Glossary of Terms*! p. 175, col. 2).

85. You good king made inquiries about my affairs (ahwāl). This old slave (i.e., I, an old man) submitted all my request.
86. I submitted to the King<sup>1</sup> all my affairs at that time.
87. The King of Kings bestowed many favours upon my humble self, in my<sup>2</sup> affairs.
88. An Order was issued (by you saying) "I will order a good office for you."
89. (But) there was no intermediary person of good thoughts who can remind the well-intentioned King (of his order).<sup>3</sup>
90. My humble self also could not approach the King (so that) I could submit my request to the world-protecting king.<sup>4</sup>
91. The office (khedmat) (which was proposed to be given to this slave altogether went to nothing (lit., to the wind) on account of my ill luck.
92. Owing to the unfortunate luck of this miserable<sup>5</sup> poor man (i.e., myself), your exalted Majesty, yourself, did not inquire.
93. In the Government (or Court) of your Majesty the illustrious king, salary of three years has remained<sup>6</sup> due to myself.
94. Nobody gave me any stipend; nobody has been my helper in this matter.

<sup>1</sup> Sahib-i-qiran, lit., Lord of the happy conjunction; title given to a monarch.

<sup>2</sup> D.E. has *bandeh* in place of *man*. Again, the two lines of the couplet are inverted in D.E.

<sup>3</sup> M.L. has the couplet as

وسيله نبود هیچکس نیکوای . که محتری نماید بشم پاکوای

Here *mujrā* means "causing to flow" (i.e., to remind), or *mujri* "one who causes any order to be obeyed."

<sup>4</sup> M.L. has the second line as که کورنش نماید بعالم پناه

<sup>5</sup> *Nazhand* also means venerable, revered, but as the writer speaks for himself this meaning is not acceptable.

<sup>6</sup> The word, as first written in J.S.M., was شد shud "been" but it has been corrected under the line as ماند mānd.

95. I had no power enough to make an appeal to your exalted Majesty.<sup>1</sup>
96. Hasan Beg<sup>2</sup> was the holder of the expenses (būtāt) of the holy King, and I submitted before him a request for the stipend.
97. He said : "How can I give you stipend ? You do not hold any office (khedmat) with the good-natured king.
98. The office which was in your charge has been changed (i.e., cancelled). (So) you soon think otherwise for (your) stipend.
99. As you have become one without office, I cannot give you (stipend). Why do you trouble me ?
100. When I saw for certain<sup>3</sup> what the reply was, I did not think it advisable to go to him again.
101. When His Majesty, the chief of kings, began a march<sup>4</sup> with a large army.
102. Then this (thought) passed into my mind : "Wherever the holy King of the world goes,
103. there, you also must go in service at the foot of the throne of the King of Kings."
104. In (this) victorious<sup>5</sup> army, there was nobody who was a friend of mine,
105. who can render help of a loan (of money) to me. So, I suffered much on account of want of money for expense.

<sup>1</sup> For sahib-i-Qirān, Lord of the happy conjunction.

<sup>2</sup> *Vide* below, the section of the Identification of personages.

<sup>3</sup> Mushakkhkhas, certain.

<sup>4</sup> الغار alghār ; *Vide* above, note of couplet 88.

<sup>5</sup> Zafir-qarin, connected with victory ; victorious.

106. O King! I (lit., the poor man) swallowed two or three morsels.<sup>1</sup> There was nobody to hold my hand (for assistance) at this time.
107. From the cash balance<sup>2</sup> (tahvil) of the *bait*<sup>3</sup> there had remained with this slave from the unspeakable (i.e., the great) king,
108. two lacs and twenty-three thousand dams<sup>4</sup>; (this) had remained balance from the glorious king.
109. There was no help (lit without remedy), the money of the king of the world was spent by my poor self.
110. There was much scarcity of grain<sup>5</sup> in your army, and so, all your money was spent.
111. At that time, in the matter of the value (lit. relation<sup>6</sup>) of a Rupee, the condition was such, that it came to sixty-four tankas.<sup>7</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Fāqa, poverty, want, fast. I think that Dastur Kaikobad uses the word in the later colloquial sense of handfuls, e.g., we speak of ۲۱۱ ۴۴۱ ۲۱۱ ۴۱۱ which signify that in the absence of regular food, one ate handfuls of gram and parched grain.

<sup>2</sup> تحویل "deposit revenue cash" (Steingass). "Cash balance" (Sarkar's Mughal administration, 2nd ed., p. 34). "Treasury" (Wilson's Oriental Language Glossary of Terms, p. 500).

<sup>3</sup> Bait, a house. Baitul-māl, the public treasury. Professor J. Sarkar, has, in his Moghul Administration (2nd Ed., p. 175) seems to have confounded Baital māl with بی زن مال (Bi tan māl), an escheat (lit., property without a person or body). Vide Wilson's Oriental Language Glossary of Terms, pp. 48 and 73.

<sup>4</sup> Dam. According to the 10th Āin of the first book of the Āin-i-Akbari, a dām weighs 5 *tānks* (تانک) i.e., one *tolah* 8 mashu and 7 surks; it is the fortieth part of a rupee چهل بخش روپیہ (Blochmann's Translation I, p. 31, Text I, p. 26). According to the Akbarnamah also "the Ohahār-goshah (four cornered) rupee was worth forty dams" (Elliot's History of India VI, p. 65). Calculating at this rate (i.e., 40 dams = a rupee), 223000 dams would come to (223000 ÷ 40 =) Rs. 5,575.

<sup>5</sup> Vide below, the section on the Identification of Events.

<sup>6</sup> Fi "in connection with."

<sup>7</sup> Tanka, a certain coin. If at that time, a rupee was worth 64 tankās, a tanka came to be equal to a pice of our times. The word used to be used, at times, rather vaguely. According to Wilson's Oriental Language Glossary of Terms, p. 508, "Money in general : a rupee."

112. (So), at that time, helplessly<sup>1</sup>, I purchased<sup>2</sup> copper coins of rupees (or purchased rupees of copper coins).
113. O illustrious King! the Rupees were about<sup>3</sup> one thousand and eight hundred; all these were finished (i.e. spent).
114. In the state of necessities (muhamm) of Kabul, the rate of the coin<sup>4</sup> became such that the rupee went current for nineteen tankahs.
115. Two third difference came to be deducted from that, (on account of) large<sup>5</sup> purchases made at the time.
116. O good King! I did not carry home any money. I spent everything in the service of the King.
117. The one thousand and eight hundred Rupees which were (with me), were spent in the cavalcade of His Majesty.
118. I thought to myself thus: When all will reach Agra, then
119. the Mustaufi (مستوافی)<sup>6</sup> will surely give me whatever is due in my name (lit. slave's name) by writing to the Diwan<sup>7</sup>.

<sup>1</sup> La guzir lit. without choice or help.

<sup>2</sup> Ibtiyâ, purchasing, buying.

<sup>3</sup> Arabic takhminan, P. تخمينان takhminana, by conjecture, by appraisal, nearly, about.

<sup>4</sup> Sika (سکه) coin. The word can be read also tankah.

<sup>5</sup> Mublag.

<sup>6</sup> The mustaufi is "one who pays or receives the whole of what was due." "Mustaufi signifies President of the Exchequer." (Jarret's Translation of Ain-i-Akbari III p. 341 n.1.) According to Wilson (Oriental Language Glossary of Terms p. 358), he is "an examiner or auditor of accounts, the principal officer of the department, in which, under the Mohammadan government, the accounts of ex-collectors or farmers of the revenue were examined".

<sup>7</sup> Vide Prof. Jadunath Sarkar's Mughal Administration (2nd ed. of 1924 Chap. III pp. 32-38) for the office of the Diwan and his duties. The President of the Exchequer was known as Diwan-i ala, who had two assistants, also known as Diwans. According to Wilson (Oriental language glossary p. 144), "under the Mohammadan government it was especially applied to the head financial minister, whether of the state or of a province, being charged, in the latter, with the collection of the revenue, the remittance of it to the Imperial treasury, and invested with extensive judicial powers in all civil and financial causes."



120. The great revenue officers of the great king call for money from this or that poor man.
121. For the balance due, they wanted to put me in prison ; they prefer to do so in the time of (my) old age.
122. I have no body in this place who can submit my circumstances to the king.
123. When I have no money, from where can I give it ? And they punish me from that time forward
124. I was much afraid of prison-house lest they put me in it.
125. Then for the balance of the money I obtained an order (*farmân*) from the King.
126. The holy-bodied King bestowed upon me an order (*farmân*) of Desâigiri.
127. So that from the income of that Desâigiri, I may bring to the court of the good-starred King (some money in payment of debt).
128. The income of two or three years may get collected in one place and I may bring it to the court of the King:
129. (So that in the end) I may give all the balance (due to me) to the royal<sup>1</sup> treasury of the illustrious King.
130. The King of kings had bestowed the Jâgir<sup>2</sup> upon the commander of the army of the time.
131. When the auspicious *farmân*<sup>3</sup> of the Lord of the throne (i.e., the King) (addressed) to the fortunate Commander of the army,

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<sup>1</sup> عامرة 'amira' royal, imperial. Khazina 'âmira', royal treasury.

<sup>2</sup> Jagirs were lands given as grants (Jarret's *Âin-i Akbari* II p. 367 n. 4) Lit. Seeking (gir) of a place (jâ). "A tenure common under the Mohadmadan government, in which the public revenues of a given tract of land were made over to a certain servant of the state together with the powers requisite to enable him to collect and appropriate such revenue, and administer the general government of the district (Wilson's *Oriental Language Glossary of Terms*, p. 224).

<sup>3</sup> *Farmân*. Vide the *Âin-i-Akbari* (Bk. II *Âin* 11) Blochmann's *Translation* Vol. I pp 260-61 Text I, p. 194). One of the three kinds of *farmans* was for *jagirs*.

132. was carried by me to him, he saw it at the time, and, according to the auspiciously-marked farmān,
133. he gave me the parwanah<sup>1</sup> and I became possessed of a paragnah<sup>2</sup> from him
134. The Desāigiri of the paragnah of two places (belonged) to our Minochehr<sup>3</sup> from olden times
135. Those who were the illustrious (amjad) ancestors of Minochehr, had, in their times, performed services (khedmat of Government).
136. In the paragnah of Parchol and also of Naosari, Minochehr performed (this service) after his father.
- 137-38. The illustrious Akbar, the fortunate king, the good-named king, brought Minochehr to Agra in his fortunate cavalcade and made him his full treasurer.<sup>4</sup>
139. Noshirwan, the brother of Minochehr, (also) was in the service (khedmat) of the King of kings.
140. His relatives also, who were there, met together in one place in the service of the King.
141. There was no such a Parsee who could exercise *desāigiri* at the time.<sup>5</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> Vide the section of the Identification of Terms.

<sup>2</sup> According to Elliot *paragnahs* are aggregated into a district called Sarkar. Jarret says: "Each Subah is divided into a certain number of *Sarkārs* and each *sarkār* into *paragnahs* or *mahal* (Jarret's Translation of *Ain-i-Akbari* Vol. II p. 114, n. ). According to Wilson (*Oriental Language glossary* p. 402). it is "a district, a province, a tract of country comprising many villages"

<sup>3</sup> This Minochehr was the son of Bahman, of the family of Changa Shah (P. Prakash, 30). Vide my *Few Events in the Early History of the Parsees* and their Dates pp. 94-98. Vide the section on Identification of personages.

<sup>4</sup> Khazānchi. According to the *Ain-i-Akbari* (Bk. III *Ain VII* Jarret's Translation Vol. II, p. 49), the treasurer was called *khizanadār*. His duties are described in this *āin*. It seems from the use of the word "khud" that Akbar may have appointed Minochehr his own personal treasurer.

<sup>5</sup> What Kaikobad means to say, seems to be, that Minochehr, his brother and their relatives, all having gone and settled at Agra in the service of Akbar, there was no other capable Parsee who could successfully carry on the *desāigiri*. It appears from this, that Naosari, being principally a Parsee centre, the Desāigiri was generally given to the members of that community.

142. In that *paragnah*, there were many carriers of the sacred thread (*zunnâr*)<sup>1</sup> (i.e., Brahmins) who all did the work of agriculture as ryots.
143. Among these people, some, who were great, performed *muqaddami*<sup>2</sup> of villages in that (district).
144. The *muqaddams* of five villages united (i.e., conspired) together with one another.
145. When they saw, that there was nobody from (the family of) Minochehr who can do (lit. show) work in that place,
146. They the *muqaddams*, who were from five villages, divided all the villages (among themselves).
147. When I went from this place to that place, I, with the order and command of the king, took possession<sup>3</sup>.
148. According to the order of the king of the world, the *muqaddams* who were there were changed (or removed).
149. The ryots, who had run away<sup>4</sup> in the territories of the Portuguese,<sup>5</sup> were brought back from there without delay.
150. The ryots, from places wherever they had run away returned to their homes and became prosperous.<sup>6</sup>
151. Nobody out of those who had run away remained in that place; the *paragnah* became very prosperous with ryots.

1 Zunnâr "the Brahmmic thread" (Steingass). The word means ordinarily a belt. It was applied to the "cord worn round the middle by the Eastern Christians and Jews; also by the Persian Magi." Firdousi speaks of King Minochehr of the Peshdadian dynasty as the first person who introduced its use among the Persians.

2 Muqaddam مُقَدِّم is "a leader". Muqaddami is "an allowance made to the muqaddam" (Steingass p. 1292).

3 دخول کردن to take possession, دخول یافتن

4 فرار farâr, flight, escape.

5 فرنگ farang, Franks. Here the Portuguese are referred to. Vide Appendix for the Portuguese in the neighbourhood of Surat and of the mismanagement of Akbar's revenue affairs in Gujarat.

6 D.E. gives for the second line بستانم خود آمد کم معمرور شدند

152. When the *jagir* of the *Sepāh sālār*<sup>1</sup> was changed, Abu-l Husan asked for it from the master of the throne (i.e., the King).
153. The illustrious King (i.e., you) gave it (the Governorship) to him ; the sarkarship of Surat belonged wholly to him.
154. After his transfer, Qulij<sup>2</sup> Khan became (the Governor) and from his side (az jānabash) there were .....<sup>3</sup> as governors.
155. Another (i.e., next to them) there was one, Fazal Allah by name, the son of Qalij Khan;<sup>4</sup> he became the full governor (of Surat).

<sup>1</sup> Kaikobad speaks at more than one place of the *Sepāh sālār* i.e., the Commander of the army as ruling over Gujerat. I do not think it is meant for the Commander in Chief of the whole army but for the Governor or the subah of Gujerat. Most of the civil rulers or administrators of the time were also commanders of a certain number of army. Now here, this commander is associated with one Abu-l Hasan. The old commander was changed or recalled and Abu-l Hassan asked for the place i.e., the Subah-giri of Gujerat and Jehangir gave it to him. Vide below the section of Identification.

<sup>2</sup> Our Ms. J.S.M. gives, at first, the name as قلیج. The second letter has no nuktas, either above or below. But the scribe has corrected the name, writing on the top of the line, close to the edge of the word as قلیح, and there seems to be no doubt, that the name is that of Qalij Khan. The word خان also is miswritten as جان D.E. has it as قلیح خان but that seems to be a mistake. We have no personage of the name Fateh Khan, who is associated with the administration of the Sarkar of Surat at this time. Again, when the next personage Fazal-Alla, mentioned by Kaikobad in the next couplet, is spoken by him as the son of Qalij Khan, the name in the preceding couplet is also Qalij Khn.

<sup>3</sup> As to this word I am not sure about the reading. D.E. has the word as ازعون where the word عون is written in blue ink and taken as a proper noun. I think the second word is عون *dun* helping, assisting and the meaning is that another person was acting in his place to help him. As will be mentioned in the Section on Identification, this Qalij Khan was known to have "belonged to the tribe of Quarbani, Farbani, Fargani, etc." So, this form if read as Arghnani, or read otherwise, may be taken as one of the names included in the "et cetera".

As to somebody acting as *hākīm* on his behalf (jānib), as said by Kaikobad, it seems probable from what we read in the Tuzuk, that other persons acted for him. It is for some similar reason, that Qalij Khan wanted Jahangir to appoint his son Chin Qalij Khan as the Governor of Surat.

<sup>4</sup> D.E. gives the name as Fatah Khan, but this seems to be a mistake. The name in the preceding line having been misread as Fatah Khan, the mistake is repeated here also.

156. The Muqadams came before him and made him good (i.e., well-inclined) towards themselves.
157. When his mind was soothed by bribery, he stopped me from Desaigiri.
158. By bribery, they so turned him towards themselves, that he, at that (very) time, put me out (bi-dakhal kard) of the post.
159. He who rules<sup>1</sup> by bribery, does not think (na andisha) of the future.
160. How can the affairs of the poor be good there, where there are persons who take bribes?
161. They were all downright (pāk) receivers of bribes; they had no fear or anxiety from God.
162. O wise King! when one takes bribe, his heart does not remain approved of by God.
163. The Lord (i.e. God,) knows well this matter that bribery ruins affairs<sup>2</sup>.
164. God is not pleased with him who takes bribery in secret.
165. When both of them cancelled (i.e., disregarded) the *far-man*, the God of the world gave justice at the time.
166. One was killed and the other was put in prison; both the youths got destroyed by death.<sup>3</sup>
167. The miracles<sup>4</sup> (kerāmāt) of the good-named king of the world (i.e., God) became all known at the place.

<sup>1</sup> Riyāyat, ruling.

<sup>2</sup> Lit. overturns.

<sup>3</sup> The reference to one being killed (کشته شد) is to Chin Kili Khan, who, as we will see, later on, is said to have killed himself by committing suicide.

The second line can be translated in more than one way. The word *jawān* may be taken as qualifying *marg* (death) They died a young death, i.e. at an early age. Perhaps '*marg*' may be a mistake for *marḍ*.

<sup>4</sup> J.S.M. gives کرانمات *keranmāt*, but it is a mistake. There is no word like that. D.E. correctly gives کرامات. What Kaikobad means to say is, that the guilty governors, who took bribes, were miraculously punished by God, one by death and another by imprisonment. Perhaps, the last letter may be taken as ي Ya and the word may be "gerān-mayeh" i.e. of great worth and may be taken as an adjective for the King. The second line is faulty in J.S.M. The last two words are taken from D. E.

168. That man, who disregards the farmān of the King of the world, is a man of bad faith.
169. May there be curse upon him from the court of the King. He gets himself caught in a prison or pit.
170. I (lit. this slave) did not become a complainant in the court of the good King on account of the balance.
171. For examining the estate<sup>1</sup> of Qilij Khan<sup>2</sup> who died, there came<sup>3</sup> from the Court, Aoz Beg,<sup>4</sup> He carried the account.
172. In this place (i.e., in the royal Court), there was a wāqāi-nawis ;<sup>5</sup> he said much (thus to Aoz Beg,) for me :
173. "As Kaikobad owes a balance to the king, you bring him also to this place."<sup>6</sup>
174. Aoz Beg having brought me also to the court of the King, they kept me in watch (or custody).<sup>7</sup>

<sup>1</sup> عین مال "ain watch, eye," i.e., watching or examining properly, Here there is a reference to the Mogul system of escheat. Vide below the section on Technical Terms.

<sup>2</sup> D.E. gives the name as فتح خان which, as said above, is evidently wrong.

<sup>3</sup> Our old Ms. J.S.M. gives نیامد (did not come), which evidently seems to be a mistake, the nukteh being written above instead of below. D.E. gives بیامد.

<sup>4</sup> It seems that, Aozbeg was sent from the royal court to Surat to take accounts of the property of (Chin) Qilij Khan who was dead. Vide below, the section of Identification.

<sup>5</sup> Waqī'hawis or recorder (from waqī'ah, "an event, record") was an officer attached to each Subah. In the Ain-i Akbari (Bk. II āin 30, Blochmann's Text vol. I, p. 192 l. 25. Translation Vol. I p. 258) his duty is thus described فرموده و کار کرده گیتی خداوند برنویسد i.e., He writes (records) the order and the doings of His Majesty (lit. the Lord of the world).

<sup>6</sup> It seems that, as the monetary affairs of Kaikobad in relation with the State had not yet been settled, owing to his being deprived of his Desāiship, from the income of which he was to pay off the money due to the state, Aozbeg, who came to Surat on a special errand, was asked to take Kaikobad with him to the Royal Court for the settlement of his affairs.

<sup>7</sup> Nigah; watch, care, custody.

175. It was written (i.e., destined) that, after (i.e. at the age of) 62 years<sup>1</sup> this slave should be a prisoner,
176. that I should be for three years imprisoned, in trouble distress and pain.
177. In the prison-house I suffered so much distress as no body else can bear.
178. O illustrious King ! in that place (i.e., prison) I did not eat. I remained hungry for all nine months.
179. O exalted-natured king ! I did not eat anything else except broiled<sup>2</sup> pulse<sup>3</sup>.
- 179(a) I ate a little<sup>4</sup> of nuts<sup>5</sup> and pulse with sugar. I ate nothing except this.
180. Trouble drew<sup>6</sup> my existence in such a way, that one may say that it (existence or life) had not remained manifest<sup>7</sup> in the body.
181. A pure-bodied i.e. good natured person put me into prison ; he became kind towards me.
182. My superintendents<sup>8</sup> placed all my circumstances before that good man,

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<sup>1</sup> Both the Mss have سپهر which give no meaning. The word may be *sepihr* سپهر heavens, world, time, sun. So, the meaning would be "after having 62 revolutions of the heavens or the sun i.e., after 62 years of age."

<sup>2</sup> *Biryān*, broiled, grilled, baked, roasted.

<sup>3</sup> *Nukhud*, vetch, pulse.

<sup>4</sup> بہالی *bahl*, a little small quantity.

<sup>5</sup> مضغہ *muzgha*, a piece of meat, As it is spoken of as being eaten with sugar, I think the words is مغز *maghz* (مغز) i.e. marrow (of nuts). People eat powdered nuts with sugar.

<sup>6</sup> *Kashid*, miswritten *kashad*.

<sup>7</sup> عیان *E. E.* gives روان. The translation then would run : One may say that soul did not remain in the body.

<sup>8</sup> موکل *Muvakkal*, superintendent, appointed guardian. D.E. has the first line as ہست نیکنام موکلان شاہ i.e., the superintendents (or jailors) of the king are good men.

183. because they saw that my body (or existence) was not in its (proper) place (i.e. I was not in good health); so, that good man released me.
184. (And) in place of myself (lit. this faqir) they made my brother's son a prisoner in the prison-house.<sup>1</sup>
185. They imprisoned him with some others in Lahore, the capital.
186. He dies hungry in Lahore. I (lit. slave) also am following you hungry.
187. In this place I, who am without (the help of) anybody, suffer too much distress for want of money for expenses.
188. I have no friend here who can render help of money to me.
189. I have received in my old age<sup>2</sup> this, as the recompense of the service of the pious king.
190. No fault has been committed by me. I have shown (i.e., given) the (account of) allowances for what was wanting<sup>3</sup> in expenses.
191. O wise (King)! I made such a supposition, that the *mustaufi* (i.e., the auditor of accounts) will show credit<sup>4</sup> for the allowance.
192. O Holy King! I did not know that the Diwan (i.e., the accountant) would call for this money from me.
193. As I have no money, from where am I to give it? Let my fault be pardoned<sup>5</sup> without any punishment.

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<sup>1</sup> What is meant is, that, as Kaikaabad was imprisoned as a kind of hostage or security for non-payment of what was due to the State from him, on his being released for poor health, his nephew was detained as a security in his place, in the prison.

<sup>2</sup> Sanh, year, period of life.

<sup>3</sup> *عوزى* 'auz, wanting, not being found.

<sup>4</sup> *Majra kardan*, to explain. The Gujarati phrase *મજરા કરવું* i.e. "to show a return in accounts," well explains the meaning.

<sup>5</sup> Better *بخشد* in place of *بخشد*. D.E. has *بخشد*.



194. If I, one without (the help of) anybody, have no money, how long am I to remain imprisoned in prison?
195. At night, they (the jailors) collect (the prisoners) together in a fold<sup>1</sup> and put them into long chains and lock.<sup>2</sup>
196. If somebody has a pressing call of nature<sup>3</sup> (lit. purity), he cannot move from that place.
197. Nobody opens at night<sup>4</sup> the lock. They remain in the same place which is shown to them and that is sufficient.
198. I am so much drowned in the sea of a prison, that I have no hope that I will come out of it,<sup>5</sup>
199. unless the holy Creator, the Nourisher, takes me, out of this (place), into his fold.
200. (Or unless) perhaps<sup>6</sup> King Jahangir, King of the Time, releases me assuredly.
201. In this place, I am friendless (lit. without anybody). No body gives me protection except the king.

<sup>1</sup> دِل heart, a fold, cote, side. D.E. has زِل *zail*, dividing into portions.

<sup>2</sup> What is meant seems to be, that, at night the prisoners were divided into small parties, and members of each party were joined by a common chain, so that individual prisoners may not run away.

<sup>3</sup> طهارت purity, cleanliness. *Tahārat-jāi* or *tahārat-khāna* means a water-closet.

<sup>4</sup> Our Ms. J.S.M. has the word بشت which seems to have been miswritten for باش bashab. In D.E., this word is torn off and lost. If we take the word as basht as given in our Ms., there is no word like that. It may be taken as miswritten for بست bast, meaning a knot, signifying that the knots of the chains or ropes were not untied. What Kaikobad means to say is that, being closely locked in parties, they had to answer calls of nature and to commit nuisance there and there.

<sup>5</sup> Kaikobad was nominally free, not really, because he was released on account of illness and had to place his nephew in prison in lieu of him. So, really speaking, he was still a prisoner.

<sup>6</sup> ایا aya, "perhaps, perchance, possibly."

202. The money (zar) which I owe is that of zakāt<sup>1</sup>. O holy bodied pious King ! pardon it (i.e., give it up).
203. O illustrious King ! You give up (i.e., you have given up) money from the dues of all (your) country.<sup>2</sup>
204. If distress<sup>3</sup> results from zakāt, you holy-natured king pardon it (zakāt) to all.
205. O you illustrious King ! pardon (i.e., give up) this to me also, (because) I am the khāneh-zadeh<sup>4</sup> (i.e., one brought up in the house) of the old King.<sup>5</sup>
206. This Master of Strength<sup>6</sup> (i.e., your Majesty) ! what an amount of money, crore after crore, you bestow everywhere.<sup>7</sup>
207. You give much every day and night. Nobody is disappointed with you.
208. How then can the king disappoint me ! I will pray for you and bless you, day and night.
209. A God-worshipping king like you, a person like you, is a friend<sup>8</sup> of those who have seen oppression.

<sup>1</sup> zakāt is alms or dues according to law. The word latterly seems to have been used in the sense of what is due to Government. cf. Gujarati સર્વોત્કૃષ્ટ. The first letter of the first word seems to be zāl. In that case, it may mean "a particle, an atom", cf. Gujarati સર્વ.

<sup>2</sup> D.E. gives the second line of the couplet as مراهم ببخشید شه نیکنام

<sup>3</sup> کروز or کروز sorrow, distress of mind.

<sup>4</sup> Jehangir often uses the word in his Memoirs for persons, whose fathers and who themselves were brought up with favour by the family.

<sup>5</sup> By the old king, Akbar is meant. Kaikobad, as said by him before held *khedmat* in the time of Akbar also. D.E. gives the first line of the couplet as کروزها که روا میشود از زکات

<sup>6</sup> Taking زور to be Arabic *zaur*, it may mean "a lord, chief, leader."

<sup>7</sup> D.E. has for this a rather unintelligible couplet :

چہ قدر زری این خداوند روز : ہر آنجا تو بخشند کروز کروز

<sup>8</sup> یاور yāvar, an assistant, friend. D.E. has داور dāvar, governor, judge, arbiter.

210. When they change your orders, why do they exercise oppression over the friendless<sup>1</sup> (or the poor) ?
211. O well-thinking King ! if you will not inquire<sup>2</sup> (and say) " who is the oppressor and show me the oppression, "
212. (and) when they (i.e., the oppressors) will know that the king makes no inquiry about anybody, then<sup>3</sup>, anybody will exercise oppression.
213. O holy King ! Give me justice ; nobody, except (you) King, will give me justice.
214. Wherever there is a just (dādgar) King like you, wherever there are orders of an illustrious king like you,
215. there, why should the muqaddam make an alteration in the order ? Then, he (i.e., such mal-administrator) is not afraid of you, a righteous master of throne.
216. In that case, a *farman* carries no respect, if *muqaddams* get them altered.
217. According to the order of you illustrious king, from my income of the *Desāigiri*,
218. let money, that is due to me by royal order, be made payable to me by you, Protector of the world.
219. Let them ask, before the foot of the royal throne, whatever explanation (lit. words) they have (to give) in this matter.
220. They (i.e., the officers complained against), standing face to face,<sup>4</sup> before me, may say whatever words they have to say against my poor self,

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<sup>1</sup> بیکیس Lit. without anybody to help ; friendless.

<sup>2</sup> D.E. پرسد

<sup>3</sup> بنابراین Therefore, because of that.

<sup>4</sup> مضافہ incorrectly written for مصافہ, "appearing before one another in opposition ; standing in a row or rank". D.E. gives correctly مصافہ (musāfah).

221. so that good or bad, whatever it be, may be declared (lit. opened) before the throne of the wise king.
222. If there be fault of anybody, let him be punished sufficiently,
223. (so that) nobody may do such a bad thing again and all may take a warning<sup>1</sup> from such acts of bad men.
224. From that year, when His Holy Majesty bestowed upon me the *farmān*,
225. upto this day, O illustrious person! twelve thousand rupees have been collected from that income (of Desāigiri).
226. O illustrious one! except this, I have nothing (i.e., no other office or Desāigiri &c.) in another place from which I can give the money (due by me).
227. There must be appointed by the royal Court<sup>2</sup> such an official<sup>3</sup> who does not take money<sup>4</sup> (i.e., bribe) from those people.
228. If that officer (*ahdi*) receives money from him, good punishment may be given to him there.
229. His Majesty may inflict such a punishment upon him, that he may remember it for the rest of his life.
230. Then nobody will be daring again,<sup>5</sup> when he sees another person punished so much.
231. Kaikobad (is) the slave of the good king. O King! bestow gift on this old slave.

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1 گرفتن عبرت *ibrat girāftan*, to take warning or advice.

2 درگا miswritten for درگاه D.E. has درگاه.

3 احدی an individual, any one, sole person. *Ahdi* also meant a "military officer".

4 زری *Zari*, "drink-money given to musicians"; hence it may be taken in the sense of bribe; or the word may be taken as زر *zar* money. One may take this word to be Arabic *zarr*, biting, pursuing, grinding. and it may then be taken in the sense of bribe. In any case, what is meant is bribe.

5 دیگر باره گستاخی نہ کند کسی. چو بیند ان کس سزایش بسی D.E. has

232. Many persons are related (or connected, *vā basteh*) with me and they pray before the King of the world.
233. They appear to be expectant of (my) release (from prison), that somebody may come and utter good news (of release).
234. They are anxious about myself ; they have no sleep and no food and no other work.
235. They are sorry and distressed whole day and night and are (well nigh) dead (out of anxiety) for me.
236. When they will hear of (my) release, all these persons will at once go to the Fire-temple. \*
237. O King of the world ! They will bless you day and night in the Fire-temple.
238. O King of the low and the great !<sup>1</sup> You open the door of mercy over these persons.
239. If the King will forego this money to me who am an old protegee<sup>2</sup> of your house and who am a slave of the king,<sup>3</sup>
240. that forgiving<sup>4</sup> (*bakhsh*) will be, O King of the world ! worthy of thee. You are the bestower of gifts upon inferiors and King of kings.
241. May you have days of pleasure with joy. May you be joyful on the throne of the kings.
242. May your age be (long) like that of Jamshed.<sup>5</sup> May your name be like (that of) the glorious Faridun.
243. May holy God be your friend. May you have no fear from the enemy.
244. May there be for ever the protection of God upon you. May the Sun and the Moon revolve according to your desire.

1 D.E. has شاه کیان مهربان

2 D.E. has خاتم زاد miswritten for خانم زاد DE. has *khanehzād*.

3 D.E. has غلام نو شاه instead of غلام شها

4 D.E. has بخشنده in place of بخش

5 According to Firdousi, he (i.e. his dynasty) ruled for 700 years.

## IV.

## A SUMMARY OF THE PETITION.

Kaikobad begins the petition with a series of 25 couplets, naming and praising the king to whom the petition is addressed. Then, in the 26th couplet, he declares his name as that of the person making the petition<sup>1</sup> and speaks of himself as the *khāneh-zād* of King Akbar i.e. as one brought up or helped with special favour in the house of Akbar (c. 27).<sup>2</sup> Akbar had bestowed two or three *khedmats* (offices) upon him (c. 29) and 300 *bigahs* of land as *madad-i-ma'ash* (c. 30). He then says: "your Majesty: bestow upon me some offices (or posts. *mavāza'a*) over and above the 300 bigahs (c. 33). If you will kindly do so, my position will be exalted among the Parsees. I will pray for you in the *ātāsh-kadeh* (i.e. Fire-Temple cc. 32-37). I beg to submit a request to your Majesty." Then, as a kind of introduction, he narrates some former events of his father Māhyār's (Meherji Rana's)<sup>3</sup> and his own lives—events associated with the rule of Akbar and Jahangir. He says: Forty-eight years ago (i.e. 48 years from the date of the submission of the petition), when Akbar came to Surat and took it<sup>4</sup>, my father Māhyār went before him and paid respects to him. The King bestowed favours upon him and made inquiries from him about (Zoroastrian) religion and customs and brought him to Agra (be Agrah be-avurd). My father was old at the time but became young<sup>5</sup> by the kindness shown by Akbar. I accompanied my father in the retinue of King Akbar. Then Akbar bestowed upon me two or three *khedmats*. At the time of his death, he ordered the transfer

<sup>1</sup> In the Western epistolary style, the writer declares his name at the end, as "yours obediently, or faithfully or truly etc.", but, according to the Eastern style, Kaikobad declares his name in the commencement after naming the person addressed.

<sup>2</sup> C. Stands for couplet.

<sup>3</sup> I think the couplets 12 to 17 are out of place here. M.L. omits them

<sup>4</sup> Akbar took Surat on 26th February 1573 A.C.

<sup>5</sup> Meherji Rana died in 1593 at the age of 63. (Māhyār nameh couplet 1351). So, in 1579 i.e., (1591—1573=) 18 years before, when he went to Agra with Akbar, he must be (63—18=) 45 years of age. This age of 45 years cannot be said to be an old age, though it is a little advanced age. But Kaikobad wanted to give a compliment to Akbar, saying, that he was so kind to his father, that the latter, though a little grown up in age, felt young by the kindness received. Dastur Erachji, in his Māhyār nameh gives the age of Meherji Rana at the age of his departure with Akbar as 43 (couplet 327), but he does not give his authority.

of my office (*bait*).<sup>1</sup> Then, when Your Majesty came to throne, you remitted the money of the tax (*zar-i-zakāt*) of all countries. At that time, the office (*khedmat*) which I held, was taken away from me and no other office was given (c. 60). I undoubtedly expected a *mansab* (a special office cc. 62-63). All were given something, but I was disappointed. When your Majesty pursued (your rebellious son) Khusru, I was in your service. When you went a-hunting to Gir Jahak Nandan, I was in your service.<sup>2</sup> When you went to Kabul, I was with your retinue (c. 74). There were with me ten other Parsees who acted as horse-attendants, spreaders of carpets (or tent-pitchers, *farrāsh*) and syces (c. 76). I had two horses and camel with me.<sup>3</sup> At a very difficult place named Nimlê, the *ghaut* was very steep and my camel was disabled. At that very time, your Majesty, happening to pass by me, consoled me and enquired after my affairs, and I narrated my circumstances. Your Majesty then said : " I will bestow a good office (*khedmat niku*) upon you." But no office was given to me as there was no officer of (my) acquaintance (*wasileh*) in the Court, who could remind your Majesty of this order (*hokam*, cc. 88-89) Then having thus introduced himself Kaikobad proceeds (c. 99) in the matter of his petition and says that, stipend had been due to him for three years and no body paid it. He applied to Husain Beg, who said, he could not pay, because there was no particular *khedmat* in his name, the former *khedmat* having been changed.<sup>4</sup> So Kaikobad followed the army of the king (as a trader or for some business).

He then adds : " It occurred to me, that I should follow the King, wherever he went with his army. In the army there was no body who could help me or lend me money. So, I

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<sup>1</sup> Vide Wilson's Oriental Language Glossary, p. 48 col. 1.

<sup>2</sup> Here, "being in service" does not mean "holding any office" but means some other work, which may be that of a petty contractor or supplier.

<sup>3</sup> We learn from the Tuzuk, that, before entering the Subah of Cabul, Jahangir had ordered that, as it was difficult to maintain a large number of men there, as small a number as possible should be taken with him. So, in spite of that order, Kaikobad went to Kabul, the fact shows, that he had gone on his own account to do some business, which small traders generally find with a marching army. These animals were pack-animals for his goods.

<sup>4</sup> It is not clear which three years' salary is referred to here by Kaikobad. He possibly refers to the last *khedmat* given to him by Akbar who died in 1605. The tour to Kabul took place in 1607. So, perhaps, he refers to these three years, 1605 to 1607.

had to live on two or three poor morsels of food." Kaikobad then narrates another event. He owed 223,000 dams, i.e. taking a dam to be 1/40th of a Rupee,  $(223,000 \div 40 =)$  Rs. 5,575 to the State. The debt seems to have been the result of his work in the camp as a *shroff* or some such trader. He had put his money in copper coins and the rate of exchange changing, he incurred loss. He mentions the actual loss at Rs. 1,800. He expected that, on returning to Agra, the *Mustaufi* would write to the Diwan and pay what was due. "Instead of that, they wanted to imprison me. I got frightened. I appealed to the King and His Majesty gave me a *farmān* of Desāigiri, so that I may pay up from its income whatever was due by me."

Then Kaikobad relates as to what he did with the farman of Desāigiri. He carried the King's *farmān* about the Desāigiri to Surat to the Sepah-salar (c. 131), who gave him a *parvānah* and put him in possession of a *paraganah*. Kaikobad then gives a brief history of the Desāigiri of Parchol and Naosari. It was formerly held by Minochehr (of the family of Chāngā Shāh), whose illustrious ancestors had served (khedmat namūd) the Moghal Court. Akbar took with him in his cavalcade, Minochehr to Agra, and made him his *khazānchi* i.e. treasurer. Minochehr's brother Noshirwan also was in the service of the King (Akbar). So, they (i.e. both the brothers) and their relatives had all gone to Agra, and there was no Parsee in Naosari who could carry on the Desāiship well. There were many high class Hindus (Zunnār-dārān i.e. keepers of the sacred thread) and they were cultivating the land as ryots. There were some who exercised *muqādammi*. So, when there was no proper person for Desāigiri after Minochehr, the administration of the affairs was divided into five muqādamships (c. 49). "When I entered into *Desāigiri*, as ordered by the king, the muqādamas were removed and I brought back all the cultivators (ryots), who had run away to the territories of the Firangis (the Portuguese) on account of mal-administration. They returned to their own villages and became prosperous (ābādān)" (c. 149). Then the jāgir passed from the hands of Salar-i Sepah, who was recalled, to the hands of Abu-l Hasan, of whom Kaikobad says that "The Sarkar of Surat belonged wholly to him."

Then came (Chin) Qilij Khan and Fazul Allāh, the sons of Qilij Khan, to rule over Surat. The muqādamas, whom Kaikobad had replaced, bribed these two and they deprived Kaikobad of his Desāiship. Kaikobad did not, at once, complain of his being deprived of the Desai ship to Jahangir, because he had not paid up all the balance of the account that was due to him, as said



above. Both these young men met their desert at the hands of God,—one was killed and the other was imprisoned. Then, the Royal Court sent Aoz Beg to Surat, to take an account of the affairs of (Chin) Qilij Khan during his régime there. A Waqa-nawish, who knew about the affairs of Kaikobad and who kept his accounts with the State, said to Aoz Beg when he went to Surat, that, he may, on his return, bring Kaikobad with him, because a balance was still due from him to the State. So, on his return, Aoz Beg took Kaikobad with him and a close watch (negâh) was kept over him: He was imprisoned at the age of 62. He remained in prison for three years. "For the first nine months, I was made to live simply on broiled pulse (nakhud i biryân) and was much reduced. My superintendents (i.e. jailors) drew, to the condition of my health, the attention of the good man who had put me into the prison. He, seeing my condition, had compassion on me and released me from the prison, placing my nephew (birâdar-zâdeh) in my place. He (my nephew) dies out of hunger at Lahore. I also am hungry before your feet. I am without funds here. I have no money to spend. I have come to this state in my old age as the result of my serving the King. There has been no fault of mine."

Then Kaikobad describes the condition of the prison-house where a number of prisoners were tied together and no decency was observed. Though for the time being he was released on account of his weak health, keeping his nephew in his place, he speaks of his experience of the prison as if he himself were a prisoner, suffering all possible inconveniences. He then appeals to the king to release him. He speaks of two kinds of relief,—one at the hand of God who may call him to His side (kenâr) (by death), another at the hand of the King who may release him. He prays, that the King may give up the money due by him as he is a *khânehzâd*. He appeals for justice from those who had oppressed him. He tells the King that the authorities at Surat ought not to have removed him from the Desâiship wherein he was appointed by the King Himself. Had he continued in the Desâiship, he would have cleared off the previous debt due to the State. He asks for a face-to-face inquiry. From the time he was given the Desâigiri up to that day (the day of the petition), the authorities collected Rs. 12,000. He means to say that, that sum was his due as the Desâiship was given to him by the King himself.

In the last few couplets he again made an impressive appeal and said that a number of men were interested in him and when they would hear of his release, they would go to the Fire-temple and pray for the King.

## V

## THE RESULT OF THE PETITION.

Now, what was the result of Kaikobad's petition to Jahangir? Of course, from the petition itself, we are not in a position to answer that question. Had the king, or the waqa-nawish at his command, recorded a reply, it may be on the original petition handed to Jahangir or on another paper. But some facts lead to show that Kaikobad's request was accepted by the King and he was released from the debt due to the State, and from the prison where he had substituted his nephew for him. The release from the prison of his nephew, was, in fact, his own personal release. The very fact that Kaikobad died as the Dastur, or the Head priest of Naosari, shows, that he was free at the time.<sup>1</sup>

There is a recent writing<sup>2</sup> in verse, spoken of by the writer as Māhyār-nāmeḥ, written in 1250 Yazdazardi (1881 A.C.) i.e. about 47 years ago. The writer of this poem was the well-known scribe and scholar Dastur Erachji Sohrabji Meherji Rana, who enriched the Mulla Feroz library of Bombay and the

<sup>1</sup> Khan Bahadur Bahmanji Patel, thus takes a note of his death on the authority of the fact as known at Naosari (Parsi Praksash I p. 11):

“ ઈ. સ. ૧૬૧૯, તા. ૨૯ મી અક્ટોબર. ૨૧૪ ૧૨ મા. ૧૨ (શે.) ૯૮૮ યજ્ઞદજ્ઞરી. મરણુ:-દસ્તૂર કેકોબાદ મેહેરજી રાણા-નવસારીવાલા પેહેલા દસ્તૂર મેહેરજી રાણાના દીકરા. એવણુને ઈ. સ. ૧૫૯૧ માં પોતાના બાપનાં મરણુબાદ તેમના દસ્તૂરીનો આધિ મલ્યો હતો. ઈ. સ. ૧૫૯૪ માં એવણુ પોતાના બાપને આપેલી જગીરના કોઠા વાંધાસર દીલ્લી ગયા હતા, અને ત્યાંથી રાહનરાહ અકબરની તરફથી એવણુના બાપને આપેલી ૨૦૦ વીંધા જમીન ઉપરાંત ખીજી ૧૦૦ વીંધા જમીન ભેટ આપી તેનો તા. ૨૪ મી ફેબ્રુઆરી ૧૫૯૫ ની તેરીખનો દરબાર તરફથી એક લેખ કરી આપ્યો હતો. એવણુ કહે છે કે કેટલીક મુદત મુધી નવ-શારીમાં દેશાહ/ગરૂ \* પણ ચલાવણું હતું.

\* ઈઆને મોમલ સરકારની આશરે ૨૪૦૦ વીંધા તથા ખાનગી ધણીયાતી આશરે ૨૦૦૦ વીંધા નવસારીની જમીનનું પ્રેક્ટુસલ ઉધરાવવાનું કામ.

<sup>2</sup> I am indebted to Ervad Framroz Nowrojee Kutar, for kindly drawing my attention to this work. Ervad Kutar had kindly placed at my disposal his Transliteration and Translation. Since then, I have examined the original Persian in the Meherji Rana Literary. I give, in the Appendix, the account of Meherji and Kaikobad as given in this Ms. work. I thank the Library for kindly lending me the Ms.

Meherji Rana Library of Naosari with many valuable manuscripts by his pen. According to this Mahyar-nameh, the process of the presentation of the petition and the result are as follows : Kaikobad sought the help of an officer (wasilleh) in the Court and presented himself before the King and presented the petition personally. The king got the petition read by a court reader (dabir), and, on hearing it, had compassion upon Kaikobad. He found that the Nawab of Surat had been unusually harsh upon Kaikobad, and that, it was at his (Nawab's) instance that Kaikobad was harshly treated at the royal court. He got angry over the officer concerned and said that the Nawab had no reason to act as he did, without his permission. He got enraged upon Aoz-beg who had kept the King ignorant of what had happened. Jahangir then ordered that the Desaiship of Naosari and Parchol may be re-entrusted to Kaikobad and that he may be given his former *khedmat*. He was also ordered to be given all the arrears of stipends or salaries that were due to him. He remitted the sum which was said to have been due from Kaikobad. Jahangir ordered his minister to give a fresh *parwaneh* to Kaikobad for Desai ship. Kaikobad then returned to Naosari with his companions. He carried on, upto the end of his life, both the Desaiship and, the Dasturship of Naosari. He died on roz 12, mah Asfandād, 988 Yazdazardi (1619 A.C.). He was succeeded to the Dasturship by his son Mehernosh.

We will see further on, that, during the Mogul administration, no sooner did a high officer die, there was, as it were, a rush from the Court to take charge and account of his property in order to secure the dues of Government that may be due from the deceased to Government. For example, take the case of Chin Qilij Khan referred to in the petition. Now, in the case of Kaikobad, nothing of that kind, occurred, which most undoubtedly would have occurred had the Government dues been still standing when Kaikobad died. This fact shows that Kaikobad's petition was accepted and he was made altogether free.

## VI.

### THE PETITIONER, AND THE DATE AND PLACE OF HIS PETITION.

I will, in this section, say a few words about the petitioner, and the date and place of his petition.

The Petitioner. The petitioner mentions his name as Kaikobad twice in the petition—at first in the commencement (c. 26 دعار شاکوی نوکیقباد), and then in the



Some particulars of his life, as gathered from the Petition.

We find and determine the following events and dates of his life, on the authority of his petition.

(a) In 1573, after the conquest of Surat by Akbar, he accompanied his father to the Court of the Emperor.

(b) Akbar, at that time, gave him two or three *khedmats* or offices (c. 54).

(c) Akbar had, a short time before his death, ordered a change in the office (*bait* c. 56), but he died before the change could be effected.

(d) Jahangir, on coming to throne, on 24th October 1605, did not give him any *khedmat*, though he was a *khāneh-zāda* and so, he was disappointed. It seems that thereupon, he tried to be always within the sight of the king, to catch his eyes to be favoured. In trying to do so, he did some odd jobs in connection with the king's army, on his own account.

(e) He was in Jahangir's camp when he pursued his rebellious son Khusrau in 1606.

(f) He was in the king's hunting expedition, of 3 months and 6 days, to Girjak Nandana in 1606.

(g) He accompanied Jahangir's hunting expedition to Kabul in 1607. There were with him 10 other Parsees who served in the King's army as horse attendants, carpet spreaders, (*farāshes*) &c.

(h) He was with the king's retinue, when the king, on his return tour from Kabul, was hunting at Nimleh in 1607. There, his camel was disabled, and Jahangir, who happened to pass by, made inquiries from him. Kaikobad submitted his affairs for the king's favourable consideration. The king consoled him, saying he would give him a good office (c. 88); but he did not get any, as the king was not reminded of the matter by anybody and as he himself could not approach the king. Kaikobad, after speaking of the ten Parsees in the camp of the King, speaks of himself as having two horses and camel. He does not say how many camels he had. It may be one or more than one. The capacity in which Kaikobad went is not quite clear. His work must be somewhat higher. He seems to have accompanied the king on some business as a tradesman. The king, seeing him under some difficulty with his camel, sympathised with him, saying that

Kaikobad may proceed and that the camel would be brought to him later on by some one, perhaps by some one, whom the king may have directed. This fact shows, that he went with the king's retinue on some higher kind of work. It appears from the petition, though the portion treating of the subject is not clear, that he may have gone with the army on his own account as a shroff, whose business was to exchange money for the king's army and followers. Though the subject is not quite clear, it appears that, during this itinerary, he may have undertaken some contract or work on his own account in connection with the government army. In that work, owing to some exchange difficulty and other matters, he incurred a debt.

(i) The king, in order to help him to be released from the debt gave him the *desāigiri* of Parchol and Naosari. He took up the work but the muqaddams of the place conspired and complained against him before the Surat authorities, giving them bribes.

(j) The result was that he was deprived of the *desāigiri*, and was taken to the King's court for the arrears due by him and was imprisoned. Then, he submitted a petition to the King to ask for release.

He succeeded his father Māhyār to the Dasturship of Naosari in 1591. Even in his father's life time, he held a leading position among the priesthood of Naosari. We find him signing, with his father Māhyār and other leading priests, a document for the proper performance of religious ceremonies in (Samvat 1622) 1565-66-A.C. Again, we find him signing, with his father and others, in 1570, a document agreeing to abstain from the drink of toddy when engaged in the Ātash Behrām and other ceremonies. Then, we find him signing, in 1580, a public document by the priesthood of Naosari, acknowledging his father Māhyār as a Dastur or High priest.<sup>1</sup>

A Manuscript book of some old documents, placed in the Kaikobad's Desai-gari in 1608. Meherji Rana Library of Naosari by the late Mr. Jamaspji Rustamji Dastur, refers to the Desāigari of Kaikobad. It runs thus.<sup>2</sup>—

<sup>1</sup> Vide for these dates, and for the particulars of the documents, my "Parsees at the Court of Akbar and Dastur Meherji Rana" (pp. 149-50. 151-52, and 177).

<sup>2</sup> Ms Vol. I. p. 27.

“દશતુર કેકોબાદજી મેહેરજી રાનાંને નાશારીનાં પતેલી-  
આવો લખી આપુ તેની ખરી નકલ છે.

“લખતંગ પરગને પારચોલનાં કીકા શંકર તથા ભુદર રાંમ તથા દાહીઆ રામ ઝમ્મનાં તથા શાંમલ કાંહાંનાં તથા ગોપાલ ભીઆ વીજલ-પોરનાં તથા ગોવીંદ રાધવ તથા કીકા હુકા અભરાંમેનાં તથા હરજી થાહીઆ તથા શામજી લહઆ તથા મકા માહાવા ખરશાદનાં તથા વાંમાં કીકા તથા માધવ અનચેલીનાં તથા જોગા નાદા જત આપને ઝમ્મક અનત ઝમ્મક ગત થમ્મઆ ઝમ્મતલા માથે જે અધેઆર કેકોબાદ મેહેરજીને તાઝમે રહીઝમે ને તેહેનેહે મલતા રહીઝમે તેહેનાં કઝમ્મઆથી ફરીઝમે નહી ને ઝમ્મતલામાંથી કોઈ ચાલીને કીકા વાંમાં ને મલે તેને માતા રેવા હોરખે માતા તાપી હોરખે ઝમ્મતલામાં કોને માથે જોર જીઆદતી થાઝમે તેની તેની મદત શરવે મલી કરે કીકા વાંમાંને તથા કીકા વાધાનાં છોકરાને મલે તે તેનાં માં આપનો જનો નહી. શંવત ૧૬૬૫ વરખે માખશર સુદી ૩ બુધે.

૧ અતર	મગુ	૧ અતર	શાખ
૧ લા. કાંહાંનાં સુત શાખ			
૧ લા. ભુધર રાંમ			
૧ લા. કીકા શંકર			
૧ લખતં વાંમાં			
૧ લા. ભીઆ શીત ગોકલ			
૧ લા. માધવ કરાનાં			
૧ લા. માહાવા મકા			
૧ લા. દાહીઆ રાંમ			
૧ લા. ગોવીંદ રાધવ			
૧ લા. શંકર વીશરામ			
૧ લા. શામજી લોહવાર			

ઝમ્મતલા જનાં અધેઆર કેકોબાદ મેહેરજીથી વેગલા નહી રહીઝમે.”

*Translation.*—We, the undermentioned writers of the Paragana of Pārchoḷ (*viz.*) Kikā Shankar and Bhudar Rām, and Dāhiā Rām of Eru, and Shāmal Kāhānā and Gopāl Bhikhā of Vijalpore, and Govind Rādhav and Kikā Hookā of Abhrāmeh and Harji Thāihā and Shōmji Lahaā and Makā Māhāwā of

Kharshār, and Vāmā Kikā and Māddhav of Ancheli and Jogā Nādā, have been of one thought<sup>1</sup> and condition<sup>2</sup> (i.e., have agreed), for this reason (i.e., in this matter), that we shall remain obedient to Andhiāru<sup>3</sup> Kekobad Meherji and be in agreement with him and not turn away from what he said. And if anybody from these (i.e., from us who are named above) goes and sides with Kikā Vāmā, he shall be harmed<sup>4</sup> by goddess Reva, by goddess Tāpi.<sup>5</sup> If any one of such (of us) is much oppressed he shall be helped by all. One who associates himself with Kikā Vāmā and Kikā Vāghā is not one born of his mother and father.

Samvat 1664 Makhsar Sudi 3. Wednesday.

Here follow the names of 11 persons (signatories) and it is added under the signatories ;—"These persons (i.e. we) will not be separated from Andhiaroo Kekobad Meherji."

Mr. Bomonji B. Patel adds to the subject of the document<sup>6</sup> the following foot-note on the subject of the document :—

“ નવસારીમાં ચાંગા આશાના નપીરા મનોચેહર બહમન કે નેવણ મોગલાઈ સરકાર તરફથી દેશાઈગર અલાવતા હતા, તેવાના બેહેરાંમ નેશા અને કીકા વાંમા નામના બે યુમારાતાઓ દેશાઈગરાંના ધણીઓ થઈ બેકા હતા, અને લોકો પર ચાહે તેમ અમલ ચલાવતા હતા, તેથી મજદૂર મનોચેહર બહમનને રાજી કરી ત્યાંના દસ્તુર કેકોબાદ મેહરજીરાણાએ દેશાઈગરાંનો વહીવટ પોતે લીધો, અને આ પટેલીઆઓએ તેવાને તાબે રેહવાનો લેખ કરી આપ્યો ”.

*Translation* :—In Naosari, Minocher Bahman, the descendant<sup>7</sup> of Changa Asa, who conducted the Desaignari from the Moghal

(1) “ ચ-ત ” same as “ ચિ-તી, ” anxiety, concern.” (Balsare' Gujarati-English Dictionary (1895) pp. 215 and 233.

(2) “ ગત, ” “ State, condition ” (Ibid. p. 173).

(3) i.e., “ priest.” Sans. અધવર્યુ, “ a sacrificial priest.”

(4) “ હર્ય ” perhaps from “ હર્યુ ” (Sans. હર ) “ to take away, to take away forcibly, to abduct, to diminish.”

(5) Revā and Tāpi seem to be the village goddesses of the district.

(6) Parsee Prakash I p. 10 n. 3.

(7) The word ناپيرى P. ناپيرى ordinarily means a grandson, but it is often used in the sense of a male descendant. The Persian word nabireh, like nawādeh ( نواده ) a grandson) comes from Avesta,

napat or naptar ( 𐬨𐬀𐬯𐬀𐬢𐬀 or 𐬨𐬀𐬯𐬀𐬢𐬀 ) Pahlavi nap ( 𐬨𐬀 ) Sans. नपान् Lat. nepos, neptis, meaning a grandson ; but the Avesta word napti ( 𐬨𐬀𐬯𐬀𐬢𐬀 ) is used in the sense of posterity e.g., naptyaeshu, in Yaçna, (Ha. XLVI, 12).



Government had two agents<sup>1</sup>, Behram Jesha and Kikā Vāmā who usurped (lit. became the master of) the Desaigari and exercised power over the people as they liked. So, Dastur Kekobad Meherji Rana of that place having pleased<sup>2</sup> Manochehr Bahman, took over the charge of the Desaigari and these Patels passed an agreement to submit to him.

This document shows, that Kaikobad conducted the Desai-gari of Naosari and Parchol in 1608 A.C. and that was on behalf of Minochehr. So, he had some experience of the work and even of the troubles of the work. Dastur Erachji in his Mahyar-nameh<sup>3</sup> speaks of two periods of Desaigari. The first was when he acted, as it were, as a proxy. The second was, when he got it officially from Jahangir.

Kaikobad speaks of his being taken as a prisoner to the Court of the King by Aoz Beg. He does not give the date and the name of the city of the Royal Court to which he was taken as a prisoner. But, an event mentioned, both in the history of Jahangir and in Kaikobad's petition, helps us to determine the date of Kaikobad's imprisonment. The date of the death of Chin Qilij Khan, referred to in the petition, is an important date for us to determine the date of Kaikobad being taken to the Royal Court for the alleged non-payment of Government dues. According to the Memoirs, it was on the 18th of Aban of the 10th New Year, that Jahangir received the news of Chin Qilij Khan's death. After referring to an event of the 18th of Aban<sup>4</sup>, he says: "On the same day (i.e., the 18th of Aban) the news of the death of the wretch Chin Qilij was received by a letter from Jahangir Quli Khân."<sup>5</sup> Now this new year (the tenth) began "on Saturday, 1st Farwardin, in.... 10th year, corresponding with the 8th of the month of Safar (March 1615), 1024 Hijra."<sup>6</sup>

We will see in the Section of the identification of personages, and in our accounts of Chin Qilij Khan and Aoz Beg, referred to in Kaikobad's petition, that on the death of Chin

<sup>1</sup> Per. گماشتم

<sup>2</sup> The word راتوبه is used in a broad sense. It may mean "having paid some commission or honorarium."

<sup>3</sup> Naosari Meherjirana Library MS.

<sup>4</sup> Memoirs by Rogers and Beveridge (Vol. I, p. 301, l. 17).

<sup>5</sup> Ibid, ll. 21-23.

<sup>6</sup> Ibid, I, p. 280, ll. 3-5.

Qilij Khan, Aoz Beg was sent from the Royal Court to Surat to take an account of Chin Qilij Khan's property there.<sup>1</sup> When the officer left the Royal Court for the purpose, a waqa'a-nawish there asked him to bring Kaikobad with him on his return, as he owed money to Government. Kaikobad was so taken by Aoz Beg to the Court (Vide couplets 171 et seq. of the petition) and was imprisoned there for three years (c. 176). So, we get the following dates of these events. The 1st of Farwardin of the 10th New Year of Jahangir (8th of Safar) fell on 9th March 1615<sup>2</sup>. So, beginning from that day, we come to the date of Chin Qilij Khan's death as follows :—

1st Farwardin (8th of Safar).	..	..	9th March 1615.
1st Ardibehesht	..	..	9th April.
1st Khordad	..	..	10th May.
1st Tir	..	..	11th June.
1st Amardad	..	..	12th July.
1st Sheriwar	..	..	12th August.
1st Meher	..	..	12th September.
1st Aban	..	..	12th October.
18th Aban	..	..	29th October 1615. <sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup> For some details of this practice of escheat, vide Jadunath Sarkar's "Mughal Administration" pp. 168-70.

<sup>2</sup> The Translators of the Memoirs give 30th March 1615 for the 29th Safar (Ibid I, p. 282, l. 9). So, calculating from that date backward, the 8th Safar (1st Farwardin) falls on 9th March 1615.

<sup>3</sup> I have, for this calculation, taken all the Fasli Parsi months as calculated in the Persian calendar adopted by Akbar. Now, when His Majesty Reza Shah Pahlavi of Persia has adopted the ancient Persian calendar, the calculation is not similar. Vincent Smith (Akbar, p. 448) says on this point : "The Ilâkî year was solar, a modification of the Persian year, and about 11 days longer than the Hijri year. Akbar dropped the Persian intercalation, and made his adoption by changing the lengths of the months, some being 30, some 31 days, and some 32. Unluckily we are not informed as to the exact length of each month, so that accurate conversion into A.D. dates is impossible in most cases". Beni Prasad gives such a table (Vide Appendix at the end for this table). Such being the case, if at all, the exact Christian date of the death of Chin Qilij Khan may be a little different by two or three days.

Now, we learn, on the authority of a Dutch visitor of India<sup>1</sup> of those times, that such inventories were taken *immediately* after death, or, at times, even when the officer was on the point of death. So, on the news of Chin Qilij Khan's death, on or about 29th October 1615, Aoz Beg must have left immediately the Royal Court, which was then at Ajmer, (2) and may have reached Surat early in November 1615. Aoz Beg may have taken about a week or so, to take the inventory of Chin Qilij Khan's estate. So, he may have finished his work at Surat by the middle of November 1615. He then returned to the Royal Court with Kaikobad in custody. So, we have to take it, that Kaikobad was taken into custody by Aoz Beg and taken to the Royal Court in or about November 1615.

The fact of his visit to the Court of Akbar, referred to by him in the poem, is confirmed by the colophon of

The fact of Kaikobad's presence in the Mogul Court, confirmed by another old Manuscript

an old manuscript of the Persian Dārāb-nāmeḥ written by one Peshotan Faridun Arvisgāhān at Naosari on roz Rashna, mah Meher 1025 Yazdazardi, i.e., 1656 A.C. It appears from this colophon,<sup>3</sup> that there was in the library of Akbar at Agra, a very rare manuscript of the Persian Dārāb-nāmeḥ<sup>1,4</sup> Noshirwan, the son of Baman Shah (and the brother of Minochehr, referred to in our poem as having gone to the court of Akbar as *khazanchi* or treasurer), having learnt of this rare manuscript, asked Kaikobad, who also was at Agra, to take a copy of it, and Kaikobad did so. I give, at the end, as an appendix a list with dates of the events of the life of Kaikobad, as collected from this petition, and from the table, given by me, based on other authorities in my above paper on "The Parsis at the Court of Akbar."<sup>5</sup> Kaikobad must have copied this Ms, during his first visit of the Royal Court in the company of his father.

<sup>1</sup> The Remonstrantie of Franciso, Pelsaert, by W. H. Moreland and P. Geyl

<sup>2</sup> Memoirs, I, pp. 297-99.

<sup>3</sup> J.B.B.R.A.S. Vol. XXI, No. 4 VIII. Vide my book "Parsees at the Court of Akbar and Dastur Meherji Rana." pp. 171-75.

<sup>4</sup> I think that the original rare copy of the Persian Darabnameh of Akbar's library is now in the British Museum Library. Vide Journal of the Bihar and Orissa Research Society of June 1917, Vol. II, Part II, p. 206. See Rieu, Suppl. No. 385.

<sup>5</sup> J.B.B.R.A.S. Vol. XXI No. LVIII. Vide my "Parsees at the court of Akbar" p. 177.

Kaikobad speaks, in his petition (c. 175), of his age being 62 when he was made a prisoner in about 1616, when the inventory-officer Aoz-Beg took him with him from Kaikobad's Age. Surat to the Royal Court. So, at the time of the capture of Surat in 1573, i.e.,  $(1616-1573=)$  43 years before, he must be  $(62-43=)$  19 years of age. So, the year of his birth may be taken to be  $(1573-19=)$  1554, and his age, at the time of his death in 1619, to be  $(1619-1554=)$  65. He speaks of himself in the petition as an old man.

Kaikobad was imprisoned for debt in about 1615. He was released after ten months, on account of illness and his nephew was put into prison in his place. He submitted the petition in about 1618. Then

Why did not  
Kaikobad submit  
the Petition ear-  
lier?

the question is, why he waited so long. A thought strikes me in this connection and I beg to submit it for what it is worth. Mulla Jamasp and Mulla Hoshang had visited Jahangir, a short time before the time of Kaikobad's petition. That was on 15th June 1618<sup>1</sup>. They seem to have made a good impression and were rewarded by the King. So, it is probable, that Kaikobad also, learning of the successful mission of the Mulla brothers and of their being well received, was encouraged and inspired to go to the Royal Court to present his petition personally. He was nominally released about 2 years before the date of his petition, though still taken to be a prisoner as long as his nephew was detained for him. He did not submit the petition earlier, perhaps, because he thought that there was little chance of its being well received. But, when he learnt of the successful visit of his two contemporaries of his town, the two Mullas, he may have thought that he may try and succeed.

On the death of his father Dastur Meherji Rana, on roz 8, mah Aspadad 960 Yazdazardi, (1591 A.C.), Kaikobad and his non-ecclesiastical work. Kaikobad was appointed the Dastur of Naosari. But, we see from the account of his life, that he passed a good part of his life in a kind of non-ecclesiastical line. One may wonder now-a-days, as to how the function of the Dastur or High Priest of the

<sup>1</sup> Vide my Paper "A Farman of Emperor Jahangir in favour of two Parsees of the Dordi family of Naosari with other cognate Documents of the Mogul times". Jour. B.B.R.A. Society, Vol. XXV p. 419 et seq. Vide my Asiatic Papers Part III, p. 136 et seq.

Parsees of a town like Naosari could be compatible with his wanderings with the royal court of Jahangir and with his function of the *desāigiri*. But one must bear in mind that these times were different. In India, it is with the advancement of the community that Parsee views in the matter of ecclesiastical responsibility have changed.

Even in the West, in Mediæval England, the Clergy did much non-ecclesiastical work together with their ecclesiastical work for their maintenance. For example, we read thus of the clergy of Mediæval England in "The Pastons and their England." "One of the most common complaints against the clergy of this period was that their time was occupied in farming and in trading in agricultural produce, to the neglect of their cares. Besides cultivating their own glebe, priests even rented farms to increase their incomes."<sup>1</sup> The author gives instances of this period and adds: "Evidences of this kind could be multiplied, to show how common it was for persons to be agriculturists. In "Paris, the city of Light", even at present, the case is said to be similar. We read: "In many cases the curé, unable to live upon the offerings of the faithful, turns to supplementary occupations." (<sup>2</sup>)

Again, the Dasturship is hereditary and its functions can be performed by a substitute. For example, take the case of the present Dastur, Dastur Kaikobad, of Naosari. He was a boy of about 14, when his father Dastur Darabji died and he nominally succeeded him as Dastur. He spent a number of years at Mr. E. D. Talati's Boarding School at Deolali, but still he was the Dastur of Naosari.<sup>3</sup> These and other considerations show, that Kaikobad, though he performed non-ecclesiastical work at the Moghal Court, and though he was long absent, still he continued as a Dastur at Naosari.

1 "The Pastons and their England", by H.S. Bennett, (1922), p. 219, Vide my Paper, "The Social life of a Christian of Mediæval England and the Social Life of a Parsee of Modern India" (Journal Anthropological Society of Bombay Vol. XII No. 9 pp. 974 et seq.) Vide my Anthropological Papers Part IV for this paper

<sup>2</sup> Edinburgh Review of July 1912, pp. 187, -188, Article on "The New Renaissance in France"

<sup>3</sup> A strange and a novel case of the Dasturship being hereditary, is that noted about the Dasturship of Surat about 100 years ago. The Dastur of the time died, living an only son, who was both deaf and dumb. But still, the deaf and dumb son was acknowledged as the Dastur. The old records of the Parsi Panchayat of Bombay speak of him as a *muga* (dumb) Dastur. He attended all the sacerdotal functions as a Dastur, but the recital and rituals were performed by his uncle as a substitute. In those times, Government paid stipends to the heads of different religion, and so, even this dumb Dastur of the Parsis of Surat was paid a stipend by Government.

What was the date of the Petition? Of course, the petition when presented to His Majesty, must have been dated. But, as our manuscript and other manuscripts are mere copies, we do not find the date in them. But, notwithstanding that, we are in a position to determine approximately the time, at least, the year of the petition from Kaikobad's statements in the petition.

(a) He speaks in his petition of being in prison for three years (c. 175). So, as it was in about November 1615 that he was taken into custody, the date of his petition which was submitted three years after imprisonment, comes to about *November* 1618. If we take it, that Kaikobad speaks of 3 years in a round number, then the date of petition may be a few months earlier than November 1618. We have no old documentary statement about the result of the petition. But we have examined the question on other grounds and seen that he was released soon after the presentation of the petition. The date of his death, as known and observed by the family is 29th October 1619. So, he seems to have lived only for about a year after his petition and release.

(b) We may consider this question of the date of the presentation of the petition and of the subsequent release from another statement of the petition. Kaikobad says that, at the time of the presentation of the petition, it was 48 years since the conquest of Surat by Akbar. We need not take it that Kaikobad speaks of 48 years as an exact number to a day. It may be full 47 years and some months and days over these. Again, the number 47, or 48, whichever we take it, must be taken as Mahomedan years, which fall short of our ordinary solar years by 11 days.<sup>1</sup> Were it not so, the date of the death of Kaikobad, as acknowledged and celebrated upto now by his descendants, viz., roz 12, mah 12, year 988 Yazdazardi, (corresponding to 29th October 1619), would be wrong. Surat capitulated to Akbar on 26th February 1573. So, if we add full 47 years or full 48 years to that date, the date of the petition comes to 21st February 1620 or 21st February 1621. Or, even if we take that Kaikobad speaks of the date in round number as 48, the

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(1) I had doubts about the date of Kaikobad's death, when I first began the study of the subject, but I am thankful to Mr. M.P. Khareghat and to an anonymous correspondent of the Jam-i Jamshed for clearing up these doubts.

date of the petition would come to any day intervening between 26th February 1620 and 26th February 1621. All these dates are dates after that of his death, namely, 29th October 1619.<sup>1</sup> So, we have to take it, that the number of years as given by Kaikobad is according to the Mahomedan method. Let us start with the view that, when Kaikobad spoke of 48 years, he spoke in round numbers, and that the number of years may be full 47 and some months and days in addition. In that case, as 11 days fall short during every Mahomedan year, the number of days falling short in 47 years would come to  $(47 \times 11 =) 517$  days i.e. 1 year and  $(517 - 354^2 =) 163$  days. So, substituting this shortage of 1 year and 163 days, the interval of time between the capitulation of Surat and the date of petition would be  $(47 \text{ minus one year and } 163 \text{ days} =) 45 \text{ years and } 191 \text{ days}.$ <sup>3</sup>

On this basis of calculation, the date of the petition can be approximately determined. The 26th February 1573, (the date of the capitulation of Surat) plus 45 years and 191 days (i.e. about 6 months and 11 days) would bring the date to the year  $(1573 \text{ plus } 45 =) 1618$  and to the month (adding 6 months and 11 days to 26th February) about August or September.

In this calculation, we have roughly taken 47 years. But, since Kaikobad gives 48 as the number of years which seems to be in round numbers, we may take the interval as 47 years and some months. On another consideration mentioned above, we have come to about the month of November. So there is not much difference. Thus we come to some time between August and November 1618 as the date of the petition.

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<sup>1</sup> One may say that the traditional date accepted by the family may be wrong. I have shown elsewhere, on the authority of the Colophon of a *Vendidad* in the Bibliothèque Nationale of Paris, that the traditional date accepted by the family of Dastur Darab Pahlān of Naosari is wrong. (Vide my *Faraziat-nameh* of Darab Pahlān pp. 110-111). But here, as there is another consideration which helps us out of difficulty, we cannot go to the length of saying that the date of the death of Kaikobad, as observed by the family, is wrong.

<sup>2</sup> I take the Mahomedan number of days in a year, and not our ordinary number of 365 days.

<sup>3</sup> 354 days of a Mahomedan year minus 163 days.

The Place where  
the petition was  
presented to Ja-  
hangir.

1st Āzar (November 1618) .. Still at Ujain where he was reminded of the story of "The King and the Gardener"<sup>1</sup> (p. 50)

\* (1) Vide my paper "The Story of the King and the Gardener" in Jour. B.B.R.A.S., Vol. XXV, pp. 161-166. Vide my Asiatic Papers, Part III, pp. 51-56.



- 14th Adar .. .. .At the village of Sandhāra  
(p. 54).
- 17th Adar .. .. .Crossed river Ghāti Chāndā  
(p. 57).
- 2nd Dai (December) .. ..Fort of Ranthambūr (p. 58).
- 12th Dai .. .. .At Māndū (p. 61).
- 18th Dai .. .. .Arrived at Fathpur. Stayed  
there, as plague was raging at  
Agra (p. 64)

We see from this itinerary, that Jahangir had left Ahmadabad for Agra on 21st Shahrivar, corresponding to 2nd September 1618, and after travelling from place to place, had arrived at Fathpur near Agra on 18th of Deh (end of December 1618). So, it appears that the place, where Kaikobad presented his petition personally, was some place between Ahmadabad and Agra. As the date of the petition, we have arrived at, is some month about November 1618. Possibly, the petition was presented at some place between Ahmadabad and Ujain.

## VII.

### PERSONAGES REFERRED TO IN THE PETITION.

I will now speak of the Personages, Places and Historical Events referred to in the Petition. We find Personages Re-ferred to in the that the following personages are referred Petition. to in the Petition :—

- Mahomedans*.—1. Humāyūn, referred to indirectly, not by name. 2. Akbar. 3. Jahangir. 4. Khusrau. 5. Hasan Beg. 6. The Sepāh-Sālār. 7. Abu-l-Hasan. 8. Qilij Khan. 9. Fazal Allah. 10. (Chin Qilij Khan), the son of Qilij Khan.
- Parsees*.—1. Māhyār. 2. Kaikobad. 3. The Ancestors of Minochehr—Changa Shah, Manock and Bahman. 4. Minochehr. 5. Naushirwan.

Humayun is not referred to by name in our petition. But when Kaikobad refers to former old times (qadim ul ayām), when the Desāigiri of Naosari and Parchol was held by the ancestors (abā) of Minochehrshāh, who were under the *khedmat* of

<sup>1</sup> Humayun.

the kings (cc. 134-142), he refers to the time of King Humāyūn. The *Mahyar-nameh* throws some light on the subject. According to that writing, Manock, the son of Chāngā bin Āsā, the grandfather of Minochehr, was in the *khedmat* of Humayun. He had gone to Delhi in the service of King Humayun, who had, in recognition of his services, given him the *Desaigiri* of Naosari and Parchol.

Now, we learn from history, that Humayun came twice to Gujarat. We have a long chapter (Chap. XXIII) in the *Akbar-nameh*<sup>1</sup> about the subjugation of Gujarat after the defeat of Sultan Bahaḍur. Humayun left his capital for its conquest "in the beginning of Jumāda-l-awwal, 941, (8th November 1534)."<sup>2</sup> Both Mandu and Gujarat were conquered in 1535 A.C. In the distribution of governorships, we find the mention of both Nansari (Naosari) and Surat. We read: "Pattan was given to Mirzā Yādgar Nāsir; Broach, Nansari and the port of Surat to Qāsim Husain Sultan; Cambay and Baroda to Dōst Bēg Ishak Āqā; and Mahmūdābad to Mīr Būcaka."<sup>3</sup> Having made this distribution, Humayun went to Diu. He then heard that rebellion had broken out in Gujarat. He thereupon came to Cambay. "From thence he went to Baroda and Broach and from thence to Surat."<sup>4</sup>

We see from this account that, at this time, Humayun had come up to Surat. In the conquest of the country round about, even Naosari is referred to. We read: "Khān Jahān of Shirāz and Rūmī Khān, who had the name of Safar and who is the builder of the fort of Surat, united and took possession of Nausārī which was held by 'Abdulla Khan.....About this time they also took the port of Surat."<sup>5</sup> It seems that, perhaps, it was at this time (1535) when Humayun came to Surat and took Naosari, that he made the acquaintance of Manock bin Changa bin Asa, who was, at that time, one of the leading Parsees of Naosari, and taking him into his *khedmat*, took him to his capital.

<sup>1</sup> Beveridge's Translation Vol I pp 300 et seq

<sup>2</sup> Ibid p. 300.

<sup>3</sup> Ibid p. 317.

<sup>4</sup> Ibid p 319.

<sup>5</sup> Ibid p 318

A much later writing, the Māhyār-nama says that it was Humayun, the father of Akbar, who had first engaged the services of Manock, the father of Minochehr. The writer Dastur Erachji Sorabji Meherji Rana does not give his authority, but, as he was known as a good traditional scholar, he must have made the statement on the authority of the oral tradition at Naosari. His statement runs thus :

خشن هر آنکس ز زر تشنیاں .: بخدمت شہ مانده بود از ایحان  
 بد آنکس بہ بہدین نیک اعتقاد .: بباشندہ نوساری بودہ ز داد  
 منوچہر شاہ را نیامان بد او .: بزر تشنیاں داد او آبرو  
 ورا نام مانک بودی آشکار .: بد او پور چانگا بن آسا کبار  
 در آیام او بد بہندوستان .: یکی شہ مسلمان فرمان روان  
 بودہ شہر دہلی ورا تختگاہ .: ہمایون بودہ نام آن نیک شاہ  
 بد او باپ اکبر شہ نیکنام .: زر تشنیاں شاد بودی مدام  
 بخدمت آن شہ بماند ز چست .: ہمان مانک پور چانگانخست  
 کہ مانک منوچہر شاہ را نکو .: بودی جد و میداشت بس آبرو  
 بدہلی بنزد ہمایون شاہ .: برفتہ بخدمت بماندہ ز جاہ  
 ہمہ کار خدمت شہ از ایحان .: بکرده در آنجا بہندین زمان  
 برو مہربان شد شہ نیکنام .: ورا داد دسایگری را ز کام  
 بنوساری و پارچول را دیگر .: ہمانکی سپردہ کہ بد ہوشور

*Translation.*—The first person from the Zoroastrians who had been in the service of the kings from (olden) times<sup>1</sup> was a good *behdîn* (layman) of good faith. He was an inhabitant of Naosari from his life.<sup>2</sup> He was an ancestor of Minochehrshah. He was (lit. gave) an honour to Zoroastrians. His name was known as Manock. He was the son of the great (kabâr) Changa bin Asa. In his time, there was in Hindustan as a ruler, a Mahomedan king. The city of Dehli was his capital. Humayun was the name of the good king. He was the father of the illustrious king Akbar. The Zoroastrians were always pleased (with him). The above (hamân) Manock, son of Changa, was the first who had been strong (chust) in the service (khedmat) of that king.

<sup>1</sup> ایحان miswritten for احيان times, ages.

<sup>2</sup> Dād, life, age. The sense may be taken as "from his birth" or "for the whole of his life."

Manock was the good grandfather (jadd) of Minochehrshah and was held in esteem. He had gone to Dehli in the service of King Humayūn and remained with dignity. He was there in (olden) times (ahyān), in the service of the King for some time. Then the illustrious king became kind to him and gave him of (his own) accord, the Desaiship. He entrusted to Manock Naosari, Parchol and other (places), because he was intelligent (hūshwar).

Now, we saw above, on the authority of the Akbar-nameh<sup>1</sup>, that Humayun had come to Gujarat, and that among the governorships bestowed by him upon several officers, there were also those of Surat and Naosari.

Thus we see that even Humayun had employed one or two Parsees on responsible posts like that of *khazān-chi*. We learn that, the later Mogul Emperors had, as it were carried on this policy of employing Parsees, the descendants of the ancient Persians, in their court on some special duties. We have the instances of the founders of several Parsee families like the Taleyarkhans, Nèk Sāyatkhans, etc., who in one way or another, served the royal courts of the Mogul Emperors.

Akbar is mentioned in more than one place in the petition.

2 Akbar. Though his son Jahangir is the king to whom the petition is made, the story of the petition begins with the advent of Akbar to Gujarat. So, we will collect here some particulars referring to Akbar in connection with the petition. The Parsees, their ancient country of Persia, and their religion, manners and customs had specially drawn the attention of Akbar. His father Humāyūn had given a good post to a Parsee of Naosari, as said above.

From what is said in the petition, it appears that several Parsees, at one time or another appeared in the court of Akbar and in that of his son Jahangir. (a) Vincent Simth says: "Akbar was a foreigner in India. He had not a drop of Indian blood in his veins."<sup>2</sup> He was a Turki by descent, but, in his manners

Akbar's Court  
exhibited features  
partly derived from  
Iranian sources.

<sup>1</sup> Akbar nameh, translated by Beveridge, I p. 317.

<sup>2</sup> Akbar the Great Mogul (1542-1605) p. 9.

and customs, he was more an Iranian than a Turki.<sup>1</sup> Abu Fazl, in his *Abkar-nameh*, traces his descent from Adam downwards and represents him as being 53rd in descent from Adam.<sup>2</sup>

(b) Akbar's ancestor, Taimur, belonged to the Chagatai or the Jagatai tribe of the Turks, who had taken their name from Chagatai or Jagatai, the second son of Changiz Khan.<sup>3</sup> Smith says of Akbar that "the manners and customs of his court exhibited features which were derived from all the three sources, Turki, Mongol, and Iranian. During the early years of his reign, Indian influences counted for little, the officers and courtiers surrounding him being divided into two parties, the Turks—Mongol or Chagatai and Uzbek—on the one side, and the Persians on the other."<sup>4</sup> (c) Again, the officers of this Chagatai clan, seem to have known well the story of the old Iranian kings and heroes. For example, we learn from *Firashta* that the Chagatai

1 Akbar's descent from Taimur or Tamerlane, known as the Great Turk of Central Asia, as given on his seals in the two *farmāns* of 300 *higahs* of land, bestowed upon Dastur Meherji Rana and his son Kaikobad, runs as follows ((Vide "Parsees at the Court of Akbar and Dastur Meherji Rana" pp. 106-308, 126):

- (1) Amir Timūr Sāheb-i-qirān.      (2) Mirān Shāh.
- (3) Sultan Muhammad Mirza.      (4) Sultan Abdul-Said.
- (5) Mirza Omar Shekh.      (6) Badshah Babar.      (7) Badshah Humāyūn.
- (8) Jalāluddin Muhammad Akbar Badshāh.

It was in 1402 that Timur or Tamerlane first appeared on the field of Central Asia as a conqueror. In about 1215, the Turkish tribe, which later on, founded the Ottoman Empire\* at Constantinople fled from its home of Central Asia via Persia to the West to escape the fury of the Mogul (Mongol) conquerors. The Seljuk Empire fell in 1300 A.C. and ten Turkish tribes rose in ascendancy. The Osmanlis of Osman came to the top. In 1301, the birth-year of the Ottoman Empire, Osman first coined money and got the Khutba recited in his name. During his wars with the Christian kings of Byzantine, the latter were helped by Mogul tribes. It was in the time of his son, Orkhan, that the well-known corps of the Janissaries—a corps of Christian children brought up as soldiers and as Mahomedans—came into existence. In 1319, Murad I gained a splendid victory over his Christian enemies. Murad's son Bāyezid I was checked in his western conquests by the invasion of Timur, the Tartar who invaded his Asiatic dominions. In 1402, Timur defeated and captured Bāyezid the Ottoman, destroyed the power of the Osmanlis and, liberating the Turkish tribes from his sway made them independent.

\* The word Ottoman is a corruption of Osmanli, the race of Osman (born 1258), the grandson of Sulaiman, under whom the Turkish tribe fled. This Osman was a feudal vassal of the Seljuk Sultans of Kenhiet from whom he received a drum and a horse-tail banner as emblems of power.

<sup>2</sup> The *Akbar-nama*, translated by H. Beveridge Vol. I pp. 143-45.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid* p. 10.

<sup>4</sup> Smith's *Akbar*, pp. 9-10.

officers, like Tardy Beg Khan, of the early part of Akbar's reign, esteemed themselves "at least equal to Keikobad and Keikaos (the legendary Persian Heroes)."<sup>1</sup> (d) In the numerous adjectives, about 100, applied by Abu Fazal to Akbar,<sup>2</sup> we find four arising from old Iranian subjects. His justice is compared with the equability of Farwardin, his temper with the soft zephyrs blowing in Ardibihisht, his splendour with that of Jamshed and his glory with that of Faridun.<sup>3</sup>

(e) Prof. J. Sarkar, while speaking of "the imported foreign elements in the Mughal administrative system"<sup>4</sup> says: "The Mughal administration presented a combination of Indian and extra-Indian elements; or, more correctly, it was the Perso-Arabic system in Indian setting."<sup>5</sup> He illustrates this by quoting Prof. C. H. Becker of Hamburg and by pointing "to the early centuries of Arab rule" when "two political functions were sharply distinguished; the governorship and the treasury."<sup>6</sup> In India, that was so in the case of "the subahdar or provincial governor and the *diwan* or revenue chief of the province."<sup>7</sup> It was the duty of each of these "to keep a strict watch over the other."<sup>8</sup> But here, one must remember, that much of the method of this early Arab rule was taken from the ancient Persians, from the Achæmenian kings who especially kept a class of spies who saw that the Satraps or provincial governors ruled well. As said by Beni Prasad, Akbar, like Diocletian, "introduced the Persian etiquette in the teeth of opposition."<sup>9</sup>

(f) Even in the farmāns, given to Dastur Kaikobād and to Mulla Jamasp and Mulla Hoshang, their nationality is specially spoken of as Parsee. They are spoken of as Parsee Kaikobad<sup>10</sup> and as Mulla Jamasp and Mulla Hoshang Parsees.<sup>11</sup> We learn from the petition, that he had appointed a Parsee, Minochehr, a scion of the well-known Naosari family of Changashah, as his treasurer (*Khazānchi*).<sup>12</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Brigg's *Ferishta* (ed. of 1909) Vol. II 187,

<sup>2</sup> Akbar nameh, by Beveridge, Vol. I, pp. 16-28.

<sup>3</sup> Ibid p. 20.

<sup>4</sup> Mughal administration 2nd, ed p. 5.

<sup>5</sup> Ibid p. 6.    <sup>6</sup> Ibid.    <sup>7</sup> Ibid. p. 7.    <sup>8</sup> Ibid.

<sup>9</sup> History of Jahangir, by Beni Prasad p. 101.

<sup>10</sup> Vide my 'Parsees at the Court of Akbar' p. 96

<sup>11</sup> Vide my paper 'A firman of Emperor Jehangir in favour of two Parsees of the Dordi family, of Naosari' (J. B. B. R. A. S. vol. XXV, p. 428 Vide my "Asiatic Papers, Part. III p. 108).

<sup>12</sup> Vide below p. 102. about this Minochehr.

Of the somewhat later part of Akbar's reign, Smith says : " His personal conduct was then guided mainly by Hindu *dharma*, or rules of duty, modified considerably by the precepts of Iranian Zoroastrianism."<sup>1</sup> Further on, Smith says : " Both Turki and Persian were spoken at his court, but the former tongue in the course of time dropped out of use, while the latter became the recognized official and literary language. The highly Persianized form of Hindi known by the name of Urdu, or the camp language, which developed gradually as a convenient instrument of communication between natives and foreigners, was often almost identical in vocabulary with Persian as spoken in India, while retaining the grammatical structures of an Indian tongue".<sup>2</sup>

All these subjects lead us to see that Akbar was somewhat attracted to the Parsees, the Indian descendants of the ancient Persians. According to the *Ain-i Akbari*, Akbar's special attention seems to have been drawn towards the Parsees at Raner (Rander) near Surat, where he saw them first in large numbers. Abu Fazal says of this place : " The followers of Zoroaster coming from Persia, settled here. They follow the teaching of the Zend and the Pâzend and erect funeral structures." <sup>3</sup>

In this connection, viz., Abu Fazl's reference to Zoroastrians, Abu Fazal's reference to an unusual occurrence at the time of the birth of Akbar in his *Akbar-nameh* draws our special attention, because it reminds us of what Parsee books,<sup>4</sup> Pliny<sup>5</sup> and the Scandinavian Edda say of the birth of Zoroaster. He says : " Among other wondrous indications there was this, that contrary to the way of other infants, his Majesty, the king of kings, at his birth and at the first opening of his eyes on the visible world, rejoiced the hearts of the wise by a sweet smile. Penetrating physiognomists recognized the smile as the

<sup>1</sup> Smith's *Akbar*, p. 10.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid* p. 11.

<sup>3</sup> *Ain-i-Akbari* ain 15. Jarett's Translation, Vol. II, p. 243.

<sup>4</sup> Dinkard, Bk. VII, Chap. III, 2 S.B.E. Vol. XLVII., pp. 35, 41 ; Bk. V, Chap. II, 5 p. 123 ; Zadsparam, Chap. XIV, 12, S.B.E., XLVII, p. 142  
*Vide my Lectures on Zoroastrian subjects (Gujarati) Vol. I, p. 134.*

<sup>5</sup> Natural History VII, 15, 16.

herald-augury of the smiles of the spring of dominion and fortune and saw in it, the opening bud of hope and peace."<sup>1</sup>

Kaikobad's story in his petition begins with the event of Akbar's Conquest of Surat. So, we will describe this event here at some length: When Akbar came to the throne of Hindustan at the young age of 14, under the protectorship of Bairamkhan, he had, at first, to fight against the various claimants of the Sur family of Shir Shah, and then against the Hindu leader, Hemu, who was defeated at Panipat on 5th November 1556. Then, having conquered several inland territories, he thought of conquering the coast of Gujarat and Bengal. He first went to Gujarat, which was for some time, under the rule of his father Humayûn. He left Fatehpur Sikri for the conquest of Gujarat on 4th July 1571. He approached, in November 1572, Ahmadabad, where, Muzaffar Shah surrendered. Akbar went to Cambay to see the sea for the first time in his life and had a sail on the sea. The Portuguese merchants of the place went there to pay him their respects. At that time "Surat, the wealthy port at the mouth of the Tâptî, was the chief stronghold of the Mirzâs, and consequently the objective of the campaign, but the immediate purpose was to meet and defeat Ibrâhim Hussain."<sup>2</sup>

Jahangir, in his Memoirs, speaks of the victorious expedition against Gujarat, as one "of the well-known deeds of Akbar."<sup>3</sup> He emphasised Akbar's rapid march there, which was necessitated by the shelter which Gujarat gave to some of the noblemen, Mirza Ibrahim Husain, Muhammad Hussain Mirza and Shah Mirza who had rebelled. He says: "His Majesty . . . started for Gujarat with a body of loyal troops without delay from the capital of Fathpur. Having covered in the space of nine days the long road which it should take two months to accomplish, sometimes on horse back, sometimes on a camel or

<sup>1</sup> Akbar-nameh by Beveridge, p. 132. Beveridge says in a foot note that: "This is a trait mentioned of Zoroaster. (Dabistan, Translation I, p. 218). Anquetil du Perron (Life of Zoroaster 13,n.) quotes Pliny, who in his Natural History says: 'Risisse eodem die quo genitus esset, unum hominem accepimus Zoroastrum.' As to Beveridge's above reference to Zoroaster, some think that Virgil had this (Zoroaster's) story in mind when he bade the divine child that was soon to be born recognise its mother with a smile (Eclogue IV) (The story of Myths, by E.E. Kallett, 1927), p. 249.

<sup>2</sup> Smith's Akbar p. 111.

<sup>3</sup> Memoirs by Rogers and Beveridge I p. 40.



in a bullock-cart, he arrived at Sarnâl<sup>1</sup> on 15th September 1572, having reached the enemy's camp, he was advised to have a night attack, but refused to have it, saying "that a night attack was the resort of the fainthearted and the way of the deceitful."<sup>2</sup> It is said that, Muhammad Husain Mirza, one of the rebel chiefs who had taken shelter there, at first, refused to believe that Akbar, whom his spies had seen at Fathpur, about 14 days ago, could have come there. The fight at, and the siege of Surat are also described at some length by Vincent Smith.<sup>3</sup> Akbar, who had encamped somewhere near Baroda, "insisted on pursuing his rebellious relative with quite a small force, at the head of which he rode off."<sup>4</sup> He was advised to delay his attack upon the enemy who was holding Sarnâl, but he refused saying: "Always, and especially in this affair, I have put my trust in God. If I had considered routine, I should not have come in this rapid manner."<sup>5</sup> "Supported by Man Singh of Amber, his adoptive father, Bhagwan Das, and sundry brave Muslim nobles, Akbar forded the river (Mahi) and scrambled up the steep bank to the water-gate of Sarnâl."<sup>6</sup> Vincent Smith compares such daring feats of Akbar with those of Alexander-the great.<sup>7</sup>

After having won this victory on the route, Akbar, before coming towards Surat, asked Raja Todar Mull "to report on the strength of the Surat defences."<sup>8</sup> Having received favourable report, he advanced towards Surat and began laying siege to it on 11th January 1573. During the siege, some Portuguese officers who had come from Goa with a view to help the defences of Surat and to oppose Akbar, finding, that the king had a strong army, made the best of the occasion and presented themselves before him as friendly envoys with presents. These were duly accepted by Akbar, who, on his part, was afraid of the maritime strength of the Portuguese under their Viceroy, Dom Antonio de Noronha. A treaty of peace was made with the Portuguese envoy, Antonio Cabral.<sup>9</sup> This treaty secured a safe voyage for his Mahomedan pilgrims to Mecca.

<sup>1</sup> "A well known small town in the Kaira District." Smith's Akbar p. 112 n 1

<sup>2</sup> Ibid I p 40

<sup>3</sup> Jahangir's Memoirs I p. 40

<sup>4</sup> Smith's Akbar, pp. 111-114.

<sup>5</sup> Ibid p. 113.

<sup>6</sup> Jahangir's Memoirs by Rogers and Beveridge, I. p. 41.

<sup>7</sup> Smith's Akbar p. 112.

<sup>8</sup> Ibid p. 54.

<sup>9</sup> Ibid p. 113.

<sup>10</sup> Ibid

The seige of Surat, after about a month and a half, ended favourably on 26th February 1573, when the city capitulated. The commandant Hamzabân, who had served Humayûn, was granted his life, but his tongue was cut off for having had indulged in some indiscretion.<sup>1</sup> After the capture of Surat, Akbar had a drinking bout wherein he got drunk.<sup>2</sup> Akbar left Surat for his return journey to Agra on 13th April 1573. He then paid another visit to Gujarat to suppress a revolution.

Akbar is mentioned in a Parsee document of Naosari of the same year as that in which he took Surat i.e., of 1573 A.C. Both he and Qilij Khan, of whom we will speak later on, and whom he had made the first Governor of Surat, are mentioned together. It is the document known as that of the Pipalia wâdi which, I have referred to in my "Parsees at the Court of Akbar."<sup>3</sup>

The Parsees of Surat were presented with a piece of land by Akbar for a Tower of silence. It seems that it may be during this visit that he may have presented the land to them.

I give below in a tabular form some of the important events with dates connected with Akbar's invasion of Gujarat and the seige of Surat<sup>4</sup>.

DATES RELATING TO AKBAR'S VISIT OF GUJARAT AND THE  
CAPTURE OF SURAT.

				A.C.
Akbar started for campaign in Gujarat	..	..	4-	7-1572
Capture of Muzzaffar Shah of Gujarat	..	..	7-11-	1572
Camped near Ahmadabad	..	..	20-11-	1572
Came to Cambay : took a trip on the sea	..	..	12-12-	1572
Began the Seige of Surat	..	..	11- 1-	1573
Capitulation of Surat	..	..	26- 2-	1573
Started on march homewards	..	..	13- 4-	1573
Arrival at Fathpur-Sikri	..	..	3- 6-	1573
Rebellion in Gujarat	..	..		1573
Started for Gujarat	..	..	23- 8-	1573
Battle of Ahmadabad	..	..	2- 9-	1573
Started on homeward March	..	..	13- 9-	1573
Arrival at Fathpur Sikri	..	..	5-10-	1573

<sup>1</sup> Ibid p. 114.

<sup>2</sup> Ibid.

<sup>3</sup> Vide my "Parsees at the Court of Akbar and Dastur Meherji Rana pp. 155-58

<sup>4</sup> The Dates are based on V. Smith's account. (Akbar the Great Mogul 1917) pp. 110-114 ; pp. 453 et seq.)

The Petition refers to Akbar's interview with Dastur Meherji Rana or Māhyār at Surat. It says (couplets 47-55): "Since the time when the fortunate King (i.e., Akbar) took Surat, it is 48 years. My father was Māhyār by name. He attended to pay respects to the illustrious king. When he came into the court of the King of the earth, he bowed and blessed. The King bestowed many favours upon him and made many inquiries about religion and customs. The illustrious king, the fortunate king, brought him to Agra in his auspicious service. Although he was a weak old man, he became young at the foot of the throne of the king. This slave (i.e. I) was a fellow-traveller with (my) father, following the auspicious stirrup of the illustrious king. He (Akbar) bestowed upon me two or three offices. The holy-bodied Akbar exalted me. That office was changed from slave (i.e., me) and I gave all account of it in the office (daftar)."<sup>1</sup>

The accession of Jahangir, who was known as Sultan Salim and was spoken of by Akbar, at first, as Shikhū Baba, is more than once named in the petition. He ascended the throne on 24th October 1605 and assumed the title of Jahangir and Nur-ud-din. The following events of his reign are referred to in Kaikobād's petition :

1. His Jaras-i-adālat i.e., Bell or Chain of Justice. Of his order about this chain, Jahangir speaks as "the first order after my accession."<sup>2</sup> This was in October 1605.
2. The flight of his rebellious son Khusrau and his pursuit after him on 6th April 1606.<sup>3</sup>

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Mr. J. H. Gardiner of the Statuary and Granite Company, in his prospectus, issued in about 1900, thus speaks of the importance of commemorating this visit "A Grand panel could be erected to immortalize the meeting of the Mogul Emperor Akbar and the illustrious Dastur (High Priest) Meherji Rana, whose name is a household word in every Parsee family, which would decorate the wall of the Fire-temple."

<sup>3</sup> Memoirs, Rogers and Beveridge I p. 7.

<sup>3</sup> Ibid p. 52 gives the year as 1605. This is evidently a mistake because Jahangir came to throne on 24th October 1605.

3. A hunting expedition to Girjhak Nandana. This was a hunting expedition in 1606 which lasted for 3 months and 6 days and from which he returned on 16th Shawwall. It was in this hunting expedition that Jahangir had his first *qamargâh* hunt at Girjhak and the second at Nandana.
4. A hunting tour to Cabul in 1607. He started for it on 7th Zi-l-hijja (in the end of March).<sup>2</sup> He left Cabul for the return journey on 4th Jamad-i-awwal (about September 1607).
5. A Hunt at Nimleh, during the return journey from Cabul, on 24th Jamadu-l-awwal<sup>3</sup> (1607 A.C.) He returned to Lahore on 13th Sha'ban<sup>4</sup> (1607 A.C.)

Kaikobad speaks of his presence in the camp of Jahangir at the time when he (Jahangir) went, by quick marches, in pursuit of his rebellious son Khusrau. I give below a brief account of the events as gathered from Jahangir's Tuzuk:—Khusrau was the eldest son of Jahangir. On coming to throne, Jahangir had presented him with a lac of Rupees to build a house for himself. A short time, after, in the very first year of Jahangir's reign, he rebelled in consequence of the company and advice of bad friends. Jahangir says: "Futile ideas had entered the mind of Khusrau in consequence of his youth and the pride youths have, and the lack of experience and the lack of foresight of worthless companions, especially at the time of my revered father's illness. Some of these short-sighted ones, through the multitude of their crimes and offences, had become hopeless of pardon and indulgence, and imagined that by making Khusrau a tool they might conduct the affairs of State through him. . . . . I invariably found Khusrau pre-occupied and distracted. However much, in favour and affection for him, I wished to drive from his mind some of his fears and alarms, nothing was gained until, at last, by the advice of those whose fortune was reversed, on the night of Sunday, Zi-l-hijja 8th.... (April 6th 1605)<sup>5</sup>.....he made a pretence of going to visit the tomb of His Majesty (Akbar), and went off with 360 horsemen, who were his adherents, from within the fort of Agra."<sup>6</sup> On hearing the news at night, Jahangir at first ordered the Amir-i-umarâ to pursue him at once, but afterwards, recalling him,

<sup>1</sup> Memoirs by Rogers and Beveridge, I. p. 81.

<sup>2</sup> Ibid p. 90.

<sup>3</sup> Ibid p. 125.

<sup>4</sup> Ibid p. 131.

<sup>5</sup> This must be 1606.

<sup>6</sup> Memoirs, I, pp. 51-52.

sent Shaikh Farid Bakhshi-begi for the purpose. He then proposed to go personally in the morning. He did so. He was not certain as to where Khusrav would run away. It may be that he may go to Bengal, where his maternal grand father Man Singh lived, or in some other direction. News came that he went in the direction of Punjab. On his way in the pursuit, Jahangir passing by the mausoleum of his father Akbar, prayed to his spirit to grant him courage in the affair. Jahangir says: "My trouble was this, that my son without any cause or reason should become an opponent and an enemy. If I should make no endeavour to capture him, the fractious or rebellious would have an instrument, or else he would take his own way and go for an asylum to the Uzbeks or the Persians, and contempt would fall upon my government."<sup>1</sup> Further on, Jahangir says, that even in the time of Akbar, he had shown seditious tendencies and that his mother (the Hindu wife of Jahangir, a very loving wife) was often in grief for his misconduct and she committed suicide in a temporary mood of insanity which was to some extent hereditary in her family.<sup>2</sup> Jahangir then describes his further march *via* Delhi, Panipat, Karnal and Shahabad. At Shahabad, when introduced to some new disciples of the Ilahi Din founded by his father, he gave, what may be called, a brief initiation sermon, which is worth noting. Jahangir says: "At the time of initiation some words of advice were given to the disciple: he must not confuse or darken his years with sectarian quarrels, but must follow the rule of universal peace with regards to religion; he must not kill any living creature with his own hand, and must not slay anything. The only exceptions are in battle and the chase

"Be not the practiser of making lifeless any living thing,

Save in the battlefield or in the time of hunting."

"Honour the luminaries (the Sun, Moon, etc.), which are manifestations of God's light, according to the degree of each, and recognize the power and existence of Almighty God at all times and seasons. Be careful indeed that whether in private or in public you never for a moment forget Him.

"Lame or low or crooked or unrefined,

Be amorous of Him and seek after Him."

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<sup>1</sup> Memoirs, I p. 54.

<sup>2</sup> Ibid, p. 55.

After several marches, Jahangir arrived near Lahore, which was besieged by Khusrau and defended by Jahangir's officers. On hearing of the arrival of Jahangir, Khusrau sent an army of about 10,000 to 12,000 men towards him with a view to a night attack. Jahangir heard this news at the *sarāy* of Qāzi Āli on the night of Thursday, the 16th of Farwardin of the first year of his reign. Jahangir was about taking his meals at the time, but he ceased doing so and marched against Khusrau. He says: "Mu'izzu-l-mulk had brought a dish of roast meat (*biryāni*), and I was turning towards it with zest, when the news of the battle was brought to me. Though I had a longing to eat the roast meat, I immediately took a mouthful by way of augury<sup>2</sup> and mounted, and without waiting for the coming up of men and without regard to the smallness of my force, I went off in all haste."<sup>3</sup> But news soon came to him of the victory of his army at Lahore over Khusrau. Then, eight days after i.e., on the 24th of Farwardin, Khusrau was captured, and within a few days, he was brought in chains before his father. The following is a list of the early marches of Jahangir before arriving at Lahore, which was being besieged by Khusrau. So, as Kaikobad followed Jahangir, these were also the places visited by Kaikobad in the matter of the pursuit of Khusrau :—

Dates.

Sunday 8th Zi-l-hijja 6th April 1606<sup>4</sup> Khusrau fled from Agra.

9th.....7th April. 1606. Jahangir started in pursuit.

Tuesday 10th. 8th April. 1606. Jahangir alighted at Hodal.

Wednesday 11th. 9th April. 1606. Jahangir alighted at Palwal.

<sup>1</sup> Memoirs I p. 61.

<sup>2</sup> It is an Indian belief, even now current, and even among the Parsees, that when meals are brought to you, and there comes a sudden call for urgent business, one must try to finish the meals at first. But, if the call is very urgent, put in a morsel ( *q̄s̄* ), in your mouth before leaving the meals.

<sup>3</sup> Memoirs I p. 63. Tarikh-i-Salim Shahi, Elliot's History of India, Vol. I p 265.

<sup>4</sup> Rogers and Beveridge give 1605 which is evidently a mistake because Jahangir came to throne on 24th October 1605.

Friday 13th.	11th April. 1606. Reached Delhi, where he prayed before the tomb of Akbar.
Saturday 14th.	12th April. 1606. Stayed at Sarāy Narela.
Monday 16th.	14th April. 1606. Reached province of Pani- pat.
Tuesday 17th.	15th April. 1606. Reached paragnah of Kar- nāl.
Thursday 19th.	17th April. 1606. Reached paragnah of Shāh- abad.
Tuesday 24th.	22nd April. 1606. At Alūwa, 18 miles, north- west of Umballa.

I collect here a few facts about this prince. He was Jahangir's eldest son, born by his Rajput wife, the sister of Mān Singh who had accompanied Akbar to Surat and was present at its siege and capitulation on 26th February 1573, and who, when there, saved Akbar from the result of a drinking bout, wherein Akbar was about to kill himself.<sup>1</sup> Khusrau was born to this Rajput queen in 1587 A.C.<sup>2</sup> Khusrau had begun showing from his young age, symptoms of infidelity towards his father Jahangir. His mother, out of dislike for such conduct on the part of his son in spite of her remonstrances, committed suicide.<sup>3</sup> Jahangir himself had been somewhat unfaithful to his father Akbar. So, at one time in 1604, Akbar thought of disinheriting him and of appointing his grandson Khusrau his successor.<sup>4</sup> At last, there was a reconciliation between Akbar and Selim (Jahangir). On Akbar's death on 17th October 1605, there was a plot to place Khusrau on the throne instead of Jahangir, but it failed.<sup>5</sup>

In the case of Jahangir and his sons, we see a repetition, as it were, of events in the history of ancient Iran. We learn from Firdousi, that King Gushtasp was disobedient to his father Lohrasp, and wanted the throne of Iran in his father's lifetime. Then, when he came to the throne, his son Aspandyār became disobedient to him (Gushtāsp). Here, a disobedient son, when he became

<sup>1</sup> Smith's Akbar p. 114.

<sup>2</sup> Smith's Akbar p. 241. Khāfi Khān dates the birth two years later. Ibid n. 2.

<sup>3</sup> Ibid p. 132; Jahangir's Memoirs I, p. 55.

<sup>4</sup> Smith's Akbar, p. 316.

<sup>5</sup> Ibid pp. 320-23.

father had a disobedient son in turn. This was what happened in the case of Jahangir and even in the case of his son Shah-Jahan. Jahangir, for evident reasons, to avoid posterity judging ill of him, has omitted from his Memoirs one or two facts about his treatment of Khusrau. Khusrau revolted and after some fight was captured. There was some reconciliation and Khusrau had accompanied Jahangir, though under watch, in his tour to Kabul. Jahangir, in his return tour, found, that there was a plot to assassinate him in which Khusrau was concerned. Jahangir then thought of doing something which can put Khusrau out of the way of creating disturbances in future. The first thought was that of murder. But, after all, his parental feeling and the cries and entreaties of the ladies of the harem prevented him from going to that extreme. So, he blinded him. Later on, having some pity on his son, he put him under medical treatment by which one eye was cured.

There is one thing in the account of Khusrau's life, which again reminds us of an event of the History of ancient Iran. When Khushrau was imprisoned by his father and blinded, "an obscure youth of Ujjaini in Behar, named Qutb personated the prince and gave out that he had escaped from prison. He sought to prove his identity by pointing at the scars, which, he said, had been left by catories (cups) being fastened to the eyes. He gathered a large band round himself and marched on Patna, the capital of the province." This pseudo-Khusrav took Patna, but, in the end, he was overthrown. This action on the part of this obscure person was due to the great popularity of Khusrau who was a very handsome person and was much liked by the people. So, when they heard of the revolt, not knowing that the pseudo-Khusrau was a pretender joined the revolt.<sup>1</sup> This episode reminds us of the ancient history of the Achæmenian Cambyses and his brother Smerdis who was extremely popular among the people. Cambyses getting afraid, lest this popularity may lead to his dethronement and Smerdis's enthronement, secretly got his brother murdered. So, during the absence of Cambyses to Egypt, taking advantage of Smerdis's popularity, an obscure Persian, who had come to know of the secret murder of Smerdis, personated Smerdis and raised a revolt. The people, not knowing that Smerdis was murdered, out of their love for Smerdis, joined the revolt of this Pseudo-Smerdis and put him on the throne and he ruled for some time till dethroned by Darius, Cambyses had, in the meantime, died in Egypt.

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<sup>1</sup> Memoirs I pp. 173-7



Kaikobad speaks of Hasan Beg as the *bawtāt* (بوتات) i.e., the person in charge of the King's expenses. Kaikobad asked for stipends from Hasan Beg, but he refused to pay, saying, that his name was not on the list of *khedmat*-holders. This person seems to be the same whose name we find in the *parwanchah* for the 300 bigahs of land granted to Kaikobad by Akbar, referred to in my paper on "The Parsees at the Court of Akbar and Dastur Meherji Rana"<sup>1</sup> There, he is spoken as Mirza Hasan Alibeg. On roz Bād (Goād) of the month Bahman ilahi year 48 (of the reign of Akbar, A.C. 1604), he signs or seals the *purwanchah*. As said by me there<sup>2</sup> "this officer seems to be Mirza Ali Beg Akbarshahi referred to by Blochmann (Ain-i-Akbari Translation Vol. I p. 482). According to the Maasir-ul-Umara (Vol. III p. 357 l, 6), when Jahangir came to the throne, he was raised to the rank of the Commander of 4,000 (ba mansab-i chehār hazāri sar afrāzi yāfteh). "When Jahangir went to Ajmer, he went to Court." So, it seems, that at the time referred to in the petition, he was at Jahangir's court in charge of the king's purse.<sup>3</sup>

Kaikobad refers to a Sepah-Sālār (Sālār i Sepāh) Commander of Troops, more than once. When Jahangir first gave to Kaikobad a *farmān* for the Desāiship of Naosari and Parchol, he took that *farmān* to the Sepah-salar, who held the *jagir* (of Surat. cc. 130-131). The Sepah-salar gave him a *parwāna*, wherewith he got the Desāiship of the paragnahs of the two places, which was held in former times by Minochehr. Then, later on, when he was recalled to the Court and the Jāgir (of Surat) was changed, it was given to Abu-l-Hasan who had asked for it. Then, who is this Sepah Salar who held the governorship of the Sarkar of Surat, who gave to Kaikobad the Desāiship of Naosari and Parchol, and from whose hands the governorship passed to Abu-l-Hasan?

<sup>1</sup> Vide the photo of the *parwanchah* given at the end of my "Parsees at the Court of Akbar". Vide p. 133 for the text, and 135 for the translation of the document.

<sup>2</sup> Ibid p. 135. n. 10.

<sup>3</sup> If we take it, that this person, who is also referred to, as said above, in the *parwanchah* as Mirza Ali beg, is the Mirza Ali Beg Akbarshahi, all the particulars about him, as given by Maasir ul Umarā, are given by Blochmann in his Ain-i-Akbari, I. p. 482

This *Sālār-i Sepah* or *Sepah-sālār* is 'Abdu-llah Khān, who was known as *Firuz Jang*. I give below a few particulars about him from Jahangir's Memoirs to enable us to see his connection with the Subah-ship of Gujarat. He belonged to the Naqsh-bandi family and began his life as an *ahadī*<sup>1</sup> in Akbar's time and had risen to the command of 1000. Jahangir, on coming to throne, conferred on him the rank and Jagir which he enjoyed from Akbar. Jahangir had, at one time, reason to be annoyed with him for his having gone over to his father Akbar's service at the time when he had quarrelled with his father. Jahangir says: "But the fact is that he is a manly and zealous man; if he had not committed this fault he would have been a faultless hero."<sup>2</sup> In the second year of his reign, Jahangir promoted him "to the rank of 2500 personal and 500 horse, original and increased."<sup>3</sup> He ordered "to be given to the *ahadis* two lakhs of Rupees to be paid in advance and deducted by degrees from their monthly pay."<sup>4</sup> In 1608, he was "promoted to 3000 (personal) and 500 horse."<sup>5</sup> In 1609, on the fourth New Year's Feast day after his accession, Jahangir exalted him with the title of *Firūz Jang* (i.e., the Victorious in battle) and appointed him "to the command of the army against the rebel Rāna (of Oodeypore).<sup>6</sup> Then, in the same year, in recognition of his services in the war against the Rana, he was promoted to the rank of 5000 personal<sup>7</sup>. In 1611, he was appointed the Subahdar of Gujarat. We read: "As 'Abdu-llah Khan, who had been appointed to command the army against the rebel Rānā, promised to enter the province of the Deccan from the direction of Gujarat, I promoted him to be Subahdar of that province<sup>8</sup>." In 1612, he was defeated in his fight with the Rana. We read in the Memoirs: "As the affairs of the Deccan, in consequence of the disagreements among the Sardars and the carelessness of Khan A'zam, did not look well, and the defeat of 'Abdu-llah Khan had taken place, I had sent for Khwāja Abu-l-hasan to make inquiries into the real state of these quarrels. After

<sup>1</sup> The *Ain-i Akbari* has a special *ain* (Bk. II *ain* 4) for the *Ahadis*. It says: "There are many brave and worthy persons whom His Majesty does not appoint to a *Manṣab*, but whom he frees from being under the orders of any one. Such persons belong to the immediate servants of His Majesty and are dignified by their independence. They go through the school of learning their duties, and have their knowledge tested. As it is the aim of His Majesty to confer a spiritual meaning on that which is external, he calls such persons *Ahadis* (from *ahad*, one). They are thus reminded of the unity of God" (Blochmann's Translation I p. 249).

<sup>2</sup> Memoirs by Rogers and Beveridge I. p. 27.

<sup>3</sup> Ibid p. 72.

<sup>4</sup> Ibid p. 72.

<sup>5</sup> Ibid p. 157

<sup>6</sup> Ibid. p. 140.

<sup>7</sup> Ibid p. 200.

<sup>8</sup> Ibid p. 155.

much enquiry and investigation it became clear that the defeat of 'Abdu-llah Khan had been caused by his pride and his sharp temper and not listening to words (of advice), and partly by the quarrels and want of agreement between the Amirs."<sup>1</sup> Jahangir then describes the state of affairs, which, at first, were all orderly and says : " If this rule had been observed and their hearts had been in unison, and self-interest had not come between, it is most probable that Almighty God would have given them the victory of the day. When 'Abdu-llah Khan passed the Ghats and entered the enemy's country, he did not take care to send runners (qâsidân) to bring intelligence from the other army, nor did he, in accordance with the arrangements, make his movements harmonize with theirs, so that on an appointed day they might take the enemy between two armies."<sup>2</sup> Jahangir further describes the defeat and says, that he himself thought of going there. But " Khwâja Abu-l-hasan represented that as no one understood the business of the region as the Khan-khanan did I ought to send him . . . . Other well-wishers being consulted, all their opinions were at one in this, that the Khan Khanan must be sent and that Khwâja Abu-l-hasan should accompany him."<sup>3</sup> Thus, he was removed from the command of the army against the Rana in the Deccan, but he still continued in the Subah-ship of Gujarat. Then, later on, he had to be removed from there also. We read as follows in the Memoirs, in the account of the 11th New Year of the reign beginning with 19th March 1616 :<sup>4</sup> " On the 6th (Shahriwar) a letter came from 'Âbid Khan, bakhshi and news-writer of Ahmadabad, to the purport that 'Abdu-llah Khan Bahâdur Firuz Jang had quarrelled with him because he had recorded among (current) events certain affairs that had been displeasing to him, and had sent a body of men against him, and had insulted him by carrying him away to his house, and had done this and that to him. This matter appeared serious to me, and I was desirous at once to cast him out of favour and ruin him. At last it occurred to me to send Dayânât Khân to Ahmadabad to enquire into this matter on the spot from disinterested people to see if it had actually occurred, and if so, to bring Abdu-llah Khan with him to the Court, leaving the charge and administration of Ahmadabad to Sardar Khan, his brother. Before Dayânât Khan started, the news reached Firuz Jang, and he in a state of great perturbation confessed himself an offender and started for the Court on foot. Dayânât Khân met him on the road, and seeing him in a strange condition, as he had wounded his feet with walking, he put him on

<sup>1</sup> Ibid p. 219.<sup>2</sup> Ibid p. 219.<sup>3</sup> Ibid p. 222.<sup>4</sup> Ibid p. 317.

horse back, and taking him with him came to wait on me. Muqqarab Khan, who is one of the old servants of the Court from the time when I was a prince, had continually wanted the Subah of Gujarat. It thus occurred to me that, as this kind of action on the part of 'Abdu-llah Khān had come about, I might fulfil the hope of an ancient servant and send him to Ahmadabad in the place of the aforesaid Khān. A fortunate hour was chosen in these days, and I appointed him to be ruler of the Subah."<sup>1</sup> This was in 1616.<sup>2</sup>

So, it appears from this account, that the Sālār-i Sepah, referred to in the petition as the person to whom Kaikobad took the farman of the King for Desai-ship, was this Abdu-llah Khan who had the title of Firuz Jang and who had been appointed in 1611 to the Subah-ship of Gujarat, which held Surat as one of its Sarkars. On being defeated in the war against the Rana in 1612, he was replaced by the Khan Khanan (Abdu-r-Rahim) in the command against the Rana, but he continued to the Subahship of Gujarat upto 1616, when, having misbehaved with a responsible officer of the court, he was recalled.

Anquetil Du Perron gives, in the first volume of his *Zend Avesta*<sup>3</sup>, a list of the Subahdārs of Gujarat (Soubehdars d'Ahmadabad) in the times of the Moguls. I think, that the Subahdar "Aabdullah Khan Zakhmi," of his list of the reign of Jahangir is the Abdu-llah Khan of our account. According to him, Surat had two heads at the top of the administration, one who was the Governor of the City and another who commanded the Fort (un Gouverneur pour la Ville, et un pour la Forteresse, indépendant l'un de l'autre, et chargés en quelque sorte de s'observer mutuellement.)<sup>4</sup>

Kaikobad, after referring to his Desai-giri obtained with the parwanah from the Salar-i Sepah (Abdullah Khan), speaks of the Sepāh-Salar's removal and of his being succeeded by Abu-l-Husain. After what I have said above at some length about the Salar-i Sepah, the task of identifying this Abu-l-Husain seems to be somewhat easy. As said there, Abdullah Khan was succeeded by Muqarrab Khan. So this Muqarrab Khan is the Abu-l-Husain of Kaikobad. Kaikobad says of him, that he got the post of the Subahship of Gujarat on asking for it from the king (Abu-l-Husain khwast za Sāhab-i sarīr). Jahangir, in his Memoirs, also says a similar thing. He

<sup>1</sup> Ibid p.p 330-331.

<sup>3</sup> Discours Préliminaire Vol. I. p. 267.

<sup>2</sup> Ibid p. 317.

<sup>4</sup> Ibid p. 264

says : "Muqarrab Khan, who is one of the old servants of the Court, from the time I was a prince, had continually wanted the Subah of Gujarat. It thus occurred to me that, as this kind of action on the part of Abdul-lah Khan had come about, I might fulfil the hope of an ancient servant and send him to Ahmadabad in the place of the aforesaid Khan. A fortunate hour was chosen in these days, and I appointed him to be ruler of the Subah."<sup>1</sup>

Jehangir speaks of this personage as Muqarrab Khan, but Kaikobad as Abu-l-Hasan. His original name was Hasan and Muqarrab Khan was his title. We gather the following particulars about him from Jahangir's Memoirs. His original name being Hasan, he was at first known as Shaikh Hasan. He was the son of Shaikh Bahā.<sup>2</sup> From the days of his childhood, he was in attendance upon Jahangir and "was distinguished by the title of Muqarrab<sup>3</sup> Khan."<sup>4</sup> Jahangir says of his youth : "He was very active and alert in his service, and in hunting would often traverse long distances by my side."<sup>5</sup> Jahangir had confidence in him, and so, he had sent him to Burhanpur to fetch the children of his brother Dāniyāl.<sup>6</sup> In 1607, he was sent to Goa as an ambassador in the company of Father Pinheiro.<sup>7</sup> In 1608, he sent to Jahangir "from the port of Cambay a European curtain (tapestry), the like of which in beauty no other work of the Frank painters had ever been seen."<sup>8</sup> In 1609, he sent to Jahangir "a picture (with a report) that the belief of the Franks was this, that the picture was that of Timūr."<sup>9</sup> But Jahangir was not satisfied with the truth of this statement. The picture was believed to have come from the side of Constantinople, in the direction of which Timūr had some fight. In 1610, he personally took to Jahangir from Cambay and Surat articles of gold and silver, made in Europe.<sup>10</sup> In the same year, Jahangir had to reduce his mansab by one half, because a widow complained to him that in Cambay her daughter was taken away by force by Muqarrab Khan. On inquiry, Jahangir found that "one of his attendants had been guilty of this outrage."<sup>11</sup> Jahangir put that attendant to death, "reduced Muqarrab Khan's

<sup>1</sup> Memoirs I p. 331.

<sup>2</sup> According to the Translators of the Memoirs, Rogers and Beveridge, some Mss. have the name as Bhinā.

<sup>3</sup> Lit. approximated, nearly related. He seems to have been so called, as he was in the intimate service of, and near (*qarīb*), Jahangir.

<sup>4</sup> Memoirs I p. 27.

<sup>5</sup> Ibid.

<sup>6</sup> Memoirs I. p. 28, 75.

<sup>7</sup> History of Jahangir by Beni Prasad (1922) p. 205

<sup>8</sup> Memoirs I. p. 144

<sup>9</sup> Ibid pp. 153-54

<sup>10</sup> Ibid p. 167.

<sup>11</sup> Ibid p. 172.

mansab by one half and made an allowance to the woman who had been thus injured."<sup>1</sup> In 1612, he was specially sent by Jahangir to Goa, to bring from there rare European curiosities. Among the rare things he brought was a turkey (called *pīrū* by Indians and *flmurgh* by the Persians). This was the first introduction of turkey into India. So Jahangir ordered that painters should draw them in the Jahangir-nama.<sup>2</sup> In the same year (1612), he was made the Governor of Delhi.<sup>3</sup> In the same year (1612), when Jahangir suffered from congestion of blood (*khun-pāra*), he bled him and drew about a *sir* of blood.<sup>4</sup> In the same year, he was presented with "a standard and drums"<sup>5</sup> and his mansab was raised to 2500 personal and 1500 horse.<sup>6</sup> In the same "year, he presented to the King, among other things, Frank hats."<sup>7</sup> In 1613, he presented to the King, among other presents of the New Year "jewelled saddles of Frank workmanship."<sup>8</sup> In the same year, he was sent to Surat, of the port of which he was said to be in charge, to inquire into an offensive act of the Firangis of Goa: "News came that the Franks of Goa had, contrary to treaty, plundered four cargo vessels that frequented the port of Surat in the neighbourhood of that port: and making prisoners a large number of Musulmans, had taken possession of the goods and chattels that were in those ships. This being very disagreeable to my mind, I despatched Muqarrab Khan, who is in charge of the port, on the 18th Āzar, giving him a horse and elephant and a dress of honour, to obtain compensation for this affair."<sup>9</sup> Jahangir specially speaks of Muqarrab Khan as being in charge of Surat at the time, and Kaikobad also seems to emphasise the fact when he says: "the Sarkar of Surat belonged wholly to him" (*ke sarkār-i Surat be u shūd tamām*). As to the result of Muqarrab Khan's special errand, we read: "The Mughal commander wisely and skilfully managed to come to terms with Downton, the English sea-captain, so as to remedy his own naval impotence—the weakest point in the Mughal armour. In the fight which ensued, the Portuguese Viceroy was severely handled and ultimately defeated by the English navy."<sup>10</sup> In 1615, he was holding some post in the Subah of Gujarat, though not as the Subahdar or Governor. He came from Gujarat to the Court of Jahangir with some rich presents. In the same year, his mansab was raised from 3000 personal and

<sup>1</sup> Ibid p. 172.<sup>2</sup> Ibid p. 215.<sup>3</sup> Ibid p. 224.<sup>4</sup> Ibid p. 226.<sup>5</sup> Ibid pp. 229-230.<sup>6</sup> Ibid p. 231.<sup>7</sup> Ibid p. 234.<sup>8</sup> Ibid p. 236.<sup>9</sup> Ibid p. 255.<sup>10</sup> History of Jahangir by Beni Prasad (1922) p. 205.

2000 horse to 5000 personal and 2500 horse.<sup>1</sup> In the middle of 1616, he presented to Jahangir a young Abyssinian elephant which had larger ears and eyes and longer trunk and tail than Indian elephants.<sup>2</sup>

Thus, we see from this account that, Muqarrab Khan had some close relations with Gujarat, and he had, from time to time, been presenting to Jahangir rare precious European articles of curiosity and value, which he secured at the ports of Gujarat, especially at those of Surat and Cambay. So, naturally, he had an eye upon the Subahship of Gujarat and he got it when Abdulah Khan was recalled from there in 1616 A.C.<sup>3</sup>

Even after his appointment to the Subahship of Gujarat, he continued to send acceptable presents to the King. Immediately after his appointment, he sent to the King out-of-season mangoes. We read: "Mangoes<sup>4</sup> used not to be in season in the country of Hindustan, after the month of Tir (June-July), (but) Muqarrab Khan had established gardens in the parganah of Kairāna (in Sarkar Saharanpur) which is the native place of his ancestors, and looked after the mangoes there in such a manner as to prolong the season for more than two months, and sent them every day fresh into the special fruit storehouse.<sup>5</sup>" Among his rich presents to the King, we find a pearl of the value of Rs. 30,000, which he presented near Petlad during the King's visit to Gujarat in 1617 A.C.

<sup>1</sup> Memoirs I p. 303.

<sup>2</sup> Ibid p. 323.

<sup>3</sup> Ibid I p. 331.

<sup>4</sup> According to Rogers and Beveridge (I 332 n. 1) the Mss., from which they translate, give the word for mango as *anand* (joy) instead of *amba* (अम्ब) given in other Mss. The authors say: "Jahangir was particularly fond of mangoes, and perhaps he is here playing on the similarity between the words *amba* and *anand*." It is possible that Jahangir may have, out of his likeness for mangoes, named the fruit *ānand* i.e. the fruit which gives pleasure." Jahangir used names for things and persons other, than the real, out of fancy. For example, he named Thursdays, as *Mubarak* (i.e., auspicious) *shamba* and Wednesdays as *Kam* (i.e., inauspicious) *shamba* only for this reason, that on one Thursday, he had a number of good news and on one Wednesday he had a number of bad news (Vide my paper "A Farman of Emperor Jehangir in avour of two Parsees of the Dordi family of Naosari" J.B.B.R.A.S. Vol. XXV. p. 454. Vide my Asiatic Papers Part III. pp. 133.) He named his son Shah Jahan, who had rebelled against him, as Bidaulat (Vide my paper "The Mogul Emperors at Kashmir Jour. B.B.R.A. S.Vol. XXV p. 49 n. 1., Vide my Asiatic Papers, Part III p. 24 nn. 1. and 134).

<sup>5</sup> Memoirs I, p. 332.

Kaikobad says that Abul-Hasan (or Muqarrab Khan) was succeeded by Qilij Khan or Qulij Khan. He was the 42nd in the list of Akbar's Commanders enumerated by Abu Fazal.<sup>1</sup> He was appointed the very first Governor of Surat, when Akbar conquered the town in 1573 A.C. after a siege of one month and seventeen days i.e. 47 days.<sup>2</sup> He lived a good old age of 80 years and died in the end of 1613 A.C.<sup>3</sup>, after having served long, both Akbar and Jahangir, and having held various posts. We learn from the Humayun-nameh of Gul-badan Begum, that when, she, with some other royal ladies came in 1575, two years after the capture of Surat, from Agra to Surat, to take ship to go on a pilgrimage to Mecca, Qilij Khan still acted as Governor. We read: "The Governor of the port, who was to have a good deal of trouble with this caravan, was Qulij Khan *Andijāni*, a sobriquet of pleasant sound in our begam's ears. He had inherited Timūrid services from many generations, and his father had been a grandee of Sultan Husain Bāyqarā."<sup>4</sup> In those days, though officers of the Mogul Court held governor-ships, and Subahships they were not required to be always personally present in their districts. So, though Qilij Khan was the Governor of Surat, he was not at Surat at the time of the visit of the royal ladies, who had to wait long there for some pass-port difficulties, created by the Portuguese who were masters of the sea at that time. We read in the above Humayun-nama of Gul-badan Begam: "The *mir haj* (i.e. the officer of the pilgrims) sent word to the Emperor (Akbar) of his plight, who at once despatched orders to Qulij Khan, in Idar, to go to Surat, and arrange the difficulty. Qulij took with him a Cambayan, who was presumably a man versed in sea-faring business,—hurried to Surat and overcame the difficulty. It took the ladies a year to get to sea: they sailed on October 17th, 1576."<sup>5</sup>

After some previous appointments, Qilij Khan was sent to Gujarat as Subah in 1579. In 1584, he was placed in charge of Akbar's mint, and coinage Department. In 1002 (Hijri; A. C.) (1593-94), he was made Governor of Kabul where he was not successful,"<sup>6</sup> and was removed. In 1596 (1005 Hijri) he acted

<sup>1</sup> Ain-i Akbari, Ain 30 on "The Grandees of the Empire", Blochmann I p. 354.

<sup>2</sup> Ibid. Also vide p. 34 n. 2.

<sup>3</sup> Ibid p. 354.

<sup>4</sup> The History of Humāyūn (Humāyūn-nāma by Gul-badan Begam, translated by Mrs. Annette Beveridge (1902) p. 71.

<sup>5</sup> Ibid, p. 72.

<sup>6</sup> Blochmann's Ain-i Akbari I p. 34 n.



as Atāliq or tutor to Prince Danyāl, who was his son-in-law. In 1598 (1007 Hijri), he was Governor of Agra. In 1600 (1009 Hijri), he was again made the Governor of Punjab and Kabul. When Jahangir came to throne in 1605, he was again appointed Subah of Gujarat, but returned to Punjab the next year (1606). He was called Andajani from Andajan, a province of Farganeh where his ancestors lived. He is said to have "belonged to the tribe of Jani Qurbāni (جاني قرباني) Farbani, Faryani, &c.<sup>1</sup> Blochmann says that "Qulij, properly Qūlūj, means in Turkish a sword, and Qulij Khan is the same as Shamsher Khan. The word is variously spelled in Mss., sometimes with long vowels, and a final *ch*."<sup>2</sup> He was also a poet and as such was known as Ulfati.<sup>3</sup>

Coming to the Memoirs of Jahangir, we read: "When Qilij Khan, who was one of the old retainers of the State in my revered father's reign, was appointed to the Government of the province of Gujarat, I presented him with a lakh of rupees for his expenses."<sup>4</sup> This was in 1605.<sup>5</sup> In 1606, he was recalled from Gujarat. We read in the Memoirs: "At the beginning of my reign, a son of that Muzaffar Gujarati, who claimed to be descended from the rulers of that country lifted up the head of disturbance and attacked and plundered the environs of the city of Ahmadabad. Some sardars such as Pim (or Bim or Sain) Bahadur Uzbek and Rāy 'Ali Bhati, who were amongst the distinguished and brave men there, became martyrs in that outbreak. At length, Raja Bikramajit and many mansabdars were provided by me with 6000 or 7000 horse, and appointed to assist the army of Gujarat. It was decided that when things had quieted down, by the driving off of those seditious people, Raja Bikramajit should be the Subahdar of Gujarat. Qilij Khan, who had been previously nominated to this office should come to Court. After the arrival of the royal troops the thread of the rebels' union was severed; they took refuge in different jungles, and the country was restored to order."<sup>6</sup> The good news of the subjugation of the rebellion reached the royal Court on the day of the first Nauruz of the reign (12th March 1606). In February 1607, "in spite of his old age..... because of his service" under Akbar, Qulij Khan was given "a

<sup>1</sup> Ibid. p. 355.

<sup>2</sup> Ibid, note.

<sup>3</sup> Ibid p. 34 n. 2.

<sup>4</sup> Memoirs by Rogers and Beveridge I p. 21.

<sup>5</sup> Vide Badaoni, Ahmed Ali's Text Vol. II p. 387 II II, 17-21 for the translation of this passage: vide my Parsees at the court of Akbar, p. 145

<sup>6</sup> Memoirs' I p. 50.

jagir in the Sarkar of Kalpi."<sup>1</sup> In 1611, Qilij Khan was "promoted to the rank of 6000 personal and 5000 horse" and was "appointed to Kabul to drive back Ahdād and the up country robbers."<sup>2</sup> He died in 1613 at the old age of 80.

Beni Prasad says of him: "Qulij Khan, the tactful officer who had.....on Jahangir's accession, been appointed to the governorship of Gujerat.....was famed for his piety and learning and poetic talents."<sup>3</sup> His governorship of Surat is referred to in the *Tabakāt-i Akbari* also.<sup>4</sup>

Qilij Khan is referred to in a Gujarati document of Samvat 1629 (1573 A.C.), spoken of by me as the Pipalia Wadi document in my paper on "The Parsees at the Court of Akbar and Dastur Meherji Rana", (Document No. 9 pp. 155-58). We read his name there as કલેચ મહમદ ખાન (Kalech Mahamad Khan). The year of the document, 1573 A.C., is the same as that of the capture of Surat by Akbar."

We see from this account that Qilij Khan was connected with Surat from the time of its very capitulation. It is his subsequent Subah-ship or Governorship during the time of Jahangir that is referred to by Kaikobad.

Kaikobad speaks of one Fazal Allah as one of the rulers of Surat. He mentions his name with another person of whom he speaks as the son of Qilij Khan. We will speak further on of the son of Qilij Khan, but inquire here, as to who this Fazal Allah is. The couplets here (154-155) are a little difficult to read and to understand. Kaikobad speaks of these two persons as having received bribes (*rushwat*) and as having harmed him. In return, they received their due punishment thereafter at the hand of God. One was killed (*yakī kushtê shûd*) and the other was imprisoned (*digari bandigāh* c. 166).

The one, who is spoken of by Kaikobad as imprisoned, was Fazal-alla; and the other, spoken of as killed, was (Chin) Qulij Khan, of whom we will speak later on. Both these persons were the sons of the Qilij Khan mentioned above. Fazal Alla's original name seems to be Fazal Allah Mirza. Lahori was his official popular name. Just as Qilij Khan, the father was "called Andajāni,

<sup>1</sup> Ibid I. 84.

<sup>2</sup> Ibid pp. 198-99.

<sup>3</sup> The History of Jahangir by Beni Prasad, p. 161 n. 7.

<sup>4</sup> Vide my "Parsees at the Court of Akbar" pp. 157-58 for quotations.

from Andajan, a province of Farghana," to which his ancestors belonged, so, his son was called Lahori from Lahore, where he was born. The Maasir-ul-Umara refers to the following names as those of the sons and relatives (*qarābatīān*) of Qilij Khan (senior, Qilij Mahomed Khan<sup>1</sup>). Mirza Chin Qilij 2 Qilij Allah, 3 Bāljū Qilij, 4 Bairām Qilij and 5 Jan Qilij.<sup>1</sup> Of these, the second Qilij Allah is the Fazal Allah of our petition. We find the name *allāh* as a part of the name of another brother Saifullah also.<sup>2</sup>

We read in the Memoirs, in the account of the 10th year of the reign (1615-16): "The news of the death of the wretch Chin Qilij was received by a letter from Jahāngir Qulī Khān. After the dath of Qilij Khān, who was one of the old servants of this State, I had made this inauspicious man an Amir, and shown him great favour, and given him in Jagir such a place as Jaunpur. I also sent his other brothers and relations with him and made them his deputies. He had one brother of the name of Lahori<sup>3</sup>, of a very wicked disposition. It was reported to me that the servants of God (people) were greatly oppressed by his conduct. I sent an ahadi to bring him (Lahori) from Jaunpur."<sup>4</sup> What Jahangir says here, accounts for the two brothers Chin Qilij Khan and Fazal Allah ruling together at one time in Surat. It also shows how these two brothers were wretched and wicked and justified what Kaikobad says of them.

The Maāsir-ul-umra<sup>5</sup> speaks of this person as Mirza Lahori and as a young brother of Mirza Chin Qilij Khan. It says that he was the most favourite son of his father and was brought up with thousands of favours (ہزاران ناز و نعمت). But his nature (خمیرمایم) was such as would create disturbance and difficulties. He joined his brother Chin Qilij Khan at Jaunpur (جونپور), and created disturbance against Jahangir. The result was, that in the midst of the disturbance, his brother Chin Qilij Khan was killed (کشته شد). It seems that he was such a bad man that Jahangir was enraged even upon his teacher (*ustād*) Mullā Mucātafā for having not taught him well. He sent for this tutor, with a view to punish him, but another

1 Maāsiru-l-Umara, by Nawab Samsamu-d-daulah Shah Nawaz Khan, edited for the Asiatic Society of Bengal, by Maulavi Mirza Ashraf Ali (1891), Vol. III. p. 354 ll 1-3.

2 Ain-i Akbari, Ain 30 No. 292. Blochmann, Vol. I p. 500.

3 "Apparently because born in Lahore (See Blochmann p. 500)"

4 Memoirs I p. 301.

5 Maāsiru-l-umara, up Vol. III p. 351-52.

person interceded on his behalf and he was let off. Then he went on a pilgrimage to Mecca, and, on returning to his native place (vatan) died.<sup>1</sup> Perhaps, this Fazl Allah is the person, who is one of the signatories signing with their seals, the document referred to as meh'zar (مه‌زر), in the matter of Kaikobad, document No. 4, in my "Parsees at the Court of Akbar" (p. 143).

The Masir-u-l-umara gives several instances of his wickedness :<sup>2</sup> (a) All day long, he took pleasure in hearing the sound of whips (taziāna) i.e. he whipped people and oppressed them.<sup>3</sup> (b) There is a belief among Mahomedans about two angels Munkar and Nakir that they "examined the spirits of the departed in the tomb."<sup>4</sup> They beat "the corpse with sledge hammers, if the dead man was wanting in belief."<sup>5</sup> Fazl Allah wanted to know something about this belief, and, to ascertain that, he buried alive some servants (khedmatgārān ra zindeh dar zamin dafan mikard).<sup>6</sup> The men were found dead. (c) When he went out in street or bazars, he rode on the shoulders of men<sup>7</sup> instead of over animals. (d) Once, he went to a house, where marriage was being celebrated and, carried away the bride by force. When the parties complained to his father, he, being blindly fond for his favourite son, coolly said : 'Now you have been well related to me' (Shumā bā mā nisbat qarūbat darust mikardeh bāshid).<sup>8</sup> The result of all these acts of oppression was, that Jahangir ordered him to be imprisoned. After a long imprisonment he was released and given a daily allowance (پوهیم) <sup>9</sup> He passed his remaining life in misery (tilakhi lit, bitterness),<sup>10</sup> and drew the retribution of his deeds (mukāfā i-amāl-i-zisht i khūa mikashid).<sup>11</sup> Kaikobad, seems to say, as it were, similar words when he says : "Khudā-i Jehān dād dād ān zamān" (coup. 165) i.e. the God of the world gave retribution at the time.

When this person was so miserably wicked by nature, it is no wonder, that Kaikobad had to complain of his misbehaviour with him, as the result of bribes that he received.

<sup>1</sup> Ibid III p. 352 l 17-18. (Vide Blochmann's Ain-i-Akbari I p. 500.)

<sup>2</sup> Ibid

<sup>3</sup> Ibid, p. 353 l. 3.

<sup>4</sup> Steingass Vide منکر

<sup>5</sup> Blochmann's Ain-i-Akbari I p. 500.

<sup>6</sup> Maasiru-l Umara, Vol. III p. 353, l 5.

<sup>7</sup> Ibid l. 7.

<sup>8</sup> Ibid l, 14.

<sup>9</sup> Ibid, l. 17

<sup>10</sup> Ibid. l. 19.

<sup>11</sup> Ibid.

Kaikobad seems to speak properly of Qilij Khan and of Fazal Allah the son of Qilij Khan as ruling together at one time as governors of Surat and of their taking bribes and meeting in the end the proper retribution of their misdeeds. Kaikobad speaks very feelingly of the injustice he met at their hands as the result of their being bribed by the muqâddams. Now, what I have said above in the case of Fazal Allah makes the work of identifying this son of Qilij Khan a little easy. There was a Qilij Khan, who, as said above, was the first Governor of Surat. He had, among some others, two sons,—one known generally as Mirza Lahori, but whose personal name, according to our petition, was as said above, Fazal Allah, and another known as Chin Qilij Khan. We saw, a little above, that, later on, at Jaunpur also, these brothers were associated together and it seems that here at Surat also, they were associated together as governors. We gather the following particulars about this Qilij Khan (Junior) known as Chin Qilij Khan : He, with his another brother Saifullah, is included by Abu Fazl in his list of the grantees of the State as given in the 30th Ain (No. 293) of the Ain-i Akbari. The Maâsiru-l-Umara gives an account of this person under the heading Mirza Chin Qilij (میرزا چین قلیج).<sup>1</sup> It speaks of him as an educated person who had taken his education with Mullâ Muçtafâ. He was, at one time the Faujdar of Jaunpur and Benares. His account is much mixed up with that of his brother Mirza Lahori, as seen above. We gather the following particulars about him : (a) In the third year of Jahangir's reign (1607-8), he was appointed to the rank of 800 personal and 800 horse. (b) In the 6th year of the reign (1611-12 A.C.), he was given the title of Khan. Jahangir says : "Chin Qilij, who was the eldest son of Qilij Khan, came from the Subah of Kabul and waited on me. As in addition to his natural excellence was a *khânazâd* (house born one), he was honoured with the title of Khan, and according to the prayer of his father, and on condition of his undertaking service in Tirah, I increased his rank by 500 personal and 300 horse."<sup>2</sup> (c) In the 7th year (1612-13 A.C.), he "came from his father, who was at Peshawar, on the 20 Âzar, and offered (on his father's behalf) 100 muhrs and 100 rupees, and also presented the offerings he had of his own in the shape of a horse and cloth stuffs and other things."<sup>3</sup> (d) In the same year, on the 21st of Zi-l-q'ada (13th January 1613), Chin Qilij Khan was appointed Governor of Surat. We

<sup>1</sup> Vol. III pp. 351-54. Vide Blochmann's Ain-i-Akbari, Vol. I p. 500.

<sup>2</sup> Memoirs I pp. 199-200.

<sup>3</sup> Ibid I p. 231.

fact: "As the port of Surat had been assigned in jagir to Qilij Khan, he prayed that Chin Qilij (his son) might be despatched for its guardianship and administration. On the 27th Day (19th January 1613), he had a dress of honour, and, being honoured with a dress of honour and the title of Khan, and a standard, obtained leave to go."<sup>1</sup> It was of this Governorship of his, that Kaikobad complains, that he and his brother Fazal Alla (Mirza Lahori) received bribes. (e) On Sunday, the 10th of Farwardin (18th Safar, 30th March 1614), "Chin Qilij Khan, with his brothers, relations, and the army and retinue of his father, came from Kabul and waited" on Jahangir.<sup>2</sup> (f) On the 15th of the same month (Farwardin) (4th April 1614), Chin Qilij Khan was promoted "to a mansab of 2500 personal and 700 horse."<sup>3</sup> (g) In the 10th year of the reign, on the 18th of the month of Aban (1615 A.C.)<sup>4</sup>, news of his miserable death arrived at Jahangir's Court. Jahangir says:<sup>5</sup> "The news of the death of the wretch Chin Qilij was received by a letter from Jahangir Quli Khan. After the death of Qilij Khan, who was one of the old servants of this State, I had made this inauspicious man an Amir, and showed him great favour, and given him in jagir such a place as Jaunpur. I also sent his other brothers and relations with him and made them his deputies. He had one brother of the name of Lahori, of a very wicked disposition. It was reported to me that the servants of God (people) were greatly oppressed by his conduct. I sent an ahadi to bring him (Lahori) from Jaunpur. At the coming of the ahadi,<sup>6</sup> suspicion without any cause prevailed over Qilij, and it came into his mind to run away, taking his misguided brother with him. Leaving his mansab, his government, place, and jagir, money, property, children, and people, he took a little money and gold and a few jewels and went with a small body among the zamindars. This news arrived a few days ago and caused great astonishment. In short, to whatever zamindar he went he took money from him(?) and then let him go(?) and news came that he had entered the country of Johat (Tirhut). When this news reached Jahangir Quli Khan, he sent some of his men to take and bring that thoughtless one. They took him as soon as they arrived, and were intending to take him to Jahangir Quli Khan, when he at that very moment went to hell. Some of those who had accompanied

<sup>1</sup> Ibid I p. 233.    <sup>2</sup> Ibid I p. 260.

<sup>3</sup> Ibid I p. 261.

<sup>4</sup> Memoirs I p. 301 H. 2 and 17.

<sup>5</sup> Ibid pp. 301-2 A part of this passage is quoted above in the account of Fazal-Allah as it refers to him also.

<sup>6</sup> *Ahadi*, "a kind of Indian military corps"

him said that for some days previously he had contracted an illness and it had killed him. But this was heard of him as well, that he committed suicide, in order that they might not take him to Jahangir Quli Khan in this state. In any case, they brought his body with his children and servants who were with him to Allahabad. They made away with most of the money that he had, and the zamindars took it from him. Alas that salt (*i.e.* loyalty) should not have brought such black-faced wretches to condign punishment ! ”<sup>1</sup>

It is this event, that Kaikobad alludes to, as coming to him as punishment from God for his misconduct. This passage confirms what Kaikobad says *viz.*, that he took bribes from the zamindars and that he met, as punishment from God, a miserable death.

The Maāsir says that, on his death, his property (*amvâl*) reverted to the State, and his things (*ajnâs*) were so many, that it took a whole year for the escheat officers to take an inventory of them. This long period of a year refers to all his properties, properties other than those at Surat. It seems that one and the same officer went all round.

اموالش بضبت سرکار پادشاهی درآمد گویند یکی سال<sup>2</sup> سالم نویسنده  
معرض اجناس را می نوشتند<sup>3</sup>

This enormous property and riches must have been the accumulation of all that was received as bribes by him, as referred to by Kaikobad.

Kaikobad says that one, Aozbeg, was sent from the Royal Court to Surat, to take an account of the

11 Aozbeg c. 171. affairs of (Chin) Qilij Khan. We are not in a position to know anything about him.

He must be a petty officer for taking accounts. We know that it was the practice of the Mogul administration, that inventory of the property of some Court Officers was taken on their death.<sup>4</sup> We saw above from Maāsiru-l-umara, that that was the case in the matter of Chin Qilij Khan, and it appears from Kaikobad's petition, that Auzbeg was the officer sent from the Court of the Emperor to Surat, to take an account of Chin Qilij Khan's property there.

Having spoken of the Mahomedan personages referred to in Kaikobad's petition, and having identified those who could not be easily known by their names, I will now speak of the Parsees referred to in the petition.

<sup>1</sup> Ibid I, pp. 301-2. <sup>2</sup> Sâlim, entire, whole <sup>3</sup> Vol. III p. 352 ll. 7-8.

<sup>4</sup> Vide below, the section of "Events" for this practice.

Kaikobad refers to his father, Māhyār, once in the petition, and says that, when Akbar came to Surat 12 Māhyār c. 48. and took<sup>1</sup> it (48 years before the time of the petition), he Māhyār paid respects to His Majesty. He went to His Majesty's Court (dargāh), made obeisance and blessed him. The King bestowed upon him many gifts (farāvān navazish), and made inquiries from him about (his Zoroastrian) religion and customs (dīn o rāh). His Majesty took him in his *khedmat* to Agra. Though he (Māhyār) was a weak old man, the pleasure of being honoured by his sovereign's invitation made him look young.

This interview was during, or after, the time of the seige of Surat. In my paper, entitled "Notes of Anquetil Du Perron (1755-61) on King Akbar and Dastur Meherji Rana" read before the Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society on 13th July 1903<sup>2</sup>, I have shown, on the authority of that great traveller-scholar, Anquetil Du Perron, that it was at Kānkrā Khāri<sup>3</sup> near Surat that Akbar first met Dastur Meherji Rana. Anquetil Du Perron said: "Le Mogal Akbar, père de Djahanguir, est venu à Kakrikari, une f.  $\frac{1}{2}$  de Surate, il y a 150 ans ou plus, il était curieux.....voulut savoir la religion des parsses; il ne se trouva que le Destour Meheriar fils de Rana<sup>4</sup> (de Nauçary) qui pût lui expliquer la loi."<sup>5</sup>

*Translation.*—The Mogul Akbar, Djahanguir's father, came to Kakrikari, one f. (furlong) and a half from Surat, one hundred and fifty years (ago) or more. He was curious and wished to know the religion of the Parsis. He found only the Dastur Meheriār the son of Rānā (of Nauçary) who was able to explain the law<sup>6</sup> to him.

<sup>1</sup> Surat capitulated on 26th February 1573.

<sup>2</sup> J.B.B.R.A.S. Vol. XXI No. LIX pp. 537-51. Vide my book, "The Parsees at the Court of Akbar," pp. 382-97.

<sup>3</sup> I had the pleasure of visiting the place during the Christmas of 1909 when I had a very pleasant and interesting walk of about 22 miles from Naosari to Surat.

<sup>4</sup> I had the pleasure of seeing Anquetil Du Perron's above Ms. at the Bibliothèque Nationale on 23rd May 1925. I found that the words "fils de Rana", about which there was a doubt, were there. (Vide my book "The Parsees at the Courts of Akbar" p. 386 n. 1. Vide my Gujarati book of Travels. (1926) p. 72).

<sup>5</sup> Vide my above paper for this passage. I give here the passage, with my corrections, as given in the body of my paper.

<sup>6</sup> i.e. the religion of the Parsees.



Thus, Kaikobad's petition and Anquetil Du Perron's Notes confirm one another. The petition mentions the following facts (couplets 48-54): (1.) Māhyār (Meherji Rana) went to Akbar's camp at Surat to pay his respects. He bowed and blessed the King. (2.) The King gave him due respect and made inquiries from him about his religion and customs. (3.) Akbar took<sup>1</sup> him to Agra with him. (4.) Kaikobad accompanied his father. (5.) This event of the departure of Meherji Rana for Agra took place on or after 13th April 1573 when Akbar left Surat for the homeward march.

For some further events of Mahyar's life, I will refer my readers to my above-mentioned two papers on the subject<sup>2</sup>.

Kaikobad speaks of his father Māhyār, as being a weak old man (pīr nāṭawān) at the time when he  
 Mahyār's Age. (Mahyār) went with Akbar to Agra (c. 52).  
 Kaikobad accompanied his father to take care of him (c. 54). So Kaikobad, in order to be capable to take care of his old father in the long arduous travels of those times, must have been of sufficiently grown up age and we saw that he was about 19. Again, Kaikobad was the youngest of Mahyār's three sons. So, taking about 21 to be Māhyār's age at the time of the birth of his eldest son, and taking at least two years' interval between the births of each son, Mahyār's age, at the time of Kaikobad's birth, would come to about  $(21 + 2 + 2 =) 25$ . Now when Kaikobad was aged about 19 at the time of the capitulation of Surat in 1573, we may take that Mahyār himself must be at that time at least about  $(25 + 19 =) 44$  years of age. He died in 1591 i.e.,  $(1591 - 1573 =) 18$  years after the capture of Surat. So, at the time of his death, he must, at least, be  $(44 + 18 =) 62$  years of age.

We may consider the question of Mahayār's age from other materials also. We find, on the authority of Kaus Kamdin's Rivayat written in 1553, that, as his name was put first among the persons addressed, he must be the first leading man of

<sup>1</sup> The word "be-avūrd" (بیاورد) i.e., 'brought' seems to be significant. Its use shows that Kaikobad, submitted the petition personally. Had it not been so, and had he merely sent the petition, he would have used some such word as burd برد i.e., carried. This was the first visit of Meherji Rana to the Royal Court. His visit during the religious discussion may be taken as the second visit.

<sup>2</sup> Journal B.B.R.A.S. Vol. XXV. pp. 243-244. Vide my book "The Parsees at the Court of Akbar and Dastūr Meherji Rana" pp. 175-76.

Naosari<sup>1</sup>, and, as such, he must be at least 21. So in 1591, when he died *i.e.*,  $(1591-1553=)$  38 years later, he must be at least  $(21+38=)$  59 years of age, which comes to well nigh 62 determined above in another way.

He must have come to power as a leading man in some year after 1546 A.C., because, we find that, in that year (1546), his father Rana Jesang was living and had written a manuscript of the Bahman nameh in that year.<sup>2</sup> The first date which we find of Mahyār's life is 1553, the date of Kaus Kamdin's Rivayat in which his (Mahyār's) name is found first as an addressee. So, he must have come to power as a leading man, or a leading priest of Naosari, by the death of his father in some year between 1546 and 1553. If we take his age at the time of his death in 1591 to be 62, as determined above from one line of consideration, and if we take his coming to power as a leading man to be the latest in 1553 *i.e.*,  $(1591-1553=)$  38 years before death, his age at the time of coming to power comes to  $(62-38=)$  24.

If we take his age to be at least 62 at the time of death, his age at the time of Akbar's capture of Surat comes to 44 as seen above. If we take it to be 59 arrived at in another way, it would come to 41. This 41 or 44 may not be considered as the age of a weak old man. So, we must take it that when Kaikobad speaks of his father as an old man, he rather speaks in a little exaggerated way or rather in an affectionate way, out of regard. Again, we must bear in mind that our calculations have been made on, what can be said to be, the "at least" standard. The age may be a little higher. His father Rana Jesang's name occurs as that of the first leading man of Naosari in the Rivayat of Shapur Asa, written in 1527.<sup>3</sup> But it does not occur in the Rivayat of Kaus Kamdin of 1553, wherein, instead of his name, we see Mahyār's name as that of the first leading man. So, one may take it, that this was so, because Rana Jesang must have died after 1527. The date of Rana's death must be still later, because we find him as the writer of a Bahman-nameh in 1546. So Mahyār's father Rana Jesang must have died some time after 1546. I may observe here, that Dastur Erachji, in his Mahyār-nameh, gives the age of Mahyār, at the time of the religious conferences in 1578-79, to be 48. So, at the time of the capture of Surat in 1571, *i.e.*,  $(1578-$

<sup>1</sup> Vide my "Parsee at the Court of Akbar" pp. 175-76 for some of the events of his life.

<sup>2</sup> Ibid p. 176.

<sup>3</sup> Ibid p. 176.

1571=) 7 years earlier, it must be (43—7=) 36. If we take that as correct, Mahyār's age, when he was addressed first in Kaus Kamdin's Rivayat of 1553 i.e., (1571—1553=) 18 years earlier, would come to (36—18=) 18 years—too young an age for one to be addressed as the first leading man of a community. But one may say, that the head-priesthood being hereditary, that may be possible. But, later instances at Naosari show us that in cases of minority of age, they appoint somebody else to act for the minor. However, as the Mahyār-nameh gives us no authority for its statement, we may not attach much importance to it. So, under all circumstances, we may take Mahyār's age at the time of death to be about 62.

13 Kaikobad. Of Kaikobad, I have spoken above under a separate section as the Petitioner.

Kaikobad speaks (c. 135) of the illustrious ancestors of Minochehr shah (abā-i-amjad-i Minochehr), as performing the service (khedmat) of government in their times. Who were these ancestors. We learn from the Persian Rivāyats and other sources that Minochehr had an illustrious ancestry. I have given in my work "A Few Events in the Early History of the Parsees and their Dates (pp. 93-98)," an account and a geneological table of the family. The founder of the family was Changa Shah, the son of Asa. We find, 1478, 1481, 1511, 1516 A.C. as the dates of some events of his life. We find from various sources, some accounts of his undermentioned descendants—the "ancestors of Minochehr" who are referred to in the petition.

*Manock-Changa.*—Changa Shah had a son named Manock. The Mahyār-nameh says, that he was at Delhi in the *khedmat* of Humayun<sup>1</sup> who was always pleased with the Zoroastrians (Za Zarrtūshtiyān shād būdi modam p. 114, l. 1.) and was given by that King, the Desaigiri of Naosari and Parchol.<sup>2</sup> Now, we learn from the Akbar-nameh and from the accounts, given above of Humayun, that Humayun had started for the conquest of Gujārat on 8th November 1534. He had finished the conquest in 1535. He had captured Surat and Naosari. So, it seems that the first acquaintance of the family with the Moghal kings was in the time of Humayun who took Manock Changa in his *khedmat* and gave him the Desaigiri of Parchol and Naosari in 1535 or some time after that.

<sup>1</sup> The Naosari Mherji Rana Library Ms. p. 113 couplet 12.

<sup>2</sup> Ibid p. 114.

*References to Manock changa in various writings*—We find references to Manock Changa in the following writings: (a) Anquetil Du Perron<sup>1</sup> speaks of a Persian Rivayat of Roz Daepadar, mah Aban 885 Yazdazardi (1516 A.C.) and says that Manock was the person addressed to in the Rivayat. (b) In a Gujarati document of Samvat 1576 i.e., 1520 A.C., passed to Rana Jesang, the grandfather of Kaikobad, Manock Changa signed first as a leading man.<sup>2</sup> (c) He is referred to as a leading man of Naosari in the Shapur Asa's Rivayat of 896 Yazdazardi (1527 A.C.)<sup>3</sup> He is there spoken of as the dahyövad

(وسددجواسو) i.e., the leader. (d) Manock Changa is

referred to in a Persian writing known as "Kisseh-i Kaus va Afshād" written in 900 Yazdazardi (1531 A.C.), as the builder of a Tower of Silence at Naosari, in or about 1531 A.C.<sup>4</sup> The ruins of this Tower of Silence are known at present at Naosari as those the Tower of Silence of Minochershah. Minochershah was a grandson of Manock, and he, perhaps, repaired it; and so, perhaps, his name was associated with it.<sup>5</sup> (e) A Persian work Viraf-i Kāusi was written at the instance of Manock and his son Bahman in 1533.<sup>6</sup> (f) We find the name of Manock as that of a leader of Naosari in the Rivayat of 904 Yazdazardi (1535 A.C.) of Aspandiyar Yazdyār.<sup>7</sup>

All these references give us dates, 1516, 1520, 1527, 1531, 1533 and 1535 A.C. So, it is probable, that Humayun, when he came to Surat<sup>8</sup> and from there to Naosari, he came into contact with Manock Changa, who was a *dahyopat* or leader at Naosari, and he took him into his service (*khedmad*), as referred to in the Mahyār nameh.

<sup>1</sup> Zend Avesta, I, Partie II, Notices &c. p. XXXVIII.

<sup>2</sup> Vide for this document, my Paper, "Parsees at the Court of Akbar and Dastur Meherji Rana." pp. 158-61.

<sup>3</sup> Parsee Prakash I. p. 7 It is in Persian language but written in Avesta characters. Vide my "Parsees at the court of Akbar." pp. 66-67.

<sup>4</sup> Parsee Prakash I p. 7.

<sup>5</sup> We know of several instances, wherein the works of the founders of cities and buildings are associated with the names of their descendants who may have repaired or renovated them (Vide my Shatroihā-i Airan).

<sup>6</sup> Parsi Prakash I. p. 7.

<sup>7</sup> Ibid p. 8.

<sup>8</sup> Vide above, the account of his conquest of Gujarat in this Section of personages.

**Bahman.**—One of the ancestors of Minochehr referred to in the petition, was Bahman, the son of the above Manock and father of Minochehrshah mentioned in the petition. Of this Bahman, the Mahyar-nameh says that Humayun, on the death of Manock, continued the Desaiship of Naosari and Parchol in the hands of his son Bahman. Humayun died on 27th January 1556. Akbar, coming to throne, continued the Desaigiri of Bahman. Bahman, jointly with his father, got the *Virāf-i Kausi* written by one Kaus who had come from Persia.<sup>1</sup> The Patel family of Naosari is said to have descended from him.<sup>2</sup>

Minochehr is referred to about four times in the petition.

Kaikobad speaks of him as "our Minochehr"  
15 Minochehr. cc. (منوچهر ما) i.e., Minochehr of our Parsee  
134-139. community. It must be borne in mind,

that in the firmans given to Kaikobad on behalf of his father and himself, he is spoken of as Kaikobad Parsee کیکباد پارسی<sup>3</sup>. In the Parwaneh, he is spoken of as Farsi (فارسی)<sup>4</sup>. In a mehzar (محضّر) he is spoken of as "Kaikobad the son of Mehryār Parsi (کیکباد ولد مهریار پارسی)<sup>5</sup>. In the Farman given to Mulla Jamsap and Mulla Hoshang, they are spoken of as Farsi (فارسی)<sup>6</sup>. In the Chaknameh, relating to their land also, they are spoken of as Farsi.<sup>7</sup> This appellation shows that they, as members of a distinct community drew the attention of the rulers and the ruled. So, when Kaikobad speaks of Minochehr as "Our Minochehr" he meant to draw to himself the attention of Jahangir as a Parsi.

Then, according to Kaikobad, his forefathers (abā) were all glorious (amjad) and they were in the *khidmat* of the kings. Minochehr's father conducted the Desaigiri of Naosari and Parchol. Just as Akbar took Mahyār to Agra at the time of his visit to Surat, Humayun seems to have taken Minochehr to his Court and to have made him his own treasurer (*khazanchi-i khud*). With Minochehr went his brother Noshirwan and also other relatives. They were all given some *khedmats*.

Minochehr is referred to as one of the leading men of Naosari in the Persian Rivayat of Kaus Kamdin of A.C. 1558.<sup>8</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Parsee Prakash 17.

<sup>2</sup> Ibid p. 862.

<sup>3</sup> Vide my Parsees at the Court of Akbar and Dastur Meherji Ranj pp. 93, 119.

<sup>4</sup> Ibid p. 133.

<sup>5</sup> Ibid p. 133, l. 4.

<sup>6</sup> Vide my Paper "A Farman of Emperor Jahangir in favour of two Parsees of the Dordi family of Naosari (Jour. B.B.R.A.S. Vol. XXI 69-245). Vide my Asiatic Papers, Part III p. 102.

<sup>7</sup> Ibid p. 143.

<sup>8</sup> Vide my "Few Events in the Early History of the Parsees" p. 96.

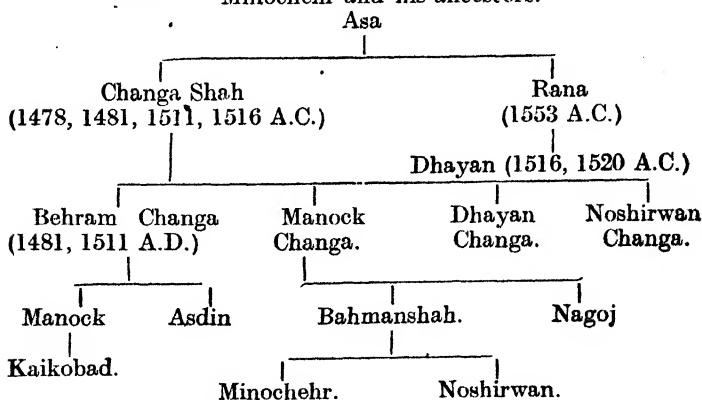
He is also referred to in the Persian letter of about 1570 A.C. written by Fredun Murzban, as said in the Rivayat.<sup>1</sup>

The petition refers to Noshirwan, the brother of Minochehr, also being in the *khedmat* of the King (Akbar). We find his name in the above

16 Noshirwan. geneological table of Minochehr, as the brother of Minochehr. So, he also was a great grandson of Chang shah, a well-known leader of Naosari. (a) We learn from the Darab-nameh above<sup>2</sup> referred to, that it was for this Noshirwan, that Kaikobad had made a copy of that *nameh* from the library of Akbar. As Noshirwan had, as a brother of the *khazānchi* Minochehr, an access to the royal library, he may have introduced Kaikobad to that library. (b) He is also referred to in the letter of Fredun Murzban in the Rivayat. (c) He is referred to as one of the addressees in the Rivayat of Kaus Mahyar of 1601.<sup>3</sup>

Akbar was illiterate but not his father Humayun. He had a library which he always carried with him in the charge of a librarian, wherever he went. It went with him in his military expeditions and even in his flight to Persia.<sup>4</sup> So, it is possible, that the library from which Kaikobad took a copy of the Darab-nameh may have come down to Akbar from his father Humayun,

Geneological Table of the Family. I give below a geneological table of Minochehr and his ancestors.<sup>5</sup>



<sup>1</sup> Ibid.

<sup>2</sup> Vide above p. 6.

<sup>3</sup> Parsi Prakash I p. 839.

<sup>4</sup> History of Jahangir by Beni Prasad (1922) p. 16.

<sup>5</sup> Vide my "A few Events in the Early history of the Parsee and their Dates," p. 97. Vide *સાહિત્ય ઇતિહાસ* p.222 (વડા શ્રી રામ રામજી). According to the Dishāapothi of Samvant 1788 (1726 A. 6), three members of the family were killed by Mahomedan (vide its names of roz Ram mah Tir).

## VIII.

## PLACES MENTIONED IN THE PETITION.

I will now speak of the places mentioned in the Petition.

Surat is referred to more than once in Kaikobad's petition Akbar's visit to the city is specially referred to, as the one leading to Dastur Meherji Rana's and his son Kaikobad's introduction to the Mogul Emperor.

Surat, was, at that time, the head-quarters of the Parsees of India, and the neighbouring town of Naosari was specially the headquarters of the Parsee priesthood. Abu Fazl thus refers to Surat in his Ain-i-Akbari (Ain XV) in his account of the Sarkar of Surat. "Surat is a celebrated port. The river Tapti runs by it and at a distance of 7 *kos* thence, falls into the sea. Rāner (Rāndēr) on the opposite side of the Tapti is a port dependant on Sūrāt ; it was formerly a large city. The ports of Khandēwi (Gandewi) and Balsār also are a part of the Surat division. Numerous fruits abound especially the pine-apple, and oils of all kinds and rare perfumes are obtainable. The followers of Zoroaster coming from Persia, settled here. They follow the teaching of the Zend and the Pāzend, and erect funeral structures (*dakhmahās*)<sup>1</sup>. *زردشتی کیش از فارس آمده بنگاه ساختن اندر دزد و پازند میکنند و دخمها بسازند*. Blochman's Text of the Aini-Akbari (1877)—Vol. I, p. 488 l. 2), Thus through the wide tolerance of His Majesty every sect enjoys freedom."<sup>1</sup> King Akbar himself had given 100 bighas of land to the Parsees of Surat for the construction of a *dakhmeh*. The original *farmān* of this grant was lost during the sack of Surat by Shivaji. So, later on, Ahmad Shah renewed it. For an account of these facts and for a Gujarati translation of Ahmad Shah's *Farmān*, *vide* the printed account books of the Parsee Panchayat of Bombay for the Samvat year 1903 (1848 A. C.) pp. 99-108 and for the Samvat year 1904 (1849 A. C.) pp. 145-49.

The twofold importance of (Surat.) Surat had importance in the Mogul times, for two reasons: (a) Firstly, it was an important port trading with many countries of the West. (b) Secondly, it was the port of India, as now Bombay is

<sup>1</sup> Jarret's Translation, Vol. II, p. 243.

for the pilgrims to embark for their pilgrimage to Mecca. The supply of sufficient convenience of embarkation and safe voyage towards Mecca, was as much a subject of anxiety and solicitude to the Mogul government, as it is now to the British Indian Government. Now a days, when we have to apply for passports for travelling in foreign countries, we have to spend a few Rupees. But Gulbadan Begam, the daughter of Humayun, had to give a village to the Portuguese as her pass-port fee. Smith says: "When Gulbadan Bēgam was going on pilgrimage in 1575, she had bought the necessary pass by ceding to the Portuguese, a village called Būtsār,<sup>1</sup> situated near Damān. After her return, when she was no longer dependent on the hated Christians, she directed the imperial officers to retake the village. When they tried to do so they were repulsed with loss".<sup>2</sup>

According to the Ain-i-Akbari, Akbar had divided his territories into 12 Subahs. These 12 Subahs

Surat belonged to the Subahship of Gujarat.

were divided into 105 Sarkars. These 105 Sarkars were divided into 2,737 townships. The 12 Subahs were: Allahabad, Agra, Oudh, Ajmer, Ahmedabad, Behar, Bengal, Delhi, Kabul, Lahor, Multan and Malwah. Berar, Khandesh and Ahmednagar were added, later on, when conquered. Surat, referred to in our petition, belonged to the Subahship of Ahmedabad, which was also spoken as that of Gujarat. The revenue of the 12 Subahs came to Rs. 90,743,881.<sup>3</sup> The Subah of Gujarat extended from Burhānpur to Jagat (Dwarka in Kāthiawār), from Jalor to Daman and from Edar to Khambāyat.<sup>4</sup> At first, Pattan was its capital, then Champaner, and then Ahmedabad. Surat, as a Sarkar of Gujarat, is spoken of as "a celebrated port"<sup>5</sup>. The Sarkar of Surat had 31 Mahals or paragnas. It contained 1,312,815 bigahs of land. Its revenue was 19,035,180 dams. Parchol, named in the petition, was the second in the list of the 31 mahals with an area of 55,920 bigahs and a revenue of 1,508,000 dams.<sup>6</sup>

<sup>1</sup> The village of Būtsār near Damān, may perhaps be Būlsar.

<sup>2</sup> Smith's Akbar p. 203. <sup>3</sup> Jarrett's Translation, II p. 115.

<sup>4</sup> Ibid pp. 238-39. <sup>5</sup> Ibid p. 243.

<sup>6</sup> Ibid II p. 256. A dam, in Akbar's time, was  $\frac{1}{10}$ th of a rupee (Smith's Akbar p. 139 n). According to Wilson, the rates varied. In the reign of Akbar, 40 dāms were reckoned to a rupee; in that of Alemgir 46½; at later periods 80 and 90 are the proportionate rates, which appear to have been liable to great fluctuation (Wilson's Oriental Language Glossary of Terms, p. 121.)



Akbar's conquest of Surat was a kind of re-conquest, because it was at first conquered by his father Humayun. The Akbar-nameh has a separate chapter (chap. XXIII)<sup>1</sup> on Humayun's conquest of Gujarat. Humayun left his capital on 8th November 1534 for the conquest of Gujarat. Surat was taken by him in 1535. He entrusted the Governorship of Surat, of the adjoining town of Nansârî (Naosari), and of Broach to Qasim Husain Sultân.<sup>2</sup> Soon after, Gujarat again rose in rebellion and Humayun reconquered it. He visited Cambay, and, from there, went to Baroda and Broach, and from there to Surat.<sup>3</sup> The fort of Surat was built in the time of Humayun by Rumi Khan, who was also known as Safar.<sup>4</sup> It seems that, as said above, it was, perhaps, during this visit of Surat, and probably of Naosari also, that Humayun met Manock Asa, the son of Changa Asa of Naosari and the grandfather of Minochehr, as referred to in the petition and gave him a *khedmat* in his court.

Akbar took Surat during his first invasion of Gujarat. Some time before the death of Humayun, Gujarat and Malwa had thrown off their allegiance to the Court of Delhi. Akbar, after his accession to the throne at Kalanaur in the Gurdaspur district, at first, strengthened his power over Delhi and the adjoining countries, and then marched towards Gujarat and conquered it. Surat was "the objective of the campaign."<sup>5</sup> "Rājā Todar Mall was sent to report on the strength of the Surat defences. When he returned with an encouraging report, Akbar, on the last day of December (1572) marched from Baroda. On January 11th, 1573, he approached Surat, and presently began regular seige operations. While the seige was in progress, according to the court chronicler's version, certain Portuguese from Goa, who had arrived with the intention of assisting the defence, came to the conclusion that Akbar's force was irresistible, and that it would be more prudent to conciliate him. They accordingly assumed the attitude of friendly envoys, offered presents, and were graciously received . . . . . Friendly relations with the foreigners had for him the practical advantage that they enabled him to secure a safe conduct for the Mecca pilgrims, which was dependent on the good-will of the Portuguese. The Mogul emperors never showed

<sup>1</sup> Beveridge's Translation Vol. 1, pp. 300 *et seq.*

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid* p. 317. <sup>3</sup> *Ibid* p. 318. <sup>4</sup> *Ibid* p. 319.

<sup>5</sup> Smith's Akbar, p. 111.

any aptitude for maritime affairs or possessed a fleet worth mentioning. Their coasts and the neighbouring seas were thus at the mercy of the Portuguese, who felt no scruples about the manners in which they exercised their power. In those days Akbar took a lively interest in the Mecca pilgrimage, and was ready to spend money freely in helping the pilgrims."<sup>1</sup>

It was from Surat that Gul-badan the well-known daughter of Babar, whose Humayun-nameh is well known, started for her pilgrimage to Mecca.<sup>2</sup> This was two years after Akbar's conquest of Surat. Akbar, though he disliked the Portuguese, desired to be friendly with them, because, he knew, that otherwise, being strong at sea, they would harass his Muslim pilgrims.<sup>3</sup> Surat capitulated on 26th February 1573. Its commander Hamzabān, who was formerly in the service of Humāyun, was forgiven and granted his life, but was punished by his tongue being cut off because he had become indiscreet in his speeches about Akbar. The conquest of Surat seems to have delighted Akbar much. He indulged much in drink after his victory at Surat.

Abu Fazl describes Akbar's invasion of Gujarat in his Akbar-nameh (Chap. LXXVIII).<sup>4</sup> This invasion took place in the 17th Divine year from the accession. It was the year Amardad of the 2nd cycle.<sup>5</sup> Abu Fazl attributed the loss of Gujarat from the hands of the Moghal Emperor to the carelessness of the Moghal Officers. He says that "the officers of Gujrat, especially Saiyid Mubārak, 'Itmād Khān, and 'Imād-al-Mulk had looked after their own interests.... They...brought forward a worthless boy named Nannū who was of low origin, and gave him out as a son of Sultan Mahmūd. They gave him the title

<sup>1</sup> Smith's Akbar, p. 113. *Vide* Elliot's History of India, Vol. VI, p. 42.

<sup>2</sup> The History of Humāyūn (Humāyūn-Nāma) by Gulbadan Begum, translated by Annette S. Beveridge (1902). Introduction p. 71. There is one point in the account of this lady's pilgrimage that draws our attention. It is, that custom required that males, never mind if they were mere boys, should escort ladies. Akbar's sons, Morad and Salim, aged 5 and 4, were asked to escort the ladies from Agra to Surat.

<sup>3</sup> Smith's Akbar, p. 113.

<sup>4</sup> Beveridge's Translation Vol. II pp. 536 et seq.

<sup>5</sup> As to this method of naming the year vide Chap. III of the Akbar-nameh: "The enlightened mind of H.M. the Shāhinshāh also directed that there should be duodenary cycle of the years of this Era, each year being named after a month, e.g., the first year was the year Farwardīn Ilāhī, the second, the year Ardibehest Ilāhī." (Beveridge's Akbar-nameh, Vol. II, p. 17.)

of Muzaffar Shāh and pursued their own private advantage. Ahmadābād, which is the capital of Gujrat, Cambay and much of the country fell into the possession of 'Itmād Khan. Surat, Broach, Baroda and Cāmpānir to Cingiz Khān, the son of 'Imād-al-Mulk."<sup>1</sup>

Kaikobad speaks of a place called Gīr Jahāk Nandan (کیرجہاک نندن) to which he went with Jahangir's hunting party. Kaikobad speaks of it as one single place, but it appears from Jahangir's Memoirs,<sup>2</sup> that it was a name made up from the names of two places<sup>3</sup>—Girjahāk and Nandana. The translators of Jahangir's Memoirs say that "these places are in Sindsagār, near Multān."<sup>4</sup>

The Ain-i Akbari (ain 20)<sup>5</sup> mentions Girjak as one of the places in the Sarkar of Sindh Sāgar Doāb and speaks of it as Kirjhāk. It gives its area as 21491 bighas, and revenue as 961755 dams. Jarrett says that it is the Girjahak of the Ancient Geography (p. 163) of Cunningham, who took it "to be the Hindu name for Jalālpūr, the probable site of Bukephala built in memory of Alexander's horse."<sup>6</sup> Jahangir went to Girjak more than once for hunt: (a) He went there a-hunting in the 15th Ilahi year after his accession which began on 10th March 1620,<sup>7</sup> on his return tour from Kashmir. He had previously sent there hunters "to form *qamurgahs*, so as to prepare *Jirgas* (hunting-rings)."<sup>8</sup> (b) Then, he went a-hunting there again, at the end of the 16th year on the 24th of Isphandārmaz (about 6th March 1622). He had sent, 5 days before "Huntsmen and *yasāwulān* (guards).....to prepare a *jarga* (hunting ring)."<sup>9</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Ibid, p. 537.

<sup>2</sup> Memoirs by Rogers and Beveridge I, p. 81.

<sup>3</sup> In India, there are several places, which, though they are two separate villages, are known by a joint name. For example, the name of Bilimora, a village about 12 miles from Naosari on the Bombay side, is made up of the names of two villages Bili and Mora. Similarly the name of Jehān Bordi, a village on the south of Bulsar is made up from the names of two villages Jehan and Bordi. Similarly Dandah Rajpur near Janjira, and Karāri-Matwār near Naosāri. Cf. Budapest in Europe from Buda and Pesth.

<sup>4</sup> Ibid, p. 81, n. 1.

<sup>5</sup> Jarrett's Translation, Vol. II, p. 324.

<sup>6</sup> Ibid p. 324, n. 1.

<sup>7</sup> Memoirs II, p. 130.

<sup>8</sup> Ibid p. 181

<sup>9</sup> Ibid p. 229.

Kaikobad refers to his visit of Kabul with the hunting party of Jahangir. Kabul formed a part of the

3. Cabul co. 73, territories of the Moghal Emperors of India, 74, 79, 114. who spoke of it as their Wilāyat or home.<sup>1</sup>

Jahangir speaks of it as "my native land."<sup>2</sup>

So, before speaking of Jahangir's hunting excursion there, I will speak on the subject of the association of Jahangir's ancestors with the city, especially because the story of Humayun's association with the city tells us of his library, from which, when it was inherited by Akbar, Kaikobad is said to have made a copy of the Persian Darab-nameh, of the manuscript of which, it is said that it was "a soul-reviving book....rare in the cities of India, &c."<sup>3</sup>

Babar had taken Kabul in the beginning of October 1504.<sup>4</sup> On the death of Babar, it passed into the hands of Humayun's brother Kamran. Humayun, on being defeated by Sher Khan of Bihar at Kanauj, and not having expected help from his brother Kamran, ruler of Kabul, led a wandering life, during which, when in Sind, he married Hamida Banu Begam. The result of this marriage was the birth of Akbar at Umarnkot in Sind, on 23rd November 1542. Humayun, finding himself in continuous difficulties, left India with a view to go to Kandahar, to ask from there the help of the Shah of Persia. He left his infant son, Akbar, at Umarnkot in the charge of his uncle, who, later on, sent the child to Kandahar. Humayun met the Shah of Persia, who, after some time, sent him to see the ruins of Persepolis and then gave him the help of his Persian troops to conquer Kandahar. Humayun took Kandahar. He then took Cabul on 18th November 1545.<sup>5</sup> Kamran reconquered it, in 1550, when Humayun failed disastrously in his invasion of Badakhshan.<sup>7</sup> Humayun regained it at the end of 1550.<sup>8</sup> Even after this, there was a struggle about it, but, at last, Humayun had a final hold upon it.<sup>9</sup> There is one statement in the history of its final capture that draws our special attention. In the struggles and fights in Afghanistan, Humayun had

<sup>1</sup> Akbar-nameh by Beveridge, I, p. 252.

<sup>2</sup> Memoirs by Rogers and Beveridge, I, p. 90.

<sup>3</sup> Vide for particulars, my "Parsees at the Court of Akbar and Dastur Meherji Rana," pp. 171-175. Vide p. 174 for the quotation.

<sup>4</sup> Akbar-nameh of Beveridge, I, p. 228.

<sup>5</sup> Akbar-nameh by Beveridge, Vol. I., p. 548 (V. Smith gives the date as 15th November 1545. Smith's Akbar, p. 17).

<sup>6</sup> Ibid I, p. 501.

<sup>7</sup> Smith's Akbar, p. 25.

<sup>8</sup> Ibid p. 25.

<sup>9</sup> Akbar-nameh by Beveridge, I, p. 571.

lost his library—two boxes of books. But at the final victory the books unexpectedly came back to his hands and he was delighted. In the final victory, his army had a good deal of booty. Humayun seeing two camels with boxes said : “ Every one is having his plunder, let mine be these two camels.” He went himself and taking their nose-strings, ordered that they should be made to kneel and that the boxes should be opened, so that he might see what was inside. By a beautiful coincidence it was found that the special, royal books which were lost at the battle of Qibcāq were in those boxes and in perfect condition. This was the occasion for a thousand rejoicings.”<sup>1</sup> I think it was this library of rare books, which, from Humayun, passed into the hands of Akbar, and it contained the rare copy of Persian Darab-nameh from which Kaikobad took a copy at the desire of Noshirwan, who is referred to in the petition as having gone to the royal court with his brother Minochehr.<sup>2</sup>

The fact, that Humayun had a good library and that Akbar had an access to it, is shown from another statement in the Akbar-nameh. In the account of the rebel Hemu, whose head was cut off and sent to Cabul, “ to give a lesson to the superficial,”<sup>3</sup> we read : “ One day this cyclopædia of Divine things (i.e., Akbar) was in the library of H. M. Jahanbānī (i.e., Humayun) and in order to sharpen his mind was employing himself in drawing.”<sup>4</sup>

In the time of disturbances and difficulties, Kabul was the city where the royal ladies were sent for protection. As said above, it was spoken of as *wilayat* or home, and in the time of Babar, even his officers were inclined to go to Kabul in times of difficulty. For example, in 1526, at Agra, when there was a prevalence of hot winds, “ an impure *samūm* and sickness . . . . . distress for food,” etc.,<sup>5</sup> there was a general stampede among officers towards Kabul, but Babar stuck to his post. He said : “ We have won this fine country by labour and hardship ; to give it up for a little fatigue and contrariety, is neither the way of world-conquerors nor method of wise men ; joy and sorrow, comfort and distress are linked together . . . . . Whoever has a mind to depart to Kabul (*Wilāyat*), and to exhibit his own worthlessness, it matters

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<sup>1</sup> Ibid, I p. 571.

<sup>2</sup> For the Colophon of this Ms., vide my “ Parsees at the Court of Akbar and Dastur Meherji Rana,” pp. 171-75.

<sup>3</sup> Akbar-nameh of Beveridge, II, p. 67.

<sup>4</sup> Ibid p. 67.

<sup>5</sup> Ibid I, p. 251-52.

not, let him go. But we, relying on the lofty courage which rests on the Divine help, have fixed India in our heart."<sup>1</sup>, On the death of Islam or Salim Shah Sur, the son of Shir Shah in 1554, Humayun invaded India and in February 1555 occupied Lahore.<sup>2</sup> Humayun died on 24th January 1556 by an accident while getting down from his library in the Sher Mandal at Delhi and trying at the same time to attend to the call of the muazzin to say prayers.<sup>3</sup>

Akbar ascended the throne of India on 14th February 1556.<sup>4</sup> After his attempt to found an eclectic religion, Akbar had become unpopular among some of his orthodox officers, and so, they wanted to replace him by an orthodox prince, his half-brother Mirza Muhammad Hakim, the ruler of Cabul.<sup>5</sup> Akbar prepared to march towards Cabul against his brother and started on 8th February 1581.<sup>6</sup> Akbar entered Cabul on 9th August 1581.<sup>7</sup> Cabul had become in Akbar's time, "a place of busy trade, crowded with merchants from India, Persia and Tartary."<sup>8</sup>

Now coming to Kaikobad's reference to the hunting expedition to Cabul, Jahangir speaks at some length of his visit to Cabul, which was his "native land".<sup>9</sup> Jahangir speaks of his intended tour to Cabul, as a hunting tour" (Memoirs Vol I. p. 90). But it was more, a pleasure and business tour. Kaikobad does not speak of it, and that very rightly, as a hunting tour. Beni prasad takes a correct view, when, speaking of March 1407, he says: "Jahangir resolved to spend the ensuing summer on the cool heights of Kabul" (History of Jahangir, p. 161. For Jahangir's itinerary from Lahore to Kabul, vide Ibid, p. 169).

Lahore is mentioned by Kaikobad, in the petition, as the capital (darul Khalāfat), where his nephew  
 4. Lahore cc. was detained in jail in his place. He describes the miserable condition in which prisoners were kept in the jail there. Lahore, though visited by Akbar more than once as a great city, was not raised by him to the rank of the capital. Akbar's visit of Lahore in 1567, draws one's special attention on account of a great hunt known as *qamargha* which he organized on 11th March

<sup>1</sup> Ibid I, p. 252.

<sup>2</sup> Smith's Akbar, p. 28. <sup>3</sup> Ibid p. 29.

<sup>4</sup> Ibid, p. 30.

<sup>5</sup> Ibid, p. 190.

<sup>6</sup> Father Monserrate was, at Akbar's command, in his company as his son Murad's tutor. Ibid p. 193.

<sup>7</sup> Ibid, p. 200.

<sup>8</sup> Ibid, p. 395.

<sup>9</sup> Memoirs by Beveridge I, p. 90.

1567.<sup>1</sup> The Akbar-nameh's account of this hunt gives us an idea, as to why Jahangir's hunting parties, in some of which Kaikobad was present, were large. The Akbar-nameh says: "Several thousand foot-men from the towns and villages of the Lahore province were appointed to drive the game. A wide space within ten miles of Lahore..... was chosen for the collecting of the animals."<sup>2</sup> It took one month to organize the whole hunt. "There was pleasure from morning till evening and from evening till morning. After H. M. the Shāhinshāh had, during five successive days, enjoyed various kinds of sport, the great officers and the attendants of the harem were allowed to come into the hunting-ground. Gradually the servants of the court were allowed to enter until at last the turn came of individuals from among the troopers and footmen."<sup>3</sup> Jahangir, in his Memoirs, refers to Lahore as the place, where, in the grape-season, one can find all kinds of grapes—the *sāhibi*, the *habshi* and the *kishmishi*.<sup>4</sup> But Jahangir disliked it as a place of "disaffected hypocrites."<sup>5</sup>

Kaikobad speaks of Lahore as Dārul khilāfat or capital, perhaps, in the general sense of a great city. Being a great city on the way from Persia and Central Asia to Agra and Delhi, it had acquired great importance. We find a reference to it as such in a letter of a Persian Zoroastrian, Ardeshir, who had come from Persia to the Court of Akbar, written in 967 A. Y. i.e. 1598 A.C.<sup>6</sup>

Kaikobad refers twice to Agra. He first refers to it as the city, where he went with his father Mahyar, Agra cc. 51-53, in the retinue of Akbar from Surat. He next refers to it (c. 118) as the place, where, on arrival, he expected that the Mustaufi of the King's camp would place before the Diwan his case, in which, he thought, the State owed to him a sum.

As to the first mention, Kaikobad says, that Akbar took him and his father to Agra after the capture of Surat (giraftand Surat

<sup>1</sup> Beveridge, referring to another author, says that 50,000 beaters were employed. Akbar-nameh by Beveridge, Vol. II p. 416 n. 2.

<sup>2</sup> Ibid, p. 416.

<sup>3</sup> Ibid p. 417.

<sup>4</sup> Memoirs by Rogers and Beveridge I. 5.

<sup>5</sup> Tarikh-i Salim Shahi, as referred to in Elliot's History of India, VI p. 274.

<sup>6</sup> Vide for the letter, my "Parsees at the Court of Akbar and Dastur Meherji Rana" pp. 24-25. Vide Mr. M. R. Unwala's Rivayat of Darab Hormazdyar with my Introduction, Vol, II, p. 456, ll. 10-11.

Shāh-i kāmgār c. 47). Surat was captured on 26th February 1573. Then Akbar started on his return journey on 13th April 1573. He arrived at Fahpur-Sikri on 3rd June 1573 when he was received by Abu Fazal's father Shaikh Mubārak, and other notables.<sup>1</sup> These dates then tell us that it was in the early part of June 1573 that Kaikobad first went to Agra with his father.

Akbar had made Agra his capital in 1558. Abu Fazl, in his Akbar-nameh<sup>2</sup>, while speaking of Akbar's first visit there, says that Agra "for air and water makes Bagdad ashamed of the Tigris, and Egypt of the Nile." Akbar first came to Agra on the 17th of Aban 966 Hijri, corresponding to 30th October 1558.<sup>3</sup> He "gave celestial rank to the citadel, which was known by the name of Bādālgarha, by his alighting there."<sup>4</sup>..... "For trees and fruits its soil is like Khurāsān and Irāq..... With all grandeur and glory it became once more the abode of the Caliphate, and the centre of the Sultanate."<sup>5</sup> In 1575, he commenced building its great fort which took 8 years to be finished, though 3,000 to 4,000 workmen were working on it. He got a great fort built at Agra, because, he considered its position to be "the centre of Hindustan."<sup>6</sup> Jahangir continued it as his capital or metropolis.<sup>7</sup>

Kaikobad, in his accounts of Jahangir's visit to Kabul, refers to Nimlah and to a narrow or difficult place (jā-i sakht) where his came gave him some trouble and anxiety, and where Jahangir advised him as to what to do. Jahangir thus refers to his hunt at this place: "On the 24th (Jumādā-l-awwal), between the garden of Wafā<sup>8</sup> and Nimlah, a hunt took place, and nearly forty red antelopes were killed. A female panther (yūz) fell into our hands in this hunt."<sup>9</sup> As determined from Jahangir's itinerary in his Memoirs,<sup>10</sup> it is two stages in the direction of Cabul from the place known as the garden of Wafā.

<sup>1</sup> Smith's Akbar, pp. 113-17.      <sup>2</sup> Beveridge's Translation II, 117.

<sup>3</sup> Ibid.      <sup>4</sup> Ibid.      <sup>5</sup> Ibid, p. 118.      <sup>6</sup> Ibid, p. 372.

<sup>7</sup> Tarikh-i Salim Shāhi, quoted by Elliot VI, p. 268.

<sup>8</sup> "Bābar made this garden in 914 (1508 A.C.). It was opposite Adīnāpūr which was south of the Kābul River and about a mile south of Jalālāhbād (Akbar-nameh, Beveridge's Translation I, p. 239 n. 4). Bagh-i Wafā meant "Garden of Loyalty." Another garden, also built by Babar, was Bagh-i Safā i.e., "the Garden of Purity." It was near Jalalabad (the Ain-i Akbari. Jarrett's Translation, Vol. II, p. 405). It was 11 miles distant from the Garden of Wafā (Ibid n. 2).

<sup>9</sup> Memoirs I, p. 125.

<sup>10</sup> Ibid.



We find this place mentioned in Abu Fazal's account of the Sarkār of Kābul in the *Ain-i Akbari*.<sup>1</sup> There, the Sarkār of Kābul is mentioned as extending "from Atak Benāres on the Indus to the Hindu kōh." Its length is 150 *kos* and breadth "from Karābāgh of Kandahār to Cheghān Serā" as 100 *kos*. We read: "Adequate praise of its climate is beyond the power of pen to express, and although its winter is severe rather than moderate, it occasions no distress. The torrid and cold belts are so contiguous that the transition may be made from one to the other in a single day. Such approximation of summer and winter pasturage in an inhabited country is uncommon. Snow falls both in the plains and on the mountains; in the former from November and on the latter from September: Bābar states that the snowfall in the direction of Hindustān does not pass the crest of Bādām Chashmah.<sup>2</sup> This doubtless was the case in those days, but at the present time it extends to the crest of the *Nimlah* and indeed as far as the Khaibar pass. Even in summer time covering is needed during the nights."<sup>3</sup>

Nimlah was known for a particular kind of rice. Abu Fazal speaks of it in his account of the Imperial kitchen. (Bk. I ain 23. Blochmann's Translation, Vol. I, p. 57). He says: "At the beginning of every quarter, the Diwān-i buyūtāt (Superintendent of the Stores, Workshops, etc.), and the Mir Bakawal, collect whatever they think will be necessary, *e.g.*, Suk'hdās rice from Bharāij, Dewzirah rice from Gwalior, Jinjin rice from Rājōri and Nimlah, g'hi from Hiṣār Firuzah; ducks, water-fowls, and certain vegetables from Kashmir." Nimlah is still known by the same name.

<sup>1</sup> Bk. III Ain XV. Jarrett's Translation, Vol. II, p. 399.

<sup>2</sup> "The pass of Bādām Chashmah lies south of the Kābul river between Little Kābul and Bārikāb (Erskine)." Ibid n. 1.

<sup>3</sup> Ibid p. 399. Abu Fazl then speaks on the question of the descent of the Afghans of Cabul from a remote ancestor Afghan, and says that while the Afghans themselves consider their descent to be from the Israelites, "some assert the Afghans to be Copts, and that when the Israelites came to Egypt from Jerusalem, this people (Copts) passed into Hindustān." (Ibid p. 403). It may be noted here, that a recent writer supposes, that the Exodus was not *from* Egypt, but was in the direction *towards* Egypt from America via the Bahring Straits, and that the Afghans were the descendants of the lost two tribes of the Israelites, left in Afghanistan during the march towards Egypt (The Greater Exodus and the Cradle of the Semetic Race, by Mr. Fitzgerald Lee. *Vide* my Glimpse into the work of the B.B.R.A.S., p. 138).

Naosari, mentioned in the petition, is referred to in Mogal history, more than once. With the conquest of Surat, Naosari also was conquered by Humāyun in about 1535 A.C.<sup>1</sup>

Humāyun entrusted the Governorship of Naosari to Qasim Husain Sultān. It is probable, that while entrusting the Governorship he may have come to Naosari, which is about 22 miles from Surat. Shortly after Humāyun's return towards his capital, Gujarat rose in rebellion and he returned to reconquer it. He came to Surat *via* Cambay, Baroda and Broach.<sup>2</sup> It is probable, as said above, that the event of Humāyun taking with him to his capital, Manock bin Changa, the grandfather of Minochehr, referred to in the petition, may have occurred during this visit of Humāyun. According to the *Ain-i Akbari*,<sup>3</sup> Naosari was situated in the Sarkar of Surat. Out of the 30 mahals of the Sarkar of Surat, Naosari was the 19th in point of area and also the 19th in the point of revenue. Its area was 17,353 bigahs and revenue 297,720 dams. It was known for a "manufactory of perfumed oil found nowhere else."<sup>4</sup> For further particulars about its association with the Parsees and for Anquetil Du Perron's reference to a place near it known as Kānkrā khāri, where Akbar first met Dastur Meherji (Mahyār) Rana, an event referred to in the petition, I will refer my readers to my "Parsees at the Court of Akbar and Dastur Meherji Rana." According to Mr. Hawkins, Naosari, with its navigable river had, at one time, a great calico trade (*vide* Hawkin's *Voyages* by Markham). According to Firasta, it was in the hands of Ramdeo as a personal estate.

According to the *Tabakāt-i-Akbari* of Nizamuddin Ahmad, had "a fortified position in the neighbourhood," Naosari as a Fort. in the time of Humayun. One of the nobles of Sultan Bahadur of Gujarat, who fought against Humāyun, had taken possession of Naosari and fortified it. (Munshi Nawal Kishore's lithographed edition of 1875 of the *Tabakkat-i-Akbari*, p. 198, ll. 21-23. Elliot's *History of India*, Vol. V, p. 197). A portion of the town is still known as *Kote* i.e. fort.

According to the *Akbar-nameh*, "Khān Jahān of Shīrāz and Rūmī Khān, who had the name of Safar and who is the builder

<sup>1</sup> *Akbar-nameh*, translated by Beveridge, I. p. 317.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid* p. 318.

<sup>3</sup> Jarrett's Translation, Vol. II, 257 Blochmann's *Text*, Vol. I, p. 497, col. II, ll. 1 and 14.

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid* p. 257. روفن خوشبو آنجا سازند که در هیچ جا نشود

Blochmann's *Text*, Vol. I, p. 498, col. I, l. 13

of the fort of Surat, united and took possession of Neosari, which was held by 'Abdu-lla Khan, a relative of Qasim Husain Khanūzbeḡ." (Akbar Namah, Beveridge's Translation, Vol. I, p. 319. Bengal As. Society's edition of Abd-ur-Rahim, Vol. I, p. 142, ll. 20-21. *Vide* Elliot's History of India, Vol. VI, p. 15).

It appears from the Khatim or the Supplement of the Mirat-i-Ahmedi, that Naosari was considered as one Naosari as a Port. of the sea-ports of the province of Ahmedabad. There were, in that province, 27 ports, i.e., "places where big ships anchor" and 45 baras, i.e., "places where small boats called 'hodis' in Gujarat" anchored. Naosari was one of such sea-ports. Like the ports of Broach, Bulsar, Ghandevi, Chikli, Sirbhavan and others, Naosari was looked after by the Mutasaddi of Surat.<sup>1</sup>

Parchol is mentioned in the petition more than once with Naosari. It seems that the Desaiship of Parchol c. 136. these two places went together from Humā-yun's time, when it was entrusted to Manock Changa, and then to his son Bahman, and then to his grandson Minochehr. After Minochehr, it passed into the hands of Kaikobad.<sup>2</sup> The Ain-i Akbari<sup>3</sup> places it in the Sarkar of Surat. It had 55,920 bigahs of land and had the revenue of 1,508,000 dams.

## IX

### A FEW FEATURES OF MOGAL ADMINISTRATION AND OF JAHANGIR'S CHARACTER, AS REFERRED TO BY KAIKOBAD AND ILLUSTRATED BY HISTORY.

I will speak in this Section of a few features of Jahangir's administration and character as referred to in Kaikobad's petition, and as illustrated by Mogal History.

Kaikobad refers to Jahangir's chain of justice as jaras-i 'adālat (c. 17.<sup>4</sup> Bell of Justice) and to the impossibility of approaching the king (cc. 89, 90, 122). As to the Chain of Justice itself, referred to by Kaikobad (c. 17), we read as follows in Jahangir's Memoirs :<sup>5</sup> "After my accession, the first order that I gave was for the fastening up of the Chain of Justice,

<sup>1</sup> The Supplement to the Mirat-i-Ahmedi by Syed Nawab Ali and Charles Norman Seddon (1924), p. 229.

<sup>2</sup> *Vide* Parsce Prakash I, p. 10, col. 2.

<sup>3</sup> Jarrett's Translation, Vol. II, p. 256.

<sup>4</sup> The reason, why Kaikobad uses the word bell instead of chain, seems to be, that the chain had 60 bells, and it were the bells that made the noise. *Vide* below for the bells.

<sup>5</sup> Memoirs by Rogers and Beveridge I, p. 7.

so that if those engaged in the administration of justice should delay or practise hypocrisy in the matter of those seeking justice, the oppressed might come to this chain and shake it so that its noise might attract attention. Its fashion was this: I ordered them to make a chain of pure gold, 30 *gaz* in length and containing 60 bells. Its weight was 4 Indian maunds, equal to 42 'Iraqi maunds. One end of it they made fast to the battlements of the Shāh Burj of the fort at Agra and the other to a stone post fixed on the bank of the river."<sup>1</sup>

Khāfi Khān, in his *Muntakhab-al Lubāb*<sup>2</sup> speaks of this chain as *Zanjir-i 'adālat* (زنجر عدالت) and says that it had sixty bells (زنک). Its one end was on the Shāh-burj of Akbarābād (Agra) and the other on a column (mail میل) on the river. On the subject of its use, he says:

هر مظلومی که دست او بدامن طوقداران ظالمان نرسد بلا واسطه  
دست دادخواهی بران زنجر زده صدای ناله و فریاد ستم بدستیار  
زنگ بگوش آن پادشاه عدالت پیوده رساند-

Translation—Any oppressed person, whose hand does not reach the skirt of the tyrannical officers, without reason (*bilā wāsita*), may, by putting his justice-seeking hand on that chain, make his voice of complaint and grievance for the oppression reach the ears of that justice-seeking King with the help of the bells.

The *Tarikh-Salim-Shāhi* also alludes to this Chain of Justice. It says: "God from the tribunal of the six quarters of the Universe has bestowed the Chain of Justice upon his subjects."<sup>3</sup>

The Translators of the *Tuzūk*<sup>4</sup> say that, according to Du Jarric (III ch. XVII) Jahangir "was following the idea of an old Persian King. It is mentioned in the *Siyar al-muta'akhhirin* (reprint I, 230) that Muhammad Shah in 1721 revived this, and hung a long chain with a bell attached to it from the octagon tower which looked towards the river."<sup>5</sup> The name of the "old Persian king" is not mentioned, but it was Noshirwan Adal (the Just, Chosroes I), of whom a similar

<sup>1</sup> *Memoirs by Rogers and Beveridge*, I, p. 7.

<sup>2</sup> *Bengal Asiatic Society's Text*, edited by Maulavi Kabir Al-din Ahmad, Part I (1860), p. 248.

<sup>3</sup> *Elliot's History of India*, Vol. VI, p. 262.

<sup>4</sup> *Memoirs by Rogers and Beveridge* I, p. 7, n. 1. Vide also Beni Prasad's *History of Jahangir* p. 111, n. 46.

<sup>5</sup> *Ibid* p. 7, n. 1.

story is told.<sup>1</sup> Kaikobad, while speaking of Jahangir's distribution of justice (*dād dādan*) refers to Naoshirwan (c. 13). When he compares him with the just king (*Shāh-i 'adil*, c. 18), he seems to refer to Naushirwan of whom he spoke before.

The above quotation from the Tuzuk and the translator's note explain, why Kaikobad speaks of the chain as *jaras*, i.e., bell. He speaks thus, because the chain had bells which sounded when moved. Beni Prasad says that : "Khafī Khan (I. 248), writing a century later mentions it with approval and adds that Jahangir ordered a proclamation to be made that anyone who was oppressed might through the bells bring his complaint to his ears. A Persian MS., the Razul Maluk (p. 20 a) contains the fictitious story of an ass who, wandering on the river's bank, happened to shake the chain. An inquiry was at once instituted into his 'grievance', when it was found that his owner, a miser, did not look after him well. The man was warned.<sup>2</sup> Elliot says: "The practice was a mere imitation of what was attributed to one of the early Chinese Emperors, Yu-tu (Modern Universal History, Vol. VII, p. 206). And Raja Anangpal had already done the same at Dehli."<sup>3</sup> Anangpal's story speaks of a bell that was placed between two stone lions. Instead of an ass, it is a crow that rings the bell, (*Vide* Extract from Mir Khusrū's Nuh Sipihir, Four Sphere, in Elliot's Vol. III, p. 565.)

Prof. Jadunath Sarkar says : "According to the ancient political ideal, which both the Hindus and the Muhammadans accepted, the sovereign is the fountain of justice, and it is his duty to try cases personally in open court. The Mughal Emperors acted up to this ideal."..... "The Emperor was the highest court of appeal and sometimes acted as a court of first instance, too. But, from the nature of things, only a few plaintiffs could reach his throne and he could spare time for adjudicating only a small portion of the appeals that were handed to him, though several of the Mughal Emperors, notably Jahangir, made a parade of their devotion to duty by hanging a golden chain from their palace-balcony to the ground outside Agra fort, to which the people in the streets could tie their petitions for royal

<sup>1</sup> *Vide* Siassat-nameh of Nizam-ul-Mulk, the Prime Minister of Maleksha Seljuki. A story of the Chain is given under the heading of ;—  
حکایت پیر خرم دادخواهی پیشگاه انوشیروان عادل آمده بود

<sup>2</sup> Beni Prasad's History of Jahangir (1922), p. 111. Beni Prasad adds that "William Finch (Purchas IV, 74), however, expressly states that golden bells were attached to the Chain of Justice" (p. 111 n. 48).

<sup>3</sup> Elliot's History of India, Vol. VI p. 262 n. 1.

<sup>4</sup> "Mughal Administration," 2nd ed., p. 106.

justice in order to be drawn up to the Emperor, without their having to grease the palms of the palace porters and underlings, courtiers and other middlemen. The main defect of the department of law and justice was that there was no system, no organization of the law courts in a regular gradation from the highest to the lowest.<sup>1</sup> Then Prof. Sarkar quotes the testimony of European visitors like Bernier and Mannucci who paid visits to the Moghul courts of later Emperors and adds that "in practice this high ideal was seldom attained."<sup>2</sup> Kaikobad's petition illustrates this. He complains in his petition that he could not approach King Jahangir to lay his case before him.

Beni Prasad gives a few instances of Jahangir's solicitude for justice (History of Jahangir, pp. 116-137),

Kaikobad says in his petition that he was among Jahangir's followers during three hunting parties. All the Moghal kings were fond of hunting. But Jahangir was extraordinarily so. A Dutch traveller of India of Jahangir's time, Francisco Pelsaert, says:<sup>3</sup> "The chief business that interests the King and about which he asks questions, is in what place there is good hunting, sport being his greatest delight." This fondness for hunting is illustrated by the petition, wherein Kaikobad refers to three occasions of his hunting :

(a) The Hunt at Girjak Nandan where Jahangir was occupied in hunting for 3 months and 6 days (c. 71).<sup>4</sup>

(b) A long hunting tour to Kabul, for which place he left Lahore on the 16th of Farwardin in the second Fasli year, corresponding to the 25th of March 1607 and from where he returned to Lahore after nearly a year (c. 73).

(c) A hunt at Nimleh during the return tour to Lahore (c. 79).

When Kaikobad in his petition refers to three hunts of the King in the parties of which he himself was personally present, one can imagine how many other hunts the King may have organized and attended. Jahangir's Memoirs

Jahangir a mighty hunter and a lover of Nature.

<sup>1</sup> Ibid p. 107.

<sup>2</sup> Ibid p. 115.

<sup>3</sup> Jahangir's India. The Remonstrantie of Francisco Pelsaert, translated from the Dutch, by W. H. Moreland and P. Geyl (1925), p. 51.

<sup>4</sup> Vide above the Section of Places for an account of this hunt.

justify what Prof. Dowson says of him :—" He was a mighty hunter, and took pleasure in sport, even in the later years of his life. He was a lover of nature, both animate and inanimate, and viewed it with a shrewd and observant eye. He mentions the peculiarities of many animals and birds, and shows that he watched their habits with diligence and perseverance. Trees, fruits and flowers also come under his observation, and he gives his opinions upon architecture and gardening like one who had bestowed time and thought upon them " (Elliot's History of India, Vol. VI, p. 282).

Kaikobad speaks in his petition of having no *wasilah*<sup>1</sup> (وسيلہ) i.e., intermediary influential helper in the

3. *Wasilah*-c. 89. King's Court, who could remind the King of the promise he had given to him at Nimleh in Afghanistan, to issue an order for a *khedmat* for him. This illustrates one of the instructions to the subhadars in the Manual of instructions, referred to by Prof. Sarkar.<sup>2</sup> It runs as follows: "When you are appointed, you should engage a good diwan,—a trustworthy and experienced man who has already done work in the service of some high grandee,—and a *munshi* (secretary) with similar ability and experience. You should secure a trustworthy mediator or friend (*wasilah*) at court to report promptly to the Emperor and take his orders on any affair of the province on which you may write to His Majesty. To this mediator you will have to give presents, for such is the usage of our times. When people visit the tombs of dead saints, they offer flowers and sweetmeats for gaining their favour. How much more are presents necessary for gaining the favour of living men !!"<sup>3</sup>

Kaikobad had incurred a debt to the State in some business.

4. Payment of state-debts from the emoluments of other offices. That seems to have been the case during the time when he accompanied Jahangir's hunting expedition to Kabul. As he could not pay off the debt, Jahangir, on being appealed to by him, gave him the *Desaigiri* of Naosari and Parchol, so that he may pay off the debt from its income (cc. 125-136). It was stipulated that Kaikobad may

<sup>1</sup> *Wasilah* nebūd ān kasi nik-rāe  
Kā yādī nūmāyad ba shāh pāk-rāe.

<sup>2</sup> *Mughal Administration*, p. 262.

<sup>3</sup> As quoted by J. Sarkar in his *Mughal Administration* pp. 58-59.

let the income of two or three years be accumulated or credited (جمع کرده c 128) in one place, and so pay off the debt in some large accumulated sums. But, unfortunately, through the machinations of the *mugāddams*, whom he had replaced, the Surat authorities, having been bribed, removed him from the Desaigiri. So he could not pay off the debt fully.

Prof. Sarkar says: "All officers were in debt to the Government, having taken money and things in advance or enjoyed the revenue of their jagirs, without clearing their account with the State by setting off against these advances the amounts earned by them by their services.....Such making out of military accounts was a very slow affair and was hardly ever completed in the lifetime of any officer."<sup>1</sup> This was the reason for the general practice of the property of an officer being escheated immediately after his death, so that the payment of the State debt may be secured. Prof. J. Sarkar illustrates the case of such an escheat by the instance, of a later time, of Maharajah Jaswant Singh. He says: "Thus, Maharajah Jaswant Singh, owed a heavy sum to the State, and in 1670, when he was appointed *subhadar* of Gujrat for the second time, it was stipulated that he would refund to the State two *lakhs* of Rupees every year, till his debt was cleared."<sup>2</sup>

Kaikobad states in his petition to Jahangir that the *mugāddams*, who had replaced the former Desais of the Changa Shah family, had so mis-managed affairs by their exactions from the peasantry, that there was an escapade among the ryots. They left their homes in the Mogal territories and went to the Portuguese territories. Kaikobad, on coming to the Desaigiri, managed affairs well and brought the ryots, who had run away, back to their houses and made them prosperous.

Prof. J. Sarkar in his chapter on Mogal taxation,<sup>3</sup> gives us a brief picture of the exaction of some of the lower officers in spite of the kind orders of the Mogal Emperor. He says: "A careful student of history is very much struck by the chronic antagonism between the rent-payer and the rent-receiver from very ancient times. European travellers in India have noticed how the ryot was averse to pay even his legitimate rent and that force had to be employed to get from him the dues

<sup>1</sup> Mughal Administration by Jadunath Sarkar 2nd ed. p. 164.

<sup>2</sup> Ibid pp. 166-67.

<sup>3</sup> Mughal Administration 2nd ed. Chap. V., pp. 76-86.



of the State (Storia do Mogor, II. 450). On the other hand, in Sanskrit literature as well as Persian Court-annals we read how the 'king's men'—i.e., revenue officials and underlings,—preyed on the peasantry, and in both ages the sovereign was called upon to save the ryots from such blood-suckers."<sup>1</sup> ..... "The Emperors are for ever issuing orders to their officers to show leniency and consideration to the peasants in collecting the revenue, to give up all *abwabs*,<sup>2</sup> and to relieve local distress; and the revenue officers are as often squeezing everything out of the peasants except the barest subsistence."<sup>3</sup> ..... The lower officials of Mughal India were incurably corrupt, while the highest were, on the whole just and statesmanlike.<sup>4</sup> ..... The Emperor, the High Diwan, and even the subhadar may have been just and kind in their treatment of the peasantry. But the lower official or revenue underling was the man on the spot, the person in direct relation with the ryots and therefore his harshness and greed affected the ryots far more effectively than the far off Emperor's or Chancellor's kind intentions and benevolent proclamations."<sup>5</sup>

Bernier thus refers to the tyranny of the heads in charge of the cultivated land. He speaks of that as  
 6. Bernier on the tyranny of Governors and other officers. "a tyranny often so excessive as to deprive the peasant and artisan of the necessities of life, and leave them to die of misery and exhaustion—a tyranny owing to which these wretched people either have no children at all, or have them only to endure the agonies of starvation, and to die at a tender age—a tyranny, in fine, that drives the cultivator of the soil from his wretched home to some neighbouring state, in hopes of finding milder treatment, or to the army, where he becomes the servant of some trooper."<sup>6</sup>

In another place, while speaking of governors and others who have purchased their post by cash payments or presents, he says. "The tyranny of these men is also somewhat mitigated

<sup>1</sup> Ibid p. 78.

<sup>2</sup> "Heads or subjects of taxation, or the taxes which were imposed under the Mohammedan Governments in addition to the regular assessment on the land. Miscellaneous cesses, imposts, and charges levied by Zemindars and public officers. (Wilson's Oriental Language Glossary of Terms, p. 2.)

<sup>3</sup> Sarkar's Mughal Administration 2nd ed., p. 80.

<sup>4</sup> Ibid p. 82.

<sup>5</sup> Ibid pp. 83-84.

<sup>6</sup> Travels of the Mogul Empire by Francois Bernier, by Archibald Constable (1891), p. 226.

by the apprehension that the people, if used with excessive cruelty, may abandon the country, and seek an asylum in the territory of some *Raja*, as indeed happens very often."<sup>1</sup>

Kaikobad says of the ryots of Naosari and Parchol that, owing to the misrule of the muqaddams under whose charge they had to cultivate their lands after the departure of Minochehr Shah, who enjoyed the Desaigiri, to the Court of Akbar, the agriculturists ran away to the adjoining territories of the Firangi (the Portuguese), and that, on his coming to the Desaigiri, he persuaded them to return and made them prosperous. The Moghal Emperors themselves were very solicitous for the good of their agriculturists, but the mismanagement of some of their officers, at times, drove the agriculturists away, whenever possible to other districts, where they could be more free from the oppression of the exacting officers.

A Dutch officer, who was at Agra, in the time of Jahangir (1621-1628), thus refers to the subject in his account of "The Productivity and Yield of the Land"; "The land would give a plentiful, or even an extraordinary yield, if the peasants were not so cruelly and pitilessly oppressed; for villages which, owing to small shortage of produce, are unable to pay the full amount of the revenue-farm, are made prize, so to speak, by their masters or governors, and wives and children sold, on the pretext of a charge of rebellion. Some peasants abscond to escape their tyranny, and take refuge with rajas who are in rebellion, and consequently the fields lie empty and unsown, and grow into wilderness. Such oppression is exceedingly prevalent in this country."<sup>2</sup>

Abu Fazl, while speaking of Surat and Rander, finds fault with the officers in another direction also, viz., that their carelessness augmented the power of the Portuguese. He says: "Through the negligence of the ministers of state and the commanders of the frontier provinces, many of these Sarkārs are in the possession of European nations, such as Daman, Sanjān, Tārāpūr, Māhim and Basé (Bassein) that are both cities and ports."<sup>3</sup> Prof. Sarkar, speaking of the change of zamindars, says:

<sup>1</sup> Ibid pp. 231-32.

<sup>2</sup> Jahangir's India. The Remonstrantie of Francisco Pelsaert, translated from the Dutch by W. H. Moreland and P. Geyl. (1925), p. 47.

<sup>3</sup> Ain-i Akbari, Jarrett's Translation, Vol. II, p. 243.

"Indeed, competition for tenants among the zamindars was the rule and the poorer peasants sometimes escaped from one zamindari to another in the hope of getting rid of their arrears with the former and of faring better under a new landlord. Cases of such fugitive ryots were very frequent in North Bengal only fifty years ago."<sup>1</sup> In the present case, referred to by Kaikobad, the flight was due to the mismanagement of the muqaddams.

Kaikobad says that Aoz Beg was sent to Surat to take an account of Chin Qilij Khan's affairs and property at Sarat which he held in Jagir. Similarly, officers must have been sent to other places also where he ruled or had some property. This illustrates a practice of the Mogal administration. To understand well, why this was done, I will quote here, what a Danish visitor of India of the time, who lived here for about 7 years, says: <sup>2</sup> "The most astonishing thing is that the avarice of the nobles has no solid basis, though they devote themselves entirely to gathering their treasures, without a thought of the cruelty or injustice involved. Immediately on the death of a lord who has enjoyed the king's *jagir*, be he great or small, without any exception,—even before the breath is out of his body—the King's officers are ready on the spot, and make an inventory of the entire estate, recording everything down to the value of a single pice, even to the dresses and jewels of the ladies, provided they have not concealed them. The King takes back the whole estate absolutely for himself, except in a case where the deceased has done a good service in his lifetime, when the women and the children are given enough to live on but no more."<sup>3</sup> It might be supposed that wife, or children, or friends, could conceal during his (the lord's) lifetime enough for the family to live on, but this would be very difficult. As a rule all the possessions of the lords, and their transactions, are not secret, but perfectly well-known, for each has his *dewan* [steward], through whose hands everything passes.....I have often ventured to ask great lords what is their true object in being so eager to amass their treasures, when what they have gathered is of no use to them or to their

7. Inventory of the Estates of Officers when they died. c. 171.

<sup>1</sup> Mughal Administration, 2nd ed., p. 79.

<sup>2</sup> Jahangir's India. The Remonstrantie of Francisco Pelsaert, translated from the Dutch by W. H. Moreland and F. Geyl (1925), pp. 54-55.

<sup>3</sup> "The sentence may possibly be intended to mean that the women and children are left with only the bare necessities of life, except in a case where the deceased has done good services (when presumably they would get more)." Ibid, p. 55, n. 1.

family. Their answers have been based on the emptiest worldly vanity, for they say that it is a very great and imperishable reputation if it is generally known, or the official records show, that such a man has left an estate worth so much..... It is the practice of the king, or rather of his wife, to give rapid advancement and promotion to any soldier, however low his rank, who has carried out orders with credit, or has displayed courage in the field. On the other hand, a very small fault, or a trifling mistake, may bring a man to the depths of misery or to the scaffold, and consequently everything in the kingdom is uncertain. Wealth, position, love, friendship, confidence, everything hangs by a thread. Nothing is permanent, yea, even the noble buildings,—gardens, tombs or palaces,—which, in and near every city, one cannot contemplate without pity or distress because of their ruined state.”<sup>1</sup> Bernier thus speaks of this practice: “The barbarous and ancient custom obtains in this country, of the King’s constituting himself sole heir of the property of those who die in his service”.<sup>2</sup> He, later on, says: “The King being heir of all their possessions, no family can long maintain its distinction, but after the Omrah’s death is soon extinguished.”<sup>3</sup>

That the possession of the deceased’s property by the King was complete, and, at times, very strict, appears from one of the letters of Aurangzeb who wrote: “Write to the minister of the capital of Lāhore: ‘You should confiscate the property of the deceased (i.e. Ameer Khān) with the utmost endeavour, so that not only nakeer<sup>4</sup>, katmeer,<sup>5</sup> dāmī,<sup>6</sup> and dirami,<sup>7</sup> but even a piece of straw is not left.”<sup>8</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Ibid pp. 54-56. This Dutch writer refers to Surat and Naosari. He says Surat was the chief sea-port in the hands of Jahangir. Before the advent of the British and the Dutch, the Moslems carried an extensive trade from here. Among the articles of trade were *befas* a kind of Gujarat calico. These were woven at Naosari and Rander.

<sup>2</sup> Travels in the Mogul Empire (A.D. 1656-1688), by François Bernier translated by Archibald Constable, p. 163.

<sup>3</sup> Ibid, p. 2. For further particulars about this rule of escheat, one may read with advantage the 9th Chapter of Prof. J. Sarkar’s *Mughal Administration*, pp. 162-77.

<sup>4</sup> “The small white covering over a date stone.”

<sup>5</sup> “The split of a date stone,”

<sup>6</sup> “One fortieth of a Rupee,”

<sup>7</sup> “A coin equal to nearly three annas.”

<sup>8</sup> Letter XCIX. *Rukāāt-i-Alamgiri* or Letters of Aurangzeb, translated by Jamshid H. Bilimoria (1908), p. 100.

Capt. William Hawkins,<sup>1</sup> while speaking of the expenses<sup>2</sup> of the Mogul Emperor thus refers to this custom : "The Custom of this Mogol Emperor is to take possession of his Noblemen's Treasure when they die, and to bestow on his Children what he pleaseth :"<sup>3</sup> The reason, why the Mogul Emperors resorted to this practice, was, that most of the officers of Government owed debts which continued unpaid up to the end of their life. So, Government, in order to collect what was due to it, resorted to this practice.

## X.

### A FEW EVENTS, MENTIONED IN THE PETITION, AS EXPLAINED BY JAHANGIR'S HISTORY.

I will describe, in this section, a few events, referred to by Kaikobad, a little fully, on the authority of Jahangir's history. In some cases, we have to take it, that the procedure or practice in Jahangir's time was the same as in the time of Akbar.

Kaikobad speaks in his petition of rendering accounts accurately and of the ryots. According to the Akbar-nameh,<sup>4</sup> Akbar revised the old regulations about the collection of revenue in the 27th year of his reign. "Rājā Todar Mal had, previous to this, been named as *wazir*; but the dangers and difficulties of the post, and the opposition to be encountered, made him unwilling to accept the office. But this unambitious man, who was acquainted with all the mysteries of administration, was now elevated to the office of *diwān* and in reality to the *wakālat*. His clear judgment soon set matters to rights. Civil and revenue matters received his especial attention. Careful to keep himself free from all selfish ambition, he devoted himself to the service of the State, and earned an everlasting fame. He devoted his skill and powerful mind to simplify the laws of the State, and he allowed no grasping and intriguing men to obtain any influence over him. He now proposed several new laws calculated to give vigour and glory to the government."<sup>5</sup> Then, coming to the question of the money to be levied from

<sup>1</sup> He commanded the very first English ship, Hector, that came to an Indian port. He touched Surat in August 1608.

<sup>2</sup> He gives the expenses of the Mogul Emperor as Rs. 50,000 a day and the expenses of the Zenana as Rs. 30,000 a day. Samuel Purchas (1577-1626) (Purchas His Pilgrims) Eldition of 1905, p. 34.

<sup>3</sup> Ibid.

<sup>4</sup> Elliot's History of India, Vol. VI, pp. 61-65.

<sup>5</sup> Ibid pp. 61-62.

the cultivators, the Akbari-nāme speaks of the regulation as follows: "Whatever was levied from the *rai-yats* was to be paid over to the treasurers, and they were to give receipts to the *rai-yats*. The collectors were to remit the payments four times a month, and at the end of this time no balance was to be left unrealized from the *rai-yats*. The *rai-yats* should be so treated that they should be willing to make their payments to the treasury voluntarily. Satisfactory security was to be taken from the disaffected and contumacious; and if the bail was not given, watchmen were to be placed over the crops and the revenue was to be realized."<sup>1</sup>

Kaikobad speaks of his accompanying the hunting party The hand to hand of Jehangir to Girjahāk Nandan. He speaks Hunt at Girjahāk of this hunt as dast-ba dast, i.e., hand to Nandan, c. 71. hand (shekāri ké dast ba dast.....be kardand). I think that this hand to hand hunting refers to the hunt known as *qamargāh*. Jehangir thus speaks of this hunt at Girjahāk-Nandan in his Memoirs:<sup>2</sup> "On Sunday the 10th Rajab (in the first year of his reign), I left the city to hunt in Girjahāk and Nandana, and took up my quarters in the garden of Rām Dās, where I remained four days."<sup>3</sup>..... "Three months and six days passed by in hunting; 581 animals were captured with the gun, hunting leopards and nets and a *qamargāh*<sup>4</sup> (ring-hunt); of these 158 were killed by my own gun. The *qamargāh* was held twice; on one occasion in Girjahāk, when the ladies were present, 155 animals were killed; and the second time in Nandāna, 110. The details of the animals killed are as follows: mountain sheep 180; mountain goats 29; wild asses 10; Nilgai 9; antelope, etc., 348."<sup>5</sup> These two places, Girjahāk and Nandan, were specially known for red deer, which were not generally known except in the north near Kabul. Jahangir speaks of a *shākh band*<sup>6</sup> hunt there and speaks of the antelopes found there: "There are in no

<sup>1</sup> Ibid p. 64.

<sup>2</sup> Memoirs by Rogers and Beveridge, I, pp. 81-83.

<sup>3</sup> Ibid p. 81.

<sup>4</sup> *Qamargāh*, قمارگاه. "The hunting formed to enclose the game in the grand royal chase." There is a special chapter in the Ain-i Akbari (I ain 27) on hunting, wherein *qamargāh* is passively referred to but not explained. *Qamar* means watching.

<sup>5</sup> Ibid p. 83.

<sup>6</sup> Lit. "An enclosure (*bānd*) with *shākh*, i.e., branches of trees." Some time before the hunt, games were collected in a large enclosure enclosed with branches of trees.

place in the whole of Hindustan, with the exception of Girjahāk and Nandanah, red deer of this description. I ordered them to catch and keep some of them alive, in order that possibly some of them might reach Hindustan for breeding purposes."<sup>1</sup>

Kaikobad speaks of accompanying the hunting party of Jahangir to Kabul. The event occurred in the second fasli year of his reign which began on 10th March 1607. He started from Lahore on day Meher of the month Farwardin, i.e., 25th March 1607.<sup>2</sup> So, it appears that Kaikobad was in Lahore in March 1607. I give below some particulars from Jahangir's account of this long hunting tour. He says: "When I was at ease about Khusrau's disturbance, and the repulse of the Qizilbāshis, who had invested Qandahar, had been brought about in a facile way, it came into my mind to make a hunting tour to Kabul, which is like my native land. After that I would return to Hindustan, when the purposes of my mind would pass from design to action."<sup>3</sup> The design referred to here is that of conquering Māwarā'a-n-nahr (Transoxiana), which, as said by Jahangir, was the "hereditary kingdom" of his ancestors.<sup>4</sup> Proceeding further in his account of the hunting tour to Kabul, he says, he left the fort of Lahore at "an auspicious hour on the 7th Zi-l-hijja. He stayed for four days in the Dilāmiz Garden on the other side of the river Ravi. Jahangir's fondness for hunting is illustrated in more than one place from his account of this hunting. He speaks of Jahāngirpūr on the way as one of his fixed "hunting places,"<sup>5</sup> where he got a manār (column) erected "at the head of the grave of an antelope called Manasrāj, which was without equal in fights with tame antelopes and in hunting wild ones."<sup>6</sup> He got an inscription put over the grave of this antelope which he had killed. The grave stone was in the form of an antelope. The antelopes of this kind being very rare, he ordered "that no person should hunt the deer of this plain and that their flesh should be to Hindus and Muhammadans as is the flesh of cows and pigs."<sup>7</sup> He passed from this place to Gujrat, so named by Akbar as it was the abode of the Gujars, who "passed their time in the neighbourhood in thieving and highway robbery."<sup>8</sup> He passed through Kashmir

<sup>1</sup> Ibid p. 129.

<sup>2</sup> Memoirs I, 85 and 90.

<sup>3</sup> Memoirs I, p. 90.

<sup>4</sup> Ibid p. 89.

<sup>5</sup> Memoirs I, 90. <sup>6</sup> Ibid pp. 90-91. <sup>7</sup> Ibid. <sup>8</sup> Ibid.

and the country of the Ghakars,<sup>1</sup> "a proud and rebellious people."<sup>2</sup> In the further march towards Kabul, coming at Attock, the king issued an order that only a small body of men may accompany him. "An order was given to the bakhshis that, as the province of Kabul could not support a large army, they should only allow the immediate attendants of the Court to cross the river, and until the return of the royal standards the royal camp should remain at Attock."<sup>3</sup> We know from Kaikobad's statement, that he had two horses and one or two camels with him and that he went with the King's party. So it seems that he went on his own account for some trade or business in the army of the king.

Jahangir speaks sparingly in his account of this tour to Kabul, of the hunts at various places, but he speaks of a hunt in Kabul itself at some length. He says: "While I was at Kabul, no *qamargāh* hunt had taken place. As the time for returning to Hindustan had come near, and I was very desirous of hunting red deer, I ordered them to go forward as soon as possible and surround the hill Farag, which is seven kos from Kabul..... Nearly 100 deer had come into the enclosure (*qamargah*). About a half of these were taken, and a very hot hunt took place. I gave 5,000 rupees in rewards to the ryots who were present at the hunt."<sup>4</sup> Jahangir speaks of another hunt near Būtkhāk. He says: "At this halting-place another *qamargah* hunt took place, when about 112 deer, etc. were taken. Twenty-four rang antelope and 50 red antelope and 16 mountain goats were taken. I had never till now seen a rang antelope alive. It is in truth a wonderful animal of a beautiful shape."<sup>5</sup>

Kaikobad speaks of ten Parsees being with him in the camp of the King. There is no sufficient connection between this couplet and the next. So, one cannot speak with certainty, but it seems, that they marched with the camp of the king, as horse-attendants, spreaders of carpets (*farrāshes*) and syces. The work of the *farrāshes* has been specially treated, in the ain of "the Encampment on Journeys," by Abu Fazal<sup>6</sup>. He says: "Some encampments.....are sent off, and one of them is put

1 The Ghakhars and the Gujars, like the Huns, seem to have come to India from the direction of Iran.

2 Memoirs I, 96.

3 Memoirs I, p. 101.

4 Ibid I p. 120.

5 Ibid pp. 121-22.

6 Ain-i-Akbari Bk. I, ain 16. Blochmann's Translation, Vol. I, p. 45.



up by the *Farrāshes* on a piece of ground which the *Mir Manzils* (Quarter masters) have selected as an eligible spot, whilst the other camp furniture is sent in advance, to await the approach of His Majesty. Each encampment requires for its carriage 100 elephants, 500 camels, 400 carts, and 100 bearers. It is escorted by 500 troopers, *Mansabdārs* (grandees), *Ahadis*. Besides, there are employed a thousand *Farrāshes*, natives of *Irān*, *Tūrān* and *Hindustān*, 500 pioneers, 100 water-carriers, 50 carpenters, tent-makers, and torch-bearers, 30 workers in leather, and 150 sweepers.”<sup>1</sup> There is a special *āin* (Bk. I., *ain* 21) which speaks of the “*Farrāsh-khānah*.” *Abu Fazal* says : “His Majesty considers this department as an excellent dwelling-place, a shelter from heat and cold, a protector against the rain, as the ornament of royalty. He looks upon its efficiency as one of the insignia of a ruler, and therefore considers the bestowal upon it, as a part of Divine worship. . . . The *Bārgāh*, when large, is able to contain more than ten thousand people. It takes a thousand *farrāshes* a week to erect it with the help of machines. . . . If plain, a *bārgāh* costs 10,000 Rupees and upwards.”<sup>2</sup> Some of these tent-structures were two-storeyed and were called *Dō-āshyānah manzil* i.e. “house of two storeys.” They were “raised upon 18 pillars, six yards in height, which support a wooden platform. . . . On the march, it is used by his Majesty as a sleeping apartment, and also as a place of divine worship, where he prays to the Sun ; and hence the building resembles a man who strives after God without forgetting his worldly duties, whose one eye is directed to the solitude of pure devotion, and the other eye to the motley *sarāi* of the world.”<sup>3</sup> It appears from this account that the work of the *farrāshes* in a King’s camp was a work of some importance.

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<sup>1</sup> Ibid p. 47.

<sup>2</sup> Ibid p. 53.

<sup>3</sup> Ibid p. 54. Akbar seems to have taken this idea of having a higher place for paying reverence to the Sun, from the ancient Persians, whose fire-temples had buildings of that kind attached to them, for paying adoration to the Sun and to the grand objects of Nature. The old building of the grand Fire-temple (*Ātash Behrām*) of Naosari had a building of that kind attached to it, and the present new building also has it. The ancient Persians seem to have taken the idea from the Babylonians, who had, in their *zikurrats*, structures of this kind. Sir John Marshall has discovered the ruins of a Fire-temple of this kind at Taxala (Vide my paper on “Ancient Pataliputra” J.B.B.R.A.S. Vol. XXIV p. 458. Vide my Asiatic Papers Part II p. 212). I had the pleasure of seeing the ruins of such a Fire-temple at Isphahan, on 15th November 1925. (Vide my book of Travels, a series of 101 letters (મારી યુઝ બહારની સેહેલ), p. 400).

Kaikobad refers in his petition, to the troubles, he and ten other Parsees, who were in the service of the King, suffered in the journey to Kabul in the party of the King (Dighar deh nafar Parsi būd ba mā; Ba khedmat-i Shāh pāk kashidam jafā). We find the following reference to the troubles of the journey to Kabul in Jahangir's Tuzuk :<sup>1</sup> "On that night a great wind blew and a black cloud hid the face of the sky. The rain was of such violence that old men remembered none such. It turned to hail, and every hail-stone was the size of a hen's egg. From the flooding of the rivers and the force of the wind and rain, the bridge broke."

The Hunt at Nimleh. c. 79. Kaikobad speaks of Nimleh, as the place, where his camel had met with a mishap which drew the sympathy of the king, who happened to pass by his side, and where, he had a talk with the king, who, hearing of his affairs, promised to give order for a *khedmat* for him. Kaikobad does not specially speak of this place as a place where the King hunted, but Jahangir refers to it as the place where he hunted on the return tour from Kabul to Lahore. He says : "On the 24th (Jumādā-l-awwal of the second fasli year, commencing on 10th March 1607), between the garden of Wafā and Nimleh, a hunt took place, and nearly forty red antelopes were killed. A female panther (*yūz*) fell into our hands in this hunt. The zamindars of that place, Laghmānis, Shālī, and Afghans, came and said that they did not remember nor had they heard from their fathers that a panther had been seen in that region for 120 years."<sup>2</sup>

It appears that just as in the last century the Parsees accompanied the British army, wherever it went, so, in the preceding centuries, they accompanied the Mogul army. Mr. B. B. Patel gives the following note in his Parsee Prakash, I p. 346 :—

Parsees accompanying the Mogul army.

“કહે છે કે હેદરાબાદમાં જ્યે દોખમું અંધાયાની ધણ વરસો આગમજ શહેરની બાહેર ૧૧૧ મેલ દુર ‘મુશા રેમું’ ની ટેકડીને નામે જણાયલા કુંગર ઉપર ધરાનથી આવેલા કેટલાક જરથોશ્તીઓએ દોખ-માંના જોવી એક જગા અંધાવી હતી, લેકીન તેની કસી નીશાન આજ એ ટેકડી ઉપર જણાતી નથી. ઉપલા ધરાની જરથોશ્તીઓ વીરો કહે છે કે દીલ્લી શહેરથી બે ત્રણ સદીની વાત ઉપર મોગલ લોકોની ફોજ આવી હતી તેની સાથે વ્યાપારના કારણસર હેદરાબાદમાં આવી વસ્યા હતા.”

<sup>1</sup> Memoirs by Rogers and Beveridge. I. p. 92.

<sup>2</sup> Ibid p. 125.

*Translation.*—It is said, that in (Deccan) Hyderabad, several years before this Tower<sup>1</sup> of Silence was built, on a hill about a mile and a half out of the city, known as the *Moosa Remu*<sup>2</sup> hill, some Zoroastrians who had come from Persia, had built a place like a Tower of Silence. But there is no sign of that known to-day on that hill. It is said about these Irani Zoroastrians that they had come and inhabited here with the army of the Moguls about 2 or 3 centuries ago for the purpose of trade and settled here.

I think, that these Zoroastrians were not from Persia, but from Surat, which was ruled over by the Moguls. As they had gone there with the Moguls, who had at first come from the direction of Persia, they also may have been taken to have come from Persia. This reference shows, that Parsees of those early times accompanied the Mogul army wherever it went, as petty traders or craftsmen.

The Mogul army referred to above may be that of Aurangzeb, who besieged and captured Hyderabad in the 31st year of his reign (1098 A.H., 1687 A.C.)<sup>3</sup> The capture of this town was a great effort. In Aurangzeb's army there was an European Doctor and several Hindus. So, it is probable that there may be several Parsees also as traders, craftsmen and servants.

<sup>1</sup> The Tower of Silence, built by Viccaji and Pestonji Meherji consecrated on 19th October 1139.

<sup>2</sup> Mr. Sorabji Pestonji Kanga, a retired high official of the Nizam State, in his letter dated 14th July 1928, informs me, that this name "Musa-remu" or "Musa Rahim" is a corruption of "Monsieur Raymond, a celebrated Commander of the Nizam's troops, who died in 1798 . . . . . His anniversary is still celebrated with eclat by the descendants of the men under his command, who are known as the 'famous fifteen thousand.' Mr. Kanga adds: "Of course, there are no traces on the hill of any *Dokhma*, but, I remember that when I first came to Hyderabad some fifty years ago, the hill was pointed out to me by my uncle, who told me that formerly it was used as the last resting place of Parsees, probably as a burial ground, and not a *Dokhma*."

<sup>3</sup> Khafi Khan's *Muntakhab-ul-lubāb*. Elliot's *History of India*, Vol. VII, pp. 330 *et seq.*

According to the petition, Kaikobad owed 223,000 dams<sup>1</sup> to the State. It is not clear as to what the indebtedness was for; it seems to have resulted from his having done something like a *shroff's* business in the King's army.

The rate of exchange having undergone a change owing to scarcity of grain, he suffered loss. He seems to have changed his money which he had in Rupees into copper coins known as *tankas*. What Kaikobad means to say is not clear. He seems to say that the rate of exchange for the Rupee having undergone a change, he suffered for it. It is with some diffidence that I venture to suggest the calculation as follows: He had 223,000 dams from Government. A dam being, as said above  $\frac{1}{40}$ th of a Rupee, 223,000 dams came to  $(223,000 \div \frac{1}{40} =)$  Rs. 5,575. Now at one time, as said in the petition, a Rupee could be exchanged for 64 *tankas*. Afterwards scarcity and other causes made a Rupee worth only 19 *tankas*. Thus, the value of a Rupee came to  $\frac{19}{64}$  of a Rupee. So, the above Rs. 5,575 came to Rs.  $(5575 \times \frac{19}{64} =)$  about 1655. Thus, the original Rs. 5,575 could realize only Rs. 1,655, which sum approximates the sum of Rs. 1,800 mentioned by Kaikobad. So, the loss would be  $(5575 - 1655 =)$  Rs. 3,920. The  $\frac{2}{3}$ rd of the whole sum would be  $(5575 \times \frac{2}{3} =)$  Rs. 3,716. This sum is well nigh approximate to Rs. 3,920. So Kaikobad's statements about Rs. 1,800 and two thirds are approximate statements.

We can work this out in another way; what would 2,23,000 dams at the time, when a Rupee fetched 64 *tankas*, be worth when it fetched 19 *tankas*? The proportion would be 64 : 2,23,000 : : 19, and, when worked out, gives 66,203  $\frac{1}{2}$  dams. So, the loss would be  $(2,23,000 - 66,203 =)$  1,56,797 dams. The exact two thirds of 2,23,000 comes to 1,48,666 which approximates 1,56,797, the actual sum that could be realized. So 1,48,666 and 1,67,797 dams being approximate, Kaikobad speaks about two thirds approximately.

<sup>1</sup> According to the Ain-i Akbari (Bk. I ain 10) "the dam weights 5 *tānks*, i.e. 1 *tōlah*, 8 *māshahs*, and seven *surkhs*; it is the fortieth part چهلیم بخش روپیہ of the rupee (Blochmann's Translation, I, p. 31. Text. I, p. 26, 128)." So 223,000 dams would come to  $(223,000 \times \frac{1}{40} =)$  Rs. 5,575.

Kaikobad refers to the ryots in the Mogul territories, running away to the country of the Firangis (فرنگی) to escape from the oppression of the muqādamas. In those times, sometimes, all European settlers were spoken of as Firangis. The Firangis referred to in the petition were the Portuguese. They were the first European settlers in India. It was in 1497 that Vasco de Gama first passed by the Cape of Good Hope and found the way to India. This discovery led to the formation, step by step, of a Portuguese Empire in India, first founded by Albuquerque. The Portuguese continued powerful for full one century, the 16th century. They were followed by the Dutch, and then, by the English, at the close of the 16th century. The Dutch, later on, having found better and unopposed fields in the further East, settled there, leaving India to other nations. Intolerance for each other's belief prevailed among these early comers, some of whom were Protestant and some Roman Catholic. All the Portuguese visitors were Roman Catholics and the Dutch and English Protestants. It is believed that, had it not been for this mutual intolerance and rivalry, Christianity would have spread a little in the North, as it had spread in the South of India.

When Akbar came to the throne (1556) "Goa and several other parts on the western coast were strongly occupied by the Portuguese whose ships held command of the Arabian sea."<sup>1</sup> In 1861, i.e. five years after Akbar came to throne, "The Portuguese were strongly established on the western coast in fortified settlements taken from the Sultans of the Deccan, and situated at Goa, with a considerable territory attached; Chaul, Bombaim (Bombay) with neighbouring places; Bassein,..... Damān, and Diu. Their fleet controlled the mercantile and pilgrim traffic of the Arabian Sea and Persian Gulf. No other European power had gained any footing on the soil of India, and no Englishman had even landed in the country. All delineations of frontiers and boundaries necessarily are merely approximate."<sup>2</sup> In 1572 when Akbar came to Ahmedabad, he went from there to Cambay, to see from there the sea for the first time. At this time, Cambay had some Portuguese merchants who went to him to pay their respects. This was Akbar's first acquaintance with the Portuguese. This first acquaintance

<sup>1</sup> Vincent Smith's Akbar. p. 12.

<sup>2</sup> Smith's Akbar p. 56.

made at Cambay was extended in Surat, where he went on 10th January 1573 and began siege operations. The Portuguese first wanted to help the defence, but finding, that Akbar had a large irresistible force, became conciliatory. The Portuguese Viceroy was Dom Antonio de Noronha who sent Antonio Cabral to Akbar to negotiate terms of a treaty. Terms were made and Akbar made many "inquiries about the wonders of Portugal and the manners and customs of Europe."<sup>1</sup> These friendly relations with the Portuguese enabled Akbar "to secure a safe conduct for the Mecca pilgrims,"<sup>2</sup> because, the Portuguese, with their naval squadron, were masters of the sea.

The Siege of Surat terminated on 26th February 1573, when the commandant Hamzabān, who was formerly in the service of Humayun, surrendered. Akbar started on his return Journey from Surat on 13th April 1573. Akbar "regarded the existence of all the Portuguese settlements on the western coast, and especially that of Diu and Damān in his province of Gujarāt, as an offence, and always cherished hopes of destroying the Portuguese dominion."<sup>3</sup> Abu-l-Fazl says: "Through the negligence of the ministers of state and the commanders of the frontier provinces, many of these *Sarkārs* are in the possession of European nations, such as Daman, Sanjān, Tārāpūr, Māhim and Basē (Bassein) that are both cities and ports" (Jarret, *Ain-i-Akbari* Ain Vol. II p. 243). It seems that, even long before Akbar's time, the Portuguese, now and then, pillaged the people of the tracts of the country round about their places of occupation. Anquetil Du Perron, in his "Discours Préliminaire" in his *Zend Avesta* (Tome I, p. 263) says, that they did so in the time of Muhmoud Begada. While speaking of the foundation of Surat he says: "Les Portugais, dans leurs courses, ayant pillé les bords de cette rivière (Tapti), Suratdji . . . . . porta ses plaintes au Roi d'Ahmadabad (Mahmoud Beigreh)." According to Anquetil, the very first fort of Surat, all in ruins in his time, was built to protect the people against the raids of the Portuguese (*Ibid* p. 264).

Jahangir, in his account of the 9th Fasli year of his reign beginning with 21st March 1614, speaks of having received three good news in the month of Bahman. The third of these good news was the defeat of the Portuguese at the hands of the English. He says: "The third piece

<sup>1</sup> *Ibid* p. 113.<sup>2</sup> *Ibid*.<sup>3</sup> P. 263.

of news was the defeat of the Warzā<sup>1</sup> (Portuguese Viceroy), who had done his best to take the castle and port of Surat. In the roadstead of the port of Surat, a fight<sup>2</sup> took place between the English, who had taken shelter there, and the Viceroy. Most of his ships were burnt by the English. Being helpless he had not the power to fight any more, and took to flight. He sent some one to Muqarrab Khān, who was the governor of the ports of Gujarat, and knocked at the door of peace, and said that he had come to make peace and not to make war. It was the English who had stirred up the war."<sup>3</sup> This important naval battle took place on 20th January 1614.<sup>4</sup> From this time forward their power near Surat was much shattered.

Khafi Khan says that the Portuguese in all matters acted very kindly towards the people and did not vex them with oppressive taxes.<sup>5</sup> But, the Portuguese. they did not tolerate non-Christians saying their prayers publicly. "The call to prayer and public devotion were not permitted in their settlements. If a poor traveller had to pass through their possessions, he would meet with no other trouble; but he would not be able to say his prayers at his ease."<sup>6</sup> Then Khafi Khan speaks of what he calls "their greatest act of tyranny"<sup>7</sup> which was that if a non-Christian died "leaving young children, and no grown up son," they converted the young children.

Kaikobad complains of disrespect by officers to Mogul farmāns. Manucci while speaking of *farmāns*, Manucci on the want of respect thus speaks of the disrespect shown by the paid by officials to squeezeing governors to the *farmans* of the royal farmāns. King.

<sup>1</sup> وزری from Viserei, the Portuguese word for Viceroy (Beveridge's Akbar-Nameh I p. 323 n. 1.)

<sup>2</sup> This is a reference to the naval fight between Capt. Nicholas Downton who helped the Nawab and the Portuguese commanded by Don Jeronimo de Azevedo, the Viceroy of Goa, which took place in January, 1615 (Vide Orme's Historical Fragments of the Mogul Empire pp. 348 et seq. Vide also "The Portuguese in India" by F. Danvers (3894) II 171. The naval fight took place in the Swally Bay near Surat.

<sup>3</sup> Memoirs by Rogers and Beveridge I pp. 274-75. Vide also Elliot's History of India Vol. VI p. 340.

<sup>4</sup> The Portuguese in India by Danvers II p. 171.

<sup>5</sup> Muntakhab-ul-Lubab Elliot's History of India Vol. VII p. 344.

<sup>6</sup> Ibid.

<sup>7</sup> Ibid p. 345.

"European nations also hold these *farmāns* ; but they are not left to live in peace, nor have they any security under them. For within their jurisdictions these same officials never desist from squeezing from them what they can. Thus no reliance can be placed on this tribe in their oaths, their friendships or their speeches—all of them are deceivers."<sup>1</sup>

## XI.

A FEW OFFICIAL OR TECHNICAL TERMS USED IN  
KAIKOBAD'S PETITION.

I will explain in this section some technical terms of the Moghal administration, used by Kaikobad in his petition.

Kaikobad speaks of himself as Khāneh-zād<sup>2</sup>. Khāneh-zād literally means, one who was born in the  
 Khāneh-zād c. 27 house. It was applied to those, whether born  
 205. in the royal house or not, who were brought up  
 and maintained under the special favour of  
 the King. Jahangir associates the *khāneh zāds* with "immediate attendants and personal followers and nobles' sons"<sup>3</sup> Jahangir, now and then, mentions, as the cause of favouring a person, the fact that he was a khāneh-zād. Kaikobad speaks of himself as a khāneh-zād because, both, his father and himself enjoyed special favours from King Akbar. They were granted land for their madad-i ma'ash<sup>4</sup> or maintenance. Again, they held *khedmats* i.e. special services under the king.

It appears from Jahangir's Memoirs that, when an expedition was being organized, many volunteered to join the expedition. For example, when Jahangir, during the very first year of his reign, proposed sending an expedition under his son Sultan

<sup>1</sup> Storia do Mogor by Irvine, Vol. III p. 232.

<sup>2</sup> (a) Khāneh-zād shāh-i qadīm pur ghulām (c. 27).

(b) Marā ham be-bakhsid shāh-i niknām

Khāneh zādeh Shāh-i quadim in ghulām (c. 205).

The old ancient king (Shāh-i-qvadim) referred to here, is Akbar.

<sup>3</sup> Memoirs Rogers nad Beveridge I p. 18.

<sup>4</sup> Madad-i-Ma'ash (assistance for livelihood) was a grant of land given to those who had rendered some services to the court, but not directly in the court". Vide my "Parsees at the Court of Akbar and Dastur Meherji Rana", p. 39. "Grant of means of subsistence in general : also assignment of revenue for the support of learned or religious Mahomedans, or of benevolent institutions, by the Government" (Wilson's Oriental Language Glossary of Terms p. 314).



Parviz against the Rana, many of Jahangir's "immediate attendants and personal followers and noble's sons, house born ones (khānehzādān) and zealous Rajputs, petitioned to accompany this expedition"<sup>1</sup> Now, when personal attendants and followers &c., wanted to go with the expedition, they did not mean to join as actual soldiers, but in various capacities. In a marching army, there are various spheres of action. So, it seems that Kaikobad also, as a Khāneh-zād, went with the hunting parties of the King for some petty bussness.

Kaikobad speaks of holding *bait* ( بیت ) from King Akbar. At the time of his death, Akbar had offered Bait c. 56. to favour him with a change (tahvil) in the *bait*. But he died soon after. So, Kaikobad lost his former *bait* and got none in its place. *Bait* means an office.<sup>2</sup> Prof. Sarkar says: "All officers were in debt to the Government, having taken money and things in advance or enjoyed the revenue of their jagirs, without clearing their account with the State by setting off against these advances the amounts earned by them by their services."<sup>3</sup> Prof. Sarkar says this especially for the military officers, but it seems to be true for all Government officials. Kaikobad's debt, though not on all fours, was of a similar kind. He seeks defence under the general custom and says (c. 203) that all your country (Officers) owe some money from the dues and that His Majesty has given up this to all. Then, he similarly wants relief. One Ms. gives the second hemistich of the couplet as saying, "*marā ham be-bakhshīd shāh niknām,*" i.e. "Give up for me also, you illustrious King!" Kaikobad also refers to his not being given credit for his stipend. He says: "I made such a supposition, that the *musta'fi* will show (i.e. give) credit for the allowance" (c. 191)<sup>4</sup>. The custom seemed to be, that all the offices, even those, wherein there was a kind of farming, e.g. the Desaiship, carried a certain stipend, and that, in the final account, credit of these stipends or salaries was given to the officers concerned, when their accounts were settled. In the case of Kaikobad that was not done. He complains of his stipend being in arrears for three years.

1 Memoirs I p. 18.

2 Wilson's Oriental Language Glossary of Terms. p. 48.

3 Sarkar's Mughal Administration p. 164.

4 Tasavvur chunān kardam aē nik-rāe.

Musta'fi 'alufeh majra minumāe.

Prof. Jadunath Sarkar says that this dilatoriness in paying stipends that were due, existed even in the administration of the East India Company who paid the salaries of their English soldiers, who fought in the First Sikh War,<sup>1</sup> three or four years later, and adds that "In Mughal India the case was worse. The dilatoriness and dishonesty of the clerks of the military pay-office were the despair of the soldiery."<sup>2</sup> He quotes an author saying: "The army is treated by the Hindu clerks and drowsy writers as more degraded than a fire-worshipping slave and more unclean than the dog of a Jew."<sup>3</sup>

Kaikobad speaks of King Jahangir abandoning the collection of zakāt i.e. cesses. Jahangir says of this in his Tuzuk: "After my accession, the first order that I gave was for the fastening up of the Chain of Justice.....I also gave twelve orders to be observed as rules of conduct (dastur-ul-'amal) in all my dominions.—

Zar-i Zakāt c. 59  
c. 203.

"(1) Forbidding the levy of cesses (zakāt) under the names of *tamghā* and *mīr bahrī* (river tolls) and other burdens which the *Jāgirdārs* of every province and district had imposed for their own profit."<sup>4</sup>

Kaikobad says that, on the accession of Jehangir to the throne, he expected a mansab from the King as many others had received, but he was disappointed. According to Wilson, mansab or munsub (منصب) was an "office, dignity, a military title and rank conferred by the Moghul government of Delhi, regulated by the supposed number of horse the holder of the title could, if required, bring into the field, varying from ten to ten thousand: Jagirs were assigned for the maintenance of this force which was in the highest and lowest grades, rather nominal than real."<sup>5</sup> Sometimes, the mansabdars were "wholly enagaged in the civil service of the state."<sup>6</sup>

Mansab cc. 63,  
64.

<sup>1</sup> Prof. Sarkar says this on the authority of Bancroft's "From Recruit to Staff Sergeant." (1885). Vide his Mughal Administration, p. 165.

<sup>2</sup> Ibid 165.

<sup>3</sup> Ibid.

<sup>4</sup> Memoirs by Rogers and Beveridge I. p. 7, Vide Elliot's History of India, Vol. VI p. 284.

<sup>5</sup> Oriental Language Glossary, p. 330.

<sup>6</sup> Ibid, (Vide the word mansabdar).

Kaikobad, while speaking of the hunt, speaks of himself as being in the *tah* i.e. the fold or the circle of the king. On this subject, some light is thrown by Abu Fazal's *Ain-i Akbari*<sup>1</sup>. The Tah or Fold of the king. On this subject, some light or Circle in hunt- is thrown by Abu Fazal's *Ain-i Akbari*. ing. c. 72. Abu Fazal, at first, justifies the act of hunting. He says : " Superficial, wordly observers see in killing an animal a sort of pleasure, and in their ignorance stride about, as if senseless, on the field of their passions. But deep enquiries see in hunting a means of acquisition of knowledge, and the temple of their worship derives from it a peculiar lustre. This is the case with His Majesty."<sup>2</sup> Then, he speaks of the stages of procedure. " When His Majesty starts on a hunting party, active *qarāwals* (men employed by the Mir Shikār or Master of Hunting) surround the hunting ground, *Qur*,<sup>3</sup> remaining at a distance of about five *kos* from it. Near the *Qur*, the grandees and other people await the arrival of His Majesty. . . . . About a *kos* and one-half behind them stand some of the *Khidmatyiah* and other servants of His Majesty. The *Khidmatyiah* are told off to watch at the place. At about the same distance, there stands a vigilant officer with some of His Majesty's servants. He advances very slowly, and guards the private hunting ground. . . . . Several near servants of His Majesty have admission to this place ; but generally only such are allowed to come as are required to render services at the chase. When a certain distance has been passed over, His Majesty selects a few to accompany him, and then moves on ; and after having gone over another distance, he generally goes alone, or accompanied by one or two. When the hour of rest comes, both parties which had been left behind, again join His Majesty."<sup>4</sup> Kaikobad seems to have been in one of the closer circles of the hunt.

Kaikobad speaks of the hunt as hand to hand (*dast ba dast*). I think the following statement of Abu Fazal refers to a kind of such hand-to-hand hunting. After referring to the several methods of tiger-hunting, he says : " His Majesty, from his straightforwardness, dislikes having recourse to such tricks, and prefers

<sup>1</sup> Chapter on Hunting, Bk.II,ain 27.

<sup>2</sup> Blochmann's Translation of the *Ain-i-Akbari* I. pp. 282-83.

<sup>3</sup> Abu Fazal thus explains the word : "Whenever His Majesty rides out, or at the time of the *Bār-i-Am*, or *Levee*, the sons of the Amirs, and other *Mansabdārs* and *Ahdīs*, carry the *Qur* in their hands and on their shoulders i.e., every four of them carry four quivers, four bows, four swords, four shields ; and besides, they take up lances, spears, axes, pointed axes, *piyāzi* war-clubs, sticks, bullet bows, pestles and a foot-stool all properly arranged," (Blochmann's *Ain Akbari* I pp. 110-109 *Ain*, 35).

<sup>4</sup> Blochmann's *Ain-i-Akbari* I pp. 282-83.

with bows or matchlocks openly to attack this brute, which destroys so many lives.<sup>1</sup>

Kaikobad speaks of his going before the Butāt, Hasan Beg, to ask for allowance, and of his being refused, as he was not on the list of khedmat-holders. This word *butāt* is the contraction of *buyūtāt* plural of *bait*, house. "This name. is derived from the Arabic word *bait*, meaning 'house.' In Mughal India it was the title of an officer" who had several duties to perform. Among these one was "to allot money to the various funds or cash balances out of the treasury of general expenditure."<sup>2</sup> Another was "daily accounts of the *karkhanahs* accompanying the Emperor during his marches." Another was the "endorsement of receipts." I think that the *khedmat* held, at first by Kaikobad was that of some office connected with the household of Akbar and with his marches. So, he had to apply to the *butāt*.

Kaikobad refers to the tankā coins of Jahangir. Jahangir says in his *Tuzuk*,<sup>3</sup> that before his time the tankās were of copper, but he got them made of silver and gold also. He says: "At this time<sup>4</sup> an order was given that tankas of gold and silver should be coined twice the weight of ordinary muhrs and rupees ..... In no reign except mine have tankās been coined except of copper; the gold and silver tankās are my invention. I ordered it to be called the Jahāngirī coinage."<sup>5</sup> These coins were first coined at Cambay.

According to Wilson, a tankā is "money in general; a rupee."<sup>6</sup> Wilson thinks it to be the same as *takā* of which, he says that it is "a coin, the value of which varies in different parts of India: in Hindustan, it is said to be a copper coin equal to two *paisas*; in the Dakhin it is called an aggregate of four *paisas*, or one *anna*, or an aggregate of sixteen *paisas*, or in Guzerat of three: in Bengal it is synonymous with a rupee: in all the dialects it is loosely used for money in general"<sup>7</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Ibid p. 283.      <sup>2</sup> J. Sarkar's *Mughal Administration* 2nd ed, p. 52.

<sup>3</sup> *Memoirs* I p. 417.

<sup>4</sup> The 13th day of the 12th Fasli year which began on 20th March 1617. Jahangir was then at Cambay.

<sup>5</sup> *Memoirs* I, pp. 417-18. Vide Elliot VI. p. 355.

<sup>6</sup> Wilson's *Oriental Language Glossary of Terms* Ibid p. 508.

<sup>7</sup> Ibid. p. 501. Vide Smith's *Akbar* p. 139 n. 1. Smith quotes Stanley Laine Poole: "The term tankah [or tanka] appears to be used just as vaguely as *fulus*."

Jegirs were lands given as grants<sup>1</sup>. There were jagira.  
and jagirs. Fransisco Pelsaert (Francoi Pel-  
Jagir c. 130. sart), thus speaks of some of them :<sup>2</sup>

“The provinces are so much impoverished that a jagir (assignment of revenue) which is reckoned to be worth 50,000 rupees, may sometimes not yield even 25[000], although so much is wrung from the peasants, that even dry bread is scarcely left to fill their stomachs. For that reason many of the lords who hold the rank of 5000 horse, do not keep even 1000 in their employ, but they spend great sums on an extravagant display of elephants, horses, and servants, so that they ride out more like kings than subjects, everyone shouting Phoos,<sup>3</sup> that is to say, “out of the way”; or “Make room”! People who do not make way are beaten, and the servants pay very little regard to whom they hit.”

According to Wilson, Jagir literally means “taking or occupying (gir) of a place or position (jā or jāi)”. It is “a tenure common under the Mohammadan government, in which the public revenues of a given tract of land were made over to a servant of the state, together with the powers requisite to enable him to collect and appropriate such revenue, and administer the general government of the district. The assignment was either conditional or unconditional; in the former case, some public service, as the levy and maintenance of troops, or other specified duty, was engaged for: the latter was left to the entire disposal of the grantee. The assignment was either for a stated time, or, more usually, for the lifetime of the holder, lapsing, on his death, to the state, although not unusually renewed to his heir, on the payment of a *nazarana*, or fine, and sometimes specified to be a hereditary assignment; without which specification it was held to be a life-tenure only. . . . . A jagir was also liable to forfeiture on failure of performance of the conditions on

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1 Ain-i Akbari n. Jarrett II p. 367 n. 4.

2 Jahangir's India. The Remonstrantie (Report) of Francisco Pelsaert, translated from the Dutch by W.H. Moreland and P.G. Geyl (1925 p. 54). Pelsaert reached Surat in December 1620 and went to Agra where he remained till 1627.

3 This word seems to be the same as the word *poice* *Qisā*, which we hear even now, signifying “go aside”. The translators of the Dutch book, on the authority of Mr. R. Burn, say, that “the correct form of this exclamation is probably *pohaha*, the imperative of a Pashtu verb signifying ‘to understand’; it may be rendered ‘take care’!”

which it was granted, or on the holder's incurring the displeasure of the emperor. . . . . The term is also in use, although with some license, to designate temporary grants, allowances, or stipends, from the government to individuals."<sup>1</sup>

This Salar-Sepah is the Sipah Salar of the Moghal times.

Salar-Sepah cc. Kaikobad speaks of his going to this Officer  
130, 131, 152. (cc. 130-31). He also speaks of this parti-  
cular officer as having been transferred and  
succeeded by Abu-l- Hasan (c. 152). The following account of  
the work of this officer and of his being changed now and then  
explains much of what Kaikobad says : According to Blochmann,  
"the higher *Maṇṣabdārs* were mostly governors of *Çubāhs*. The  
governors were at first called *sipah-sālārs* ; towards the end of  
Akbar's reign we find them called *Hākims*, and afterwards,  
*Çāhib Çubāh* or *Çubahdārs*, and still later merely *Çubāhs*. The  
other *Maṇṣabdārs* held *Jāgirs*, which after the times of Akbar  
were frequently changed. The *Maṇṣabdārs* are also called  
*ta'nīnātayān* (appointed)."<sup>2</sup> Beni Prasad says : "The provin-  
cial governor was styled *sipah-salar*, Commander-in-Chief,  
*Sahib-i-Subah* or Lord of a province or simply *subahdar*, and  
latterly, only *subah*. He combined the supreme civil and mili-  
tary authority. . . . . The Mughals secured the tranquillity  
and security of the monarch and the State, without relaxing  
the vigour of either, by devising a series of checks on the gover-  
nor's power. In the first place, he generally held office for two or  
three years only. The services of capable administrators were  
retained by transfer from province to province, but, as a rule,  
they were never allowed to strike deep root in any region."<sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Wilson's Oriental Language Glossary of Terms p. 224.

<sup>2</sup> Blochmann's *Ain-i-Akbari*, Vol. I pp. 241—42.

<sup>3</sup> History of Jahangir by Beni Prasad (1922) pp. 103-104. Prof. Sarkar derives the word *subah* from "Arabic *sub* meaning direction or point of the compass. In very early times the provinces into which every large kingdom was necessarily divided, were named in accordance with their bearings towards the capital,—such as the viceroyalty of the north, of the south, of the east, and of the west,—in whichever of these directions there was enough territory to compose a separate province. Similarly, the provincial governors of the Bahamani Empire were styled *tarf-dārs*, from the word *tarf* meaning direction. . . . The *subahdar* was officially called the *nā'im* or regulator of the province. His essential duties were to maintain order, to help the smooth and successful collection of revenue, and to execute the royal decrees and regulation, sent to him." (*Mughal Administration* pp. 57-8.) I think that the practice of designating the Commissioners of the Bombay Presidency as Commissioner of the Northern Division, Commissioner of the Southern Division," &c. is a relic of the old nomenclature.

Kaikobad speaks of a parwāna having been given to him by the Sepah-sālār. According to Wilson,<sup>1</sup> parwāna c. 133. wāna is "an order, a written precept or cominand, a letter from a man in power to a dependent, a custom-house permit or pass, an order for the possession of an estate or an assignment of revenue." Abu Fazl speaks of parwānchah in his Ain-i-Akbari (Bk. 11 Ain 11) as made out for the stipulated..... salaries of the Ahdis, Chelahs and of some officers in the workshops.<sup>2</sup>

According to Kaikobad, Minochehr was appointed a treasurer by Akbar. There were many treasurers. We have a special Ain (Bk. I No. 2 Khazānchi, c. 138. *آبن خزینہ آبادی*), wherein Abu Fazal gives an interesting account of Government treasuries. We read; "With a comprehensiveness which knew no difference between friends and strangers, the lands which paid rents into the imperial exchequer were separated from Jāgīr lands; and zealous and upright men were put in charge of the revenues, each over one krōr of dāms. Incorruptible *bitakchis* (writers) were selected to assist them, and intelligent treasurers were appointed, one for each..... A zealous and honest man was selected for the general treasurership."<sup>3</sup> The treasurers were specially asked to be kind to the husbandmen and not very exacting in the modes of payment.<sup>4</sup> Thus, the post of treasurership, for which Minochehr was called to Agra by Akbar, was a responsible post.

Kaikobad speaks of a Desāigiri conferred upon him. Wilson says: "Desāi, corruptly Desae and Dessye (Mar. देशई from S. देशधिपति). The Desāigiri, cc. (126, 134, 141. superintendent or ruler of a Pargana or province, the principal revenue officer of a district, under the native government: the office was hereditary, and frequently recompensed by grants of land, so that the Desāi often became a kind of petty chief in the south of India."<sup>5</sup> Desāigiri is "the office of Desāi, emoluments or fees attached to it."<sup>6</sup> Prof. Takakhav thus explains the word:<sup>7</sup> "Desai, a hereditary officer, the head of a district. He is the

<sup>1</sup> Wilson's Oriental Language Glossary of Terms, p. 404.

<sup>2</sup> Blochmann's Translation I p. 263. Vide my "Parsees at the Court of Akbar and Dastur Meherji Rana," p. 137.

<sup>3</sup> Blochmann's Translation I p. 13.

<sup>4</sup> Blochmann's Translation I p.p. 12-15.

<sup>5</sup> Wilson's Oriental Language Glossary p. 132.

<sup>6</sup> Ibid.

<sup>7</sup> The Life of Shivaji Maharaj (1921). Glossary p. 641.

same as *deshmukh*." Then speaking of the *deshmukh*, he says : "His duties in the district correspond with those of the *patel* in the village." Under the *deshmukh* or *desai* was the *deshpande* whose "office corresponded with that of *kulkarni* under a *patel*."

It appears from the *Khatima* or supplement of the *Mirāt-i-Ahmadi*, that the office of *Desāigiri* first came into force in Gujarat in the time of Akbar. We read as follows, under the heading "Peshkash (tribute) from the *Desais* of the Province :—"

"When Akbar captured Gujarat, Raja Todarmal was sent for the assessment of the revenue of the whole Province. Consequently he appointed *Desais* in all the divisions, to whom the subject had to pay  $2\frac{1}{2}$  per cent. as their dues. In the time of Khan-i-Azam, half of the dues was cancelled, and half of the other half, i.e., ten annas, was taken over by the Government and remitted to the treasury. The remaining ten annas were paid to the *Desais*.<sup>1</sup>

We gather following information about the *mukaddams* from the *Ain-i Akbari* (Bk. III *āin* V.<sup>2</sup>) "The *Mukaddams*. c. Collector of the revenue," was expected to 143. "be a friend of the agriculturist. Zeal and truthfulness should be his rule of conduct. He should consider himself the representative of the lord paramount." Under him were the following officers : "The *Karkun* (registrar of collections) who "sets down the transactions of the assessments, the *mukaddam* (chief village revenue officer) and the *patwāri* (land steward)".<sup>3</sup> They kept "their respective accounts." According to Wilson, the *Mukaddam* (Arab. *مقدم*) is literally "a chief, a leader, one who goes before : in India, applied especially to the head man of a village or of a caste or corporation: in the Maratha villages the head man was usually charged with the realization of the revenue and its payment to the district collector, with the superintendence of the cultivation, the management of the affairs of the village, and the disbursements of its expenses : he was also entrusted, to a certain extent, with jurisdiction in disputes among the cultivators, and with the police".<sup>4</sup>

<sup>1</sup> The supplement to the *Mirāt-i-Ahmadi*, by Syed Nawab Ali and Charles Norman Seddon (1924) p. 220.

<sup>2</sup> Jarrett's Translation II. p. 43 :

<sup>3</sup> Ibid p. 45.

<sup>4</sup> Wilson's Oriental language Glossary of Terms, p. 351.



Kaikobad speaks of a waqi'anawis of the Royal Court, asking Aoz Beg to fetch Kaikobad to the Court.

Waqi'anawis. c. This word comes from waqiah (واقع) an event, record. He was a kind of recorder.<sup>1</sup>

172. Abu Fazl gives a separate āin (Bk. II ain 10) on the subject of this officer. There we read about his duty : فرموده و کار گیتی خداوند برنویشد i. e. He writes down the orders and the doings of His Majesty. He took notes of appointments to mansabs, of the apportionment of salaries, jāgirs, &c.

## APPENDIX . A .

### A LIST OF IMPORTANT EVENTS (WITH DATES) RELATING TO THE TIMES OF AKBAR AND JAHANGIR AND OF DASTURS MEHERJI RANA AND KAIKOBAD, ESPECIALLY OF THE EVENTS REFERRED TO IN, AND CONNECTED WITH, KAIKOBAD'S PETITION.<sup>2</sup>

Akbar's ancestor, Taimur, appeared on the field of Central Asia as a Conqueror .. .. . A.C.	1402
Babar came to the throne of Kabul at the age of 22 .. .. . ,	1504
Rana Jesang, the father of Māhyār and the grandfather of Kaikobad, wrote Pazend Jam-aspi (873 Yazdazardi) <sup>3</sup> .. .. . ,	1504
Date of a Document, whereby Rana Jesang was given a piece of land by the laymen of Naosari for religious purposes. Muzaffar Shah II of Gujarat, who reigned from 1511 to 1523, is referred to in this document, as "Pātshāh Shri Sultan Muzaffar Shah" <sup>4</sup> .. .. . ,	1520

<sup>1</sup> Blochmann's Text, Vol. I., p. 192 l. 25. Translation, Vol. I p. 258 Vide my "Parsees at the Court of Akbar and Dastur Meherji Rana." p. 104.

<sup>2</sup> Most of the Dates are given according to (a) V. Smith's Akbar, (b) Rogers and Beveridge's Memoirs of Jahangir, (c) my Parsees at the Court of Akbar and Dastur Meherji Rana (d) the Petition of Kaikobad and (e) the Māhyār-nameh of Dastur Erāchji Sohrabji Meherji Rana.

<sup>3</sup> Vide my "Parsees at the Court of Akbar" p. 169.

<sup>4</sup> Ibid pp. 158-66.

Akbar's grandfather Babar defeated Ibrahim Lodi at Panipat .. .. . ,,	21-4-1526
Babar proclaimed King .. .. . ,,	27-4-1526
Babar defeated the Rajput Rana Singh or Sung-ram Singh of Chitor .. .. . ,,	16-3-1527
Rana Jesang mentioned and addressed first in Shapur Asa's Riwayat <sup>1</sup> .. .. . ,,	1527
Babar died at the age of 48 at Agra and Akbar's father Humayun ascended the throne of Delhi at the age of 22 .. .. . ,,	26-12-1530
Humayun's invasion of Gujarat to fight with Sultan Bahadur. He defeated Sultan Bahadur, went to Ahmedabad and divided Gujarat among his officers. He went to Cambay, Baroda and Champaner. Perhaps, it was during this visit, that Humayun met Manock Changa Asa of Naosari, and took him into his <i>khedmat</i> and gave him the Desaigiri of Naosari and Parchol, referred to in the Petition, and especially noticed in the Mahyar-nameh of Dastur Erachji .. .. . ,,	Nov. <sup>2</sup> 1534
Dastur Meherji Rana born, roz 4, mah 7, year 905 Yazdazardi .. .. . ,,	1536
Defeat and Expulsion of Humayun from Delhi, at the hands of Sher Shah .. .. . ,,	17-5-1540
Formal accession of Sher Shah to the throne of Delhi, after defeating Humayun .. .. . ,,	25-1-1542
Humayun's marriage, during his wanderings, with Hamida Begum, aged 14, in Sind .. .. . ,,	1541 or 1542
Humayun entered Umarnkot at the edge of the Sind desert and was helped by Rana Prasad.. ,,	1542
Birth of Akbar at Umarnkot in Sind during Humayun's flight .. .. . ,,	28-11-1542

<sup>1</sup> Ibid pp. 66-68.

<sup>2</sup> Mrs. Boveridge's Humayun-nameh of Gul-badan Begum p. 129.

Humayun, not getting any support and help, to reconquer his lost kingdom of India, which was captured by Sher Shah, left for Persia to get help from its Shah leaving behind, his infant son Akbar on account of difficulties .. ..	1543
The Shah of Persia, offered assistance to Humayun after showing him the ruins of Persepolis, and Humayun left Persia to conquer Kandahar.. .. .	1544
Death of Sher Shah .. .. .	24-5-1545
Accession of Islam (Salim) Shah Sur to the throne .. .. .	29-5-1545
Humayun took Kandahar .. .. .	Sept. 1545
Humayun conquered Kabul from his brother Kamran .. .. .	15-11-1545
Child Akbar taken to his parents at Kabul from Kandahar where he was taken care of by Sultana Begam, wife of Humayun's brother Askeri .. .. .	1544 or 1545
Hamida Begam joined her husband at Kabul .. ..	1545
Child Akbar circumcized .. .. .	March 1546
The Date of the Manuscript of Rana Jesang's Bahman-nameh (915 A. Y.) .. .. .	1546
Mahyar (Meherji Rana) mentioned first in Kaus Kamdin's Rivayat 922 A.Y. .. .. .	1553
Death of Islam Shah Sur .. .. .	30-10-1553
Birth of Kaikobad <sup>1</sup> .. .. .	1554

<sup>1</sup> Kaikobad speaks of his age, in his Petition, as 62, at the time when he was taken to the Royal Court and imprisoned (in the end of 1615 or beginning of 1616) by the inventory officer, Aoz Beg, who had gone to Surat to take an inventory of the property of Chin Qilij Khan who died on (18th of Aban) or about 1615 (c. 175). So, taking the time of imprisonment to be early in 1616, when he was 62, the year of his birth comes to (1616-62 =) 1554 A.C. I have taken it that, when he speaks of 62 years of age, he speaks of the year of 365 days according to the Parsee method.

Restoration of Humayun to the throne of Delhi after defeating Sikandar Sur .. ..	A.C. 23-7- 1555
Akbar appointed Governor of Punjab at the age of 13 .. .. .	Nov. 1555
Death of Humayun .. .. .	24-1-1556
Akbar's accession to the throne at Kalanaur <sup>1</sup> .. ..	14-2-1556
The Portuguese (the Firangi of the Petition) took Damaun .. .. .	1558 or 1559
Tansen, the great musician, who wrote a song about Meherji Rana, first came to Court .. ..	1562
Dastur Meherji Rana's signature, standing first, in a Document about the proper performance of religious rites. Kaikobad also signs the document .. .. .	1565-66
Jahangir Born .. .. .	31-8-1569
Meherji Rana signing first in a document prohi- biting the use of toddy while enagaged in religious ceremonies. <sup>2</sup> Kaikobad also signs the document .. .. .	1570
A Letter from Fredun Murzban of Persia in which Meherji Rana is mentioned first <sup>3</sup> .. ..	1570
Muzaffar Shah <sup>4</sup> of Gujarat captured .. .. .	Nov. 1572
Akbar's Siege of Surat referred to in the Petition, during or after which Meherji Rana saw Akbar at Kankra Khari near Surat .. .. .	11-1-1573
Capitulation of Surat .. .. .	26-2-1573
An Agreement by the laymen of Naosari, where- by a piece of land known as Pipaliāwādi is given to Meherji Rana <sup>5</sup> .. .. .	1573

<sup>1</sup> The Mahyar-nama gives Akbar's age at the time as 14, and the year of accession, as 924 Yazdazardi 963 Hijri.

<sup>2</sup> Vide my Parsees at the Court of Akbar, p. 62-63.

<sup>3</sup> Ibid pp. 63-64.

<sup>4</sup> His ancestor Muzaffar Shah is mentioned in a document giving land to Rana Jesang for religious purposes, dated 1520 A.C.

<sup>5</sup> Ibid p. 63.

Akbar started from Surat on return journey, in which, according to the Petition, Meherji Rana and Kaikobad accompanied him .. .. A.C. 13-4-1573 .	
Rebellion in Gujarat .. .. ,	1573
Akbar started again for Gujarat, to suppress the rebellion .. .. ,	23-8-1573
Battle of Ahmadabad .. .. ,	2-9-1573
Akbar started on homeward march .. .. ,	13-9-1573
Abu Fazal and Badaoni presented at Court .. ,	1574
Famine in Gujarat .. .. ,	1574
Appearance of a Comet, referred to in connection with Meherji Rana .. .. , about Nov. 1577	
Escape of Muzaffar Shah III of Gujarat .. ,	1578
Badaoni mentions, under the Events of this year, the event of the coming of the Naosari Parsees to the Court of Akbar. He mentions this event in this year as a <i>past</i> event. So Meherji Rana and other Parsees must have gone there either this year or some time before. <sup>1</sup> .. ,	1578
The Infallibility Decree of Akbar .. .. ,	3-9-1578
Invitation sent by Akbar to the Catholic priests at Goa .. .. ,	1578
The First Document of the Naosari priests in which they speak of Meherji Rana as their head <sup>2</sup> .. .. ,	1579
The Religious discussion at the Royal Court .. ,	1579
Arrival of the first Jesuit Mission at the Royal Court .. .. ,	1579

<sup>1</sup> Vide my Parsees at the Court of Akbar pp. 9-12. According to the version of the Petition, this is the second visit of Meherji Rana. The Mahyar-nameh gives the date of Mahyar's starting for the visit to the Royal Court as roz Hormazd, mah Khordad 947 A Y. (1578 A.C.)

<sup>2</sup> Vide my "Parsees at the Court of Akbar" p. 46.

The date of the second Document of the Naosari priests, in which they acknowledge Meherji Rana as their head. <sup>1</sup> Kaikobad also signs the document .. .. . A.C.	1580
The Proclamation of the Din-i-Ilāhi .. .. ,	Early in 1582
Close of formal debates on Religion .. .. ,	Summer of 1582
Monseerate, who refers to Naosari in his book, arrived at Surat .. .. . ,	5-8-1582
Muzaffar Shah III resumed the style of King of Gujarat .. .. . ,	9-1583
Foundation of Ilahi Era .. .. . ,	1584
The Date of a letter to Diu, wherein Meherji Rana is spoken of as the head of the priests <sup>2</sup> A.C.	1591
Death of Meherji Rana, Roz 8-12-960 A. Y. .. ,	1-11-1591
Kaikobad appointed Dastur of Naosari on his father's death .. .. . ,	3-11-1591
The first Farman of Akbar, declaring the previous gift of 200 bigahs of land to Meherji Rana and announcing a further gift of 100 bigahs to Kaikobad .. .. . ,	1595
The mahazar (محضر), inquiring into the question of the land of the above gift of 300 bigahs (1005 Hijri) .. .. . ,	1597
The Rebellion of Prince Selim (Jahangir) .. ,	31-7-1600
Queen Elizabeth's Charter to the East India Company for trading with the East .. .. ,	31-12-1600
Prince Jahangir assumes Royal title after rebellion .. .. . ,	May 1601
Dutch East India Company formed .. .. ,	20-3-1602
Murder of Abu Fazal, at the instigation of Prince Selim (Jahangir) <sup>3</sup> .. .. . ,	12-8-1602

<sup>1</sup> Ibid p. 46.      <sup>2</sup> Vide my Parsees at the Court of Akbar p. 49.

<sup>3</sup> Vide, Jahangir's Memoirs by Rogers and Beveridge Vol. I pp. 23-24.

Reconciliation between Akbar and Selim ..	A.C. 24-3-1603
The Second Farman in the matter of the above mentioned 300 bigahs of land in the name of Kaikobad <sup>1</sup> .. .. .	1603
The Parwanchah in the matter of the above gift of 300 bigahs of land <sup>2</sup> .. .. .	1603
Jahangir ascended the throne and took the title of Nuru-d-din Jahangir Padshah .. ..	24-10-1605
Gave orders for the Chain of Justice referred to in the Petition .. .. .	1606
Qilij Khan appointed as the Subah of Gujarat <sup>3</sup> ..	1605 to 1606
The First Naoroz celebrated with eclat .. ..	11th or 12th March 1606
A son of Muzaffarshah of Gujarat rising in rebellion. Qilij Khan was recalled from Gajarat. ..	1606
The Flight of Khusrau, the eldest son. Jehangir's pursuit referred to in the Petition. Kaikobad accompanied the army of pursuit ..	1606
Jehangir's advice to the new disciples to the Divine Faith (Din-i Ilāhi), one advice being to "honour the luminaries (the Sun, Moon, etc.)" which are manifestations of God's light and Jahangir's presentation of the tokens of initiation <sup>4</sup> .. .. .	1606
Arrest of Khusrau .. .. .	1606
Jehangir goes on hunt to Girjahak and Nandana which are named in the Petition. Kaikobad was in the suite which followed the King. The hunt lasted 3 months and six days ..	(Sunday 10th Rajab) 1606
Feast of the 2nd New Year, 22nd zi-l qa'da 1015. ..	10th March 1607

<sup>1</sup> Vide my Parsees at the Court of Akbar p. 121.

<sup>2</sup> Ibid p. 134.

<sup>3</sup> Memoirs of Jahangir by Rogers and Beveridge I p. 21.

<sup>4</sup> The tokens or symbols were شمش و شمش shast-o shabah. Shast is "a girdle worn by the fire-worshippers and Hindus." (Steingass). Shabah is an image. The Translators of the Tuzuk say: "These refer to the ring or token and the portrait given by Akbar to the followers of the Divine Faith."

<b>A Hunting tour to Kabul, referred to in the Petition. Left Lahore for it on 7th zi-l-hijja. Kaikobad accompanied the king's army in that tour</b> <sup>1</sup>	.. .. . A.C.	1607
<b>The Hunt near Nimla, referred to in the Petition of Kaikobad, as being the place where his camel was disabled and he had a talk with the King</b>	.. .. . „	1607 (24th Jumad-al awwal 1015 Hijri).
<b>(Chin) Qilij Khan appointed Governor of Surat</b>	.. „	19-1-1613
<b>Shortly after, Kaikobad deprived of Desaigiri by Qilij Khan</b>	.. .. . „	about 1613 or 1614
<b>Akbar received news of the death of Qilij Khan (at his own hand) on the 18th of Aban of the 10th New Year (p. 301 Memoirs Vol. I)</b>	.. „	End of 1615
<b>Aoz Beg sent from the Royal Court to Surat to take an inventory of Chin Qilij Khan's estate</b> <sup>2</sup>	.. .. . „	22nd October 1615
<b>Kaikobad's arrival at the Royal Court in the company of Aoz Beg and ordered to be imprisoned for 3 years for the money due to Government</b>	.. .. . „	about March 1616
<b>Having fallen ill, Kaikobad was released from jail by the Superintendent, after being there for 9 months, and his nephew confined in his place (cc. 178 et seq) at Lahore</b>	.. .. . „	about the beginning of 1617
<b>Date of Kaikobad's Petition</b>	.. .. . „	1619
<b>Date of Kaikobad's death, roz 12, Mah. 12, 988 Yazdazardi</b>	.. .. . „	29th October 1619

<sup>1</sup> For the detailed dates of the Tour, vide in the Section of Identification, the tour of Kabul.

<sup>2</sup> News of the death of Chin Qilij Khan arrived at the royal court on (18th Aban) about 22nd October 1615. So, the orders appointing him as the Inventory officer might have been issued in the end of October or beginning of November.



## APPENDIX B.

*Days of Ilahi and Mahomedan months.*

According to Beni Prasad,<sup>1</sup> the months of the Ilahi year had days as follows :—

Farwardin	..	..	..	..	31
Urdibisht	..	..	..	..	31
Khurdad	...	..	..	..	32
Tir	..	..	..	..	31
Amurdađ	..	..	..	..	31
Shahryar [Shehrivar]	..	..	..	..	31
Mihr	..	..	..	..	30
Aban	..	..	..	..	30
Azad [Azar or Adar]	..	..	..	..	29
Di [Deh]	..	..	..	..	29
Bahman	..	..	..	..	30
Isfandarmuz	..	..	..	..	30
Total					365

The days of the Mahomedan (Hijri) year are as follows :—

1.	Muharram	..	..	..	30
2.	Saffar	..	..	..	29
3.	Rabi I	..	..	..	30
4.	Rabi II	..	..	..	29
5.	Jamad I	..	..	..	30
6.	Jamad II	..	..	..	29
7.	Rajab	..	..	..	30
8.	Shaban	..	..	..	29
9.	Ramzan	..	..	..	30
10.	Shawwal	..	..	..	29
11.	Zilqada	..	..	..	30
12.	Zil Hijja	..	..	..	29
Total					354

“Every 2nd, 5th, 7th, 10th, 13th, 16th, 18th, 21st, 24th, 26th and 29th year have one day added to them and consists of 355 days. Thus a cycle of thirty years comprises 10631 days. The Muslim era began in A.D. 622.”<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> History of Jahāngir (unnumbered 2nd page after p. XVIII). *Vide* the same for the particulars of the Mahomedan months. <sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*

Modern Persia, which has now adopted the ancient Iranain months, has fixed the days of the months as follows :—

Month.	No. of days.			
Farwardin .. .. .	31			
Ardibehesht .. .. .	31			
Khordād .. .. .	31			
Tir .. .. .	31			
Amardād .. .. .	31			
Sherivar .. .. .	31			
Mehr .. .. .	30			
Abān .. .. .	30			
Azar .. .. .	30			
Deh .. .. .	30			
Bahman .. .. .	30			
Isfandārmad .. .. .	29 but 30 in a			
	—	leap year		

Total.. 365

In the Jalali year, followed by the modern Persians before they introduced the present calendar, the lengths of the months varied according to the entry of the sun into each of the 12 Zodiacal signs, Aries, Taurus, etc.,

## APPENDIX C.

### MAHYAR NAMEH.

There is a recent book in Persian verse written by the late Dastur Erachji Sohrabji Meherji Rana, a well-known scholar, who was for a number of years, the learned Librarian of the Mulla Feroze Madressa. I beg to thank the authorities of the Dastur Meherji Rana Library of Naosari for kindly lending to me their copy of this poem. It is a manuscript of 156 pages, each page containing from 9 to 13 couplets. It is headed *ماہیار نامہ* یعنی احوال زندگی دستو ماہیار رانا

The author gives the date of its composition (p. 156, cc. 1-3) at the end of his work in the following verses

شد احوال ماہیار رانا تمام .: درینجا ہرآنچہ کہ بودہ کلام  
سنم یزدگردی بودہ آشکار .: ہزارو دوسد دان و پنجا شمار  
بروز مبارک نیکو شہرور .: بودہ ماہ خرداد پاکیزہ تر

We learn from these lines, that the poem was completed on *roz* Shehrivar, *mah* Khordad, year 1250 Yazdazardi (i.e., 1881 A.C.). Thus, it was written about 47 years ago. The author gives his name as Erach son of Sohrab, son of Dastur Kaus, son of Sohrab, who was descended from Māhyār-Rānā (Ibid. cc. 6-8). There are two couplets at the end in pencil, saying that the number of the couplets of this poem is 1825 (Ibid. cc. 12-13).

As to the authority of his materials, the author says (p. 5, cc. 7-8) :

نکردم ز بہرہ تکلف بیان .: شنیدم ہمہ را ز پشینگان  
بدیدم نوشتہ ہم از راویان .: بہر جا کہ و بیش آنرا بیان

Here, he says, that he narrated without exaggeration what he had heard from elders (*pešhūnigān*) and what he had seen in writing, as written by narrators (*rāviān*).

This Mahyar-nameh may be accepted as historically correct, so far as some broad facts are concerned, but not for any details, especially in the matter of Kaikobad, the son of Mahyar. Kaikobad's petition seems to be one of the main sources, if not the main source, of the author's information. But he does not seem to have been successful in marshalling well the details of Kaikobad's affairs from something like a labyrinth of statements in the petition. His dates for some of the family social events may be taken as possibly correct, because they may have

been taken from some family scraps of notes or family tradition, as he himself was a chip of the same block of family; but his other dates or numbers are doubtful, nay even wrong. I give below a brief summary of the contents of the *Māhyār-nāmeḥ*.

Mahyar's father was a *mobad* (priest) of Naosari, known as Rānā. His mother was known as Rānī (p. 6, c. 8). They lived in Naosari in Gujarat in the prosperous country of Hindustan, which place (Naosari) is well-known as the cradle (zad-bum) of the Athornans, *i.e.*, the priestly class, (p. 6, c. 4).

A son was born to this couple on *roz* Shahrivar, *mah* Meher, year 905 A.Y. (1536 A.C.) (p. 6, cc. 10-11).  
 Māhyār. His boy- hood and youth. He was named Māhyār (lit., one of whom the moon was a friend), because the star (moon) was keeping a watch over him, as said by the astrologers (p. 7, cc. 8-9). The father began giving him tuition in the holy Avesta at the age of six (p. 8, c. 4). He was taken into the fold with the investiture of the sacred shirt and thread at the age of seven (p. 8, c. 8). For five years more, he continued his religious education with his father (p. 9, c. 2). Two years later, *i.e.*, at the age of 14, he passed through the degree of Herbadhood and Martabhood<sup>1</sup> (p. 9, cc. 8-9). At the age of 15, he expressed a desire to his father to be married (p. 10, c. 3), and the father married him to a girl, named Asi, who belonged to a good family (p. 10, c. 12). He followed the profession of a Mobad (priest), and also resorted to agriculture (*kishtzārī*), a profession recommended to Zoroaster by God (p. 12, cc. 3-5). He continued his studies with his father in Zend, Pahlavi, Pazend and Persian. At the age of 21, he took to *riāzat*, *i.e.*, an abstemious and austere life (p. 14, cc. 7-8). Having passed several months into a kind of retreat, he returned to worldly life (p. 20, c. 9), wherein he observed perfect honesty. Besides priesthood, agriculture was his principal work. He took land from Government (*sarkār*) and others for cultivation on hire (*ijāra*, p. 21, c. 2). He rose in public estimation.

There ruled in Hind, an Emperor named Akbar who bore the title of Arsh-i Āshyān (p. 23, c. 2). His capital (*takht-gāh*) was at Delhi, and he came to the throne at the age of 14 in 924 Yazdazardi, 963 Hijri (1555-1556 A.C.). The time of accession

<sup>1</sup> *Vide*, for these initiations, my work "The Religious Ceremonies and Customs of the Parsees," Chap. VIII, pp. 197-209.

was the morning<sup>1</sup> of Friday in the 2nd month<sup>2</sup> (p. 23, c. 8).

تو ماه دوم دان و جمعه نهار . دران روز فروغ شده شهر یار

He fought many battles and conquered India. In the 24th year of his reign, 947 Yazdazardi, 986 Hiri (1578-79 A.C.), he thought of knowing all religions (p. 24, c. 9—p. 25, c. 3) and so asked Abu Fazl to move in the matter, and, collecting names of the divines of all religions after inquiry from Governors and other authorities, invite them to the Royal Court (p. 25, c. 10. et seq.).

The Nawāb of Surat, having been communicated (p. 26, c. 7)

made inquiries and the Anjuman (community) of the Zoroastrians of Naosari asked Mahyar to attend the Royal Court as their representative. The Sarkar of Surat was informed of this selection (p. 28, c. 3). The Sarkar of Surat asked the ruling authority at Naosari to arrange to send Mahyar to the Royal Court. The ruler at Naosari gave travelling expenses and other help to Mahyar who then proceeded to the Royal Court with his son Kaikobad. They started from Naosari on the 1st day (*roz nakhustīn*, i.e., Hormazd) māh Khordad (*ba ruz-i nakhustīn va Khordad māh*. p. 29, c. 11). Mahyar was aged 43 at the time (p. 31, c. 7).

بوده عمر ماہیا در آن زمان . چهل و فزون سال سر بیگمان

They had a difficult journey, full of hardships, and they took one month and ten days, i.e., 40 days, in travelling (p. 31 c. 5) (*yak mah va deh ruz dar reh guzasht*). The father and son rode on two horses and the servants were on two camels. The luggage was on a third camel. The road was infested with robbers and people generally travelled together in caravans for the sake of safety.

On reaching Delhi, Mahyar saw Abu Fazl who received him well. He was given good quarters to live

Religious discussions.

in, and was taken by Abu Fazl to king Akbar on the fourth day after arrival (p. 32 c. 9). Mahyar blessed the King. The King had prepared an *ibādat-gah* (lit. place of worship) in a central place (p. 33

<sup>1</sup> Nahār "the day from sunrise to sunset."

<sup>2</sup> Humayun met with an accident on Friday 24th January 1556 (Smith's Akbar, p. 29) and died three days later. "The correct date of Akbar's enthronement [at Kalānaur] seems to be Friday, Rabi II 2 A.H. 963, equivalent to February 14, 1556" (Ibid p. 30).

c. 10). Whenever he got free from routine work, he met there, in a meeting (*majlis*) the divines of different religions. The Sunnis and Siahs, Christians, Zoroastrians, Brahmins, Jews, Nazarenes, and others,—learned men, Sufis and wise men—met there. (p. 34 cc. 3-4). Religious discussions went on from night to night in the presence of the King who placed before them the following questions for solution, according to their respective religions (p. 35 cc. 3 et seq.):

1. How many wives is it lawful to marry ?
2. What, if I (Akbar) get the words “ Allah o akbar ” inscribed on my coins ?
3. Is there any objection, if all put on red apparel (*surkh o lāl* (p. 35, c. 7) ) ?
4. What is the harm of eating the cow ?
5. Is burial or burning good for a corpse ?

They all discussed these questions among themselves and the King took part in the discussions. Mahyar also took part in the discussions (p. 36 c. 7). The King then initiated a discussion between a Siah and a Sunni, wherein both were equal. Then he started a discussion between a Mahomedan and a Christian, in which the latter was successful. This was followed by a discussion between a Christian and a Jew. The Jew was the winner. Then, a sceptic or a mystic who had no faith on any religion or prophet (*ne bud pūr imān abar hich din o be paigambaran*. p. 38 c.4) was asked to enter into a discussion with a Jew, a Mahomedan, and a Christian and he won. A Brahmin and Mahyar also took part in the discussions (p. 38 c. 9). The mystic did not rest upon religion (*din*). The philosophers (*hokamā*) have other ways of discussion which are far from religion (*az din buvad durtar*). But Mahyar who was versed also in philosophy (*āin-i hokama*, p. 39 c. 2) and who had performed (*riyāzat*) like the *ishraqian*<sup>1</sup> entered into a discussion with this mystic, but neither of them won (*ne gashtand ghaleb yaki bādigar*). The King and other learned men were pleased with Mahyar. Akbar did not announce there, his views, as to which religion he liked best (p. 40 c. 2.).

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<sup>1</sup> “ A sect of philosophers ” (Steingass).

One day, the King called Mahyar in his presence and made special inquiries about the mystic teachings of Zoroaster (raz Ziarthusht p. 40 c. 7). Mahyar explained everything with evidence from the Avesta (burhan-i Avesta p. 40 c. 2). He spoke upon the following subjects: Jān, ravān, (life, soul) heaven, hell (saqar), hamastagan (hamistan), the geneology of Zoroaster and his miracles, the ways of the Iranians and the manners and customs (rāh o ravesh) of the Kayans, reverence to fire, sun, moon and all other light (shidhā- i. e., stars), worship of one God (abadet-i yaktā Khuda), the mysteries (israr) of Zoroastrianism, *nirangs*, purity, truth, the putting on of Sudra, which leads, *via* the path of advantage (reh-i sud) to paradise ('adn, Eden p. 42 c. 5), the kusti, the Naoruz-i khās and Naoruz-i ām, and the monthly Jashans (p. 41, c. 7, to p. 42, c. 7.) The king on hearing all this was convinced of the superiority of the Zoroastrian religion (p. 42 c. 11). Then Akbar gave to Abu Fazl the following orders :

1. To prepare a dome (gumbad) in his palace according to the custom of Persia (ravesh-imaluk-i 'Ajam p. 43 c. 1) and keep Fire there, burning day and night by placing sandalwood, aloe wood ('ud) and fragrant (khush bu) (fuel), because it is a symbol (āyat) of God and is the purest of his pure lights. Abu Fazl acted accordingly and lighted a perpetual Fire in the palace of the King on a precious vase (majmeh p. 43 c. 6). The King went there and prayed to God (p. 43 c. 8).

2. Akbar ordered that, in the evening (vakt-i sham), when they kindled lamps, everybody, man and woman, shall pay homage to Light (vara sezdeh dāyam kunand anjuman p. 44, c. 3). The King himself did so and prayed for blessings from God.

3. The King then started a new religion, called "Kish-i ālahi (Ilahi)" (p. 45, c. 7) i.e., the Divine Religion and embodied in it, many Zoroastrian elements. He acknowledged Zoroastrian days and months. He began calculating regal years from the day of his accession to the throne. He called this year "Sal-i ilahi." (p. 43, c. 2) He began celebrating the Jashan of Nauruz-i Jamshid and other Jashans, 14 in all. He accepted several Zoroastrian beliefs and customs for his new Din-i ilahi. He put on Sudreh kusti for some time (chandin zamān p. 52 c. 5). Later on, learning that all these expressions of belief in the teachings of Zoroastrianism had displeased many Mahomedans, he gave up giving a public expression to them (p. 53, c. 5).

Thereafter Māhyār exposed the wiles and miracles of the Jagat-guru (p. 53). Then, the King presented Mahyar with 200 bigahs of land in Parchol, about two farsangs distant from Naosari (p. 65). The place of this gift is known as Ghelkhari گل خری p. 65 c. 10). Then Mahyar left Delhi with his son Kaikobad for Naosari. They took two months to reach Surat. When he returned to Naosari, the Anjuman of his town went out at the distance of about two farsangs to welcome him. They were much pleased to learn, that he was well received and honoured by King Akbar (p. 70 et seq.). The Naosari Anjuman then appointed Mahyar their Dastur or High priest. Upto then they had none. It was in 511 A.Y. (1142 A.C.) that the Parsis had first come to Naosari from Sanjan where they had settled on their arrival from Persia which they had left for the sake of their religion and from where they had begun to disperse in different directions. The very first Mobad (priest) who came to Naosari from Sanjan to attend to the spiritual wants of the laymen was one (popularly) known as Kākā<sup>1</sup> (p. 72 c. 12.).

Kākā had two sons named Pāhlan and Dhampāl. On the death of their father, they carried on the priestly work. When the Zoroastrian population increased at Naosari, these two brothers, finding that they could not well attend to all the work required, sent for another priest from Sanjan. He was Faridun, son of Hom (p. 74 c. 1). They admitted him into partnership for the priestly work, paying him half the share of the income. This Faridun had three sons named Āsā, Māhyār and Chāndā. The above two sons of Kākā and these three sons of Faridun (after his death) carried on the sacerdotal work of the town. They divided the various sacerdotal functions among themselves in the following way (p. 74) :

- (a) Pahlān, the son of Kākā, enjoyed the privilege of receiving the necessary fees of Hamā yasht-i Behān<sup>2</sup>.

<sup>1</sup> The real proper name of this Mobad was Kāmdin Zarthosht. His two sons were Rānā and Movad, but they were familiarly known as Pāhlan and Dhampāl. For an account of the descent of the present priesthood of Naosari, spoken of by Darmesteter, as "republique, sacerdotales (Le Zend Avesta Vol. III Index p. 251) from his family and that of the next comer Faridun, vide B.B. Patel's *Parsee Prakash* I p. 3. Vide Darmesteter's *Zend Avesta* Vol. I Introduction p. LVII;

<sup>2</sup> So called from the words of the recital. This function is also spoken of as Sosh (Sraosh). Vide my "Religious ceremonies and customs of the Parsees" p. 440.



- (b) Dhampāl, the son of Kākā, enjoyed the privilege of keeping the *nirangdin* or consecrated urine of the sacred bull<sup>1</sup>.
- (c) Āsā, the son of Faridun, had the privilege of leading the recital of the Patet<sup>2</sup>.
- (d) Mahyar, the son of Faridun, had the privilege of attending to the functions of Nāvar<sup>3</sup> and Martab.<sup>4</sup>
- (e) Chanda, the son of Faridun, was constituted *kotwal*<sup>5</sup>, and, as such, he kept an account of communal affairs and property<sup>6</sup>.

Now, on the return of Mahyar from the Court of Akbar, they elected him a Dastur at the head of all these functionaries, A document was passed in 948 Yazdazardi (p. 76, c. 6), giving superiority to Mahyar over all the functionaries,<sup>7</sup> who carried on their respective functions under him and with his permission. Then another document was passed on roz Goad mah Tir, year 949 Yazdazardi (1579<sup>8</sup> A.C.) (p. 79 c. 10). Thus, Mahyar was the first properly constituted Dastur in India. Other towns then followed the example of having a Dastur at the head (p. 80 c. 12). Mahyar was made Dastur in 948 yazd. (p. 87). Then, in the Yazdazardi year 964 (i.e., 1595 A.C.), Kaikobad went to the Court of Delhi (p. 87 c. 11). Akbar received him well and gave him 100 bigahs of land, in addition to 200 which he had given to his father Mahyar (p. 91). He also gave him the Desaiship of Naosari. He also gave orders to Abu Fazl to the above effect, saying that, as no formal farman

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<sup>1</sup> Ibid pp. 253-59.

<sup>2</sup> Ibid p. 98 et seq.

<sup>3</sup> Ibid p. 199 et seq.

<sup>4</sup> Ibid p. 208.

<sup>5</sup> Kotwāl, lit. meant, the guardian of a kot or fort (Steingass), but, latterly, in Mogul administration in India, he was a kind of Police and inspecting officer.

<sup>6</sup> This division of functions was intended with a view to an approximate equal division of sacerdotal income, because fees were attached to the holding of all these functions.

<sup>7</sup> For a fac-simile photo of this document, vide my "Parsees at the Court of Akbar and Dastur Meherji Rana", vide document No. 5 at the end. For the Text in type; and for Translation, vide Ibid, pp. 147-48. Our author does not give the date for the first document, but I think it is document of a later date. He has by some mistake inverted the order. If so, for a photo copy of this document, vide Ibid at the end, No. 6. For Text in type and for Translation, vide Ibid pp. 148-51.

<sup>8</sup> The couplets are scratched and the words expressive of numbers seem to have been latterly changed.

was given for the first 200 bigahs, a joint farman for the above 300 bigahs may be granted. Abu Fazl inquired of Kaikobad, as to, in what country he wanted the additional 100 bigahs; and Kaikobad said, that he wanted them in the vicinity of the 200 bigahs granted to his father (p. 92 c. 2,). Abu Fazl did so. The King said to Kaikobad, that he and his father may enjoy the income of the land and pray for him. The 300 bigahs of land were at Naosari and at Parchol in neighbourhood. Kaikobad was also given the Desaigiri of these two places (p. 94 c. 8). All this was in the 40th year of the reign of Akbar<sup>1</sup>.

Kaikobad then returned to Naosari when he was welcomed by his father Mahyar<sup>2</sup>. He took a month and a half in the return journey. Kaikobad narrated before his father Mahyar all that had happened in the royal court of Akbar and announced what further gift he had received from the King. Kaikobad then went with Akbar's new farman and orders about the Desaigiri to the Nawab of Surat (p. 101 l. 4) who arranged well all the affairs about the additional gift of land and the Desaiship. Both Mahyar and Kaikobad were pleased with the arrangement of their affairs at the hand of the Nawab (p. 105 c. 11). The leading Parsees of Naosari then went before Mahyar and congratulated him for what further gift his son Kaikobad had gained from Akbar and for the credit he brought upon the good name of the community (p. 107 et seq.). Mahyar thanked them for their congratulations (p. 107 l. 11). The six villages, the Desaigiri of which was conferred upon Mahyar's son Kaikobad, were: 1 Parchol, 2 Eroo, 3 Vizalpore, 4. Ebrameh 5 Kharshād and 6 Ahcheli (p. 109). The Patels of all these six villages, taking an oath of Tāpi Mātā (the goddess of River Tapti) accepted the Desaigiri of Kaikōbad (p. 109 c. 8) and declared that if any one of them secretly joined Kika Vāmā<sup>3</sup> (Ibid. c. 10) he may be taken as one of illegitimate birth.

<sup>1</sup> Akbar came to throne in 1556 A.C. So, this event may be said to have taken place in (1556+40=) about 1596.

<sup>2</sup> There is a good deal of anachronism in this Mahyar-nameh of Dastur Erachji. Mahyar was dead (1591 A.C.) at the time when Kaikobad got the first farman from Delhi (1595 A.C.).

<sup>3</sup> This Kika Vama seems to be a person hostile to Kaikobad. He seems to have been referred to in the mehezar (مہزار), the photo of which I have given in my "Parsees at the Court of Akbar" as the fourth document (Vide the photo at the end of the book. For the Text in type and Translation vide Ibid pp. 139-146). He is there spoken of as Kikeh Desai (کیکھ دسائی p. 140). The Mehzar is dated 1005 Hājri (about 1597 A.C.).

At the time, when Kaikobad was given the Desaiship, it was also arranged that he was to keep an eye over the work of the muqaddams of the villages, as to how they conducted their affairs. He found that these muqaddams had all conspired together (*abā yak digar gashtē budand yār*, p. 111 c. 4) and doubly oppressed the ryots (*i.e.*, extorted double revenue from them; *setam randeh ba har rāyā dō bār*, *Ibid*). This oppression drove the ryots to places under the rule of the Portuguese (*ba shehr-i Farangi be rafteh budand*. *Ibid* c. 6). So, Kaikobad protested and reprimanded the muqaddams and persuaded the ryots to return to their villages and made them contented. Kaikobad reported all these affairs to the Nawab<sup>1</sup> of Surat. The Nawab arrested the muqaddams and punished them. They were released after some time, but, since then, they began to be hostile to Kaikobad (p. 112 c. 12).

The account, as to how the Desaiship came to Kaikobad runs as follows (p. 113 l.1): Since their migration to India, no Parsees had served the kings of the time (*ne kardand kas khedmat-i shah-i ayān* p. 113 c. 6).

Kaikobad's  
Desaigiri. The first Parsee, who did so, was a behdin (a layman Parsee) of Naosari. He was an ancestor of Minochehrshah, named Makock, the son of Changa bin Asa. This was in the time of King Humayun, the father of Akbar (*Ibid* c. 12). He was in the *khedmat* of Humayun. So Humayun, out of kindness and regard for him, gave him the Desaislip of Naosari, Parchol and other places (p. 114 c. 2). On the death of Manock, his son Bahman, continued the Desaiship. Humayun died<sup>2</sup> during his Desaiship. Bahman continued to work well as Desai even in the time of Akbar who was kind to him. Bahman's son Minochehr was in the *khedmat* of Akbar with his father. So, on the death of Bahman, Akbar continued the Desaiship in the hands of Minochehr, and, some time after, appointed him (Minochehr) his *khazānchi* (treasurer p. 115 c. 10). So, Minochehr resigned the Desaiship. Thereupon, Akbar bestowed the above Desaiship upon Kaikobad (*Ibid* c. 12).

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<sup>1</sup> It seems that the Nawab at the time was Nawab Cadiq Muhammad Khan. Vide my "Parsees at the Court of Akbar", pp. 141 and 145.

<sup>2</sup> Humayun's death took place on the 27th of January 1556.

Mahyar died on roz Daepadar mah Asfandārmad, year 960 Yazdazardi<sup>1</sup> (p. 116, c. 8). He was aged 63 at the time (p. 117 c. on margin). The whole Anjuman, out of respect for him, followed his body to the Tower, holding the Baj of Sarosh and holding the paiwand<sup>2</sup> (p. 120). On his body being placed in the Tower, they recited the Avesta prayers, and having bowed before the Tower three times, returned to the home of Mahyar. The sons of Mahyar then *salāmed* all present and all then went home and had their baths.<sup>3</sup> The Anjuman met the next day (p. 121) and all unanimously appointed his youngest son Kaikobad to the Dasturship of Naosari. On the third day after death, when they met for the third day's (Oothama) ceremony, they declared him Dastur (p. 123). Mahyar left three sons, Hirji, the eldest, Behram, the second, and Kaikobad, the youngest (p. 125, c. 8). Kaikobad was selected over his two elder brothers, because he was more learned and was honoured and respected by King Akbar whose Court he had attended twice—the first time with his father and the second time alone, when he was given an additional gift of 100 bigahs of land. Mahyar was ordinarily known as Meherjee and that is the name by which he is commemorated in religious services. He was adopted by his uncle Wacha. So, his name is commemorated as Meherjee Wacha in the religious ritual, but ordinarily his name is mentioned with his own father Rana, as Meherji Rana (pp. 126-27).

King Akbar died, after reigning for 51 years, in Hijri 1035,<sup>4</sup> Yazdazardi 975 (p. 127 c. on margin). Kaikobad was grieved to learn of the death of Akbar who was kind to him. He then wrote a letter (nameh) upon Akbar's successor Jahangir, and, after condolence said words of blessing. He narrated an account of himself (pp. 127-128) and prayed to be continued in his khedmat and for a continuation of the Desaiship. He sent the letter with a fitting nazranā or presents,

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<sup>1</sup> i.e., 1591 A.C. Here we see, how the author is not exact about his dates. He is correct here in the date of the date of Mahyar, but, strange to find, that, as pointed out above, he speaks of his being alive when Kaikobad went in 964 Yazdazardi (1595 A.C.) to the Court of Delhi and even of his giving a letter to his son upon king Akbar.

<sup>2</sup> *Vide* my "Religious Ceremonies and Customs of the Parsees," p. 68.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.* p. 69.

<sup>4</sup> Here again, our author, Dastur Erachji, is mistaken in his dates. Akbar died on 14th Jum. II, 1014, Hijri (17th October 1605). His Yazdazardi year 975 is correct as it corresponds to A.C. 1605-6.

with a special messenger (p. 130). The king was pleased with these and he ordered a letter of reply to be written with a *parwaneh* for the continuation of the *Desaiship* (p. 131, c. 5).

Jahangir, on coming to throne, made some concessions to his subjects, and, among these, one concession was that of remitting the revenue for that year (p. 133, c. 2).

در آن سال بخشید شہ خود زکام . برعیت زکات ولایت تمام

So, the ryots paid no dues, and Kaikobad, who had the *Desaigiri*, did not get his dues from the cultivators under him. Again, in the third year of Jahangir's reign, there was less of rain (p. 133, c. 6) and the cultivators suffered much and became penniless (*bi-zar*, *Ibid.* c. 9)<sup>1</sup>. So, they paid nothing to Kaikobad. He remitted a sum of Rs. 12,000 which was due to him from them (p. 134, c. 10).

At that time, there was a good (*nekū*) and just *nawāb* at Surat, named *Fatah Khan*<sup>2</sup> (p. 135, c. 2). He was called back to the Royal Court (*Ibid.* c. 5). In his place, there came another *nāwāb*, who was a bad son of *Fatah Khan*.<sup>3</sup> He was known as *Mirza Fazal*.<sup>4</sup> He was oppressive and took bribes. Other

1 We do not learn from Jahangir's Memoirs that there was any general famine in the third year of his reign. So, there may have been a local famine. There was one in the 12th year of his reign in 1617. Jahangir's account of that famine is interesting as it shows his faith in the efficacy of prayers. He says: "On this day (28th of Farwardin), by the mercy and favour of Allah, continued rain fell. Water in Mandu had become very scarce and the people were agitated about the matter, so that most of the servants had been ordered to go to the bank of the *Narbada*. There was no expectation of rain at that season. In consequence of the agitation of the people I turned by way of supplication to the throne of God, and He in His mercy and grace gave such rain that in the course of a day and a night tanks, ponds (*birkahā*), and rivers became full, and the agitation of the people was changed to complete ease. With what tongue can I render thanks for this favour?" (*Memoirs* I, p. 378). But, though there was no general famine in the third year, there may be great scarcity in the district of Surat.

2 The name is *قلج خان* (*Kulech Khan*) in the petition, but it is misread even there by some copyists as (*Fatah Khan*). When Kaikobad says that he was a good (*nek*) Governor, he is supported by history. "He was famed for his piety and learning and poetic talents." (*History of Jahangir* by Beni Prasad, p. 161, n. 7). *Vide* the Section on Personages in the paper for this person.

3 This again is misread and miswritten for *Qilij Khan*. The name, in both places is scratched in our Ms. So, it seems that at first, it may be *Qilij Khan*. *قلج خان* is likely to be misread, if written carelessly, as *فنج خان*.

4 He is the *Fazal Alla* of our petition (c. 155).

subordinate officers followed him in oppressing the people, many of whom left for the territories of the Portuguese (Firangi) from which Kaikobad had brought them back (p. 136). Kaikobad had got their leaders (raisān, p. 136, c. 6) punished and so had made them (the leaders) his enemies. These leaders bribed Nawāb Mirzā Fazl, who thereupon sent for Kaikobad and accused him of having misappropriated Government money and said that Rs. 12,000 were due from him to Government. He said that, during the rainless times, Kaikobad had taken the sum from the cultivators, but had not accounted for it. He added that, if the sum was not paid in, he (Kaikobad) would be deprived of the Desaiship (p. 137). He did not hear the explanation of Kaikobad and deprived him of the Desaiship (Ibid. c. 11). Kaikobad thereupon went to Delhi with his nephew to represent his case personally (pp. 138-139). This was in 980 Yazdazardi (1610 A.C., p. 139, c. 1.) He sought admission to the royal court but could not get it. The officers of the royal court were misinformed by the Nawab of Surat to the effect that Kaikobad had misappropriated Government money.

There was in the Royal Court a leading courtier (pish-kār), named Hasan Beg who was a bautat (بوتات) i.e., an officer in charge of royal expenses (p. 140, c. 5). Kaikobad went before him and represented his case and asked for his emoluments. Hasan Beg replied that as he was removed from Desaigiri and held no service (nawkari) he could not pay him anything and advised him to place his case before King Jahangir (p. 141, c. 1).

Then there was one Aoz Beg in the Court who was oppressive. He sent for Kaikobad and asked him to pay in at once Rs. 12,000 that were due from him to Government. As Kaikobad could not pay the amount he imprisoned him and his companions (ham-rāhān, p. 142, c. 2). He was so imprisoned for some time (chandin zamān) and then released (Ibid. c. 6).

At that time, King Jahangir thought of going on hunt to Kabul. When Kaikobad came to know that, he followed the king to Kabul with his companions, with a view to take an opportunity to place his case before the king when there. But he was given no opportunity to approach the king. Kaikobad was disappointed and when the king began his return march from Kabul, he followed him (p. 143, c. 9). On the route, there was a place called Nimleh (p. 143, c. 11) which was difficult to cross. One of the camels of Kaikobad got lame there and could not proceed further. King Jahangir saw that and approached him for inquiry. Kaikobad took advantage

of this opportunity and narrated his whole case before him (p. 144). Jahangir consoled him and asked him to follow him to Delhi (p. 145, c. 2) and submit a petition. When the camel recovered after two or three days, he followed the king, and, arriving at Delhi, submitted a petition representing his whole case, beginning with the bad treatment he had received at Surat and his removal from Desaiship as the result of bribery, and ending with his imprisonment at the hands of Aoz Beg. He further represented that the misbehaviour of the Nawab of Surat had led him to debt. He said that if the king at all thought of having from him Rs. 12,000 he may be given back the Desaiship, and his emoluments may be renewed, so that he may give by instalments the money said to be due by him.

Having mentioned all these things in a petition he submitted it to the king through an intermediary (vasileh p. 148, c. 2). On getting the petition read before him, the king became sorry for all that had happened and expressed his displeasure towards the Nawab of Surat and towards other officers of the Court, who did not submit all this matter to his notice (pp. 148-49). The higher officers said that they were ignorant of all that had happened (p. 150, c. 2). King Jahangir then ordered that Kaikobad may be given the Desaiship of Naosari and Parchol and that he may be given the stipends and monthly payments (*alufeh va mähvāreh*, p. 150, c. 10) that were at one time given to him. He forgave him also the sum of Rs. 12,000 that was asked from him as due from him to Government. Kaikobad was given fresh papers embodying these favours. Kaikobad thanked and blessed the king, and, returning to Naosari, resumed the Desaigiri. He carried on satisfactorily both the Desaiship and Dasturship upto the end of his life. He died on roz 12, mah Asfandar, year 988 A.Y. (1619 A.C.) He was succeeded by his son Mehernush (p. 154, c. 13).

It appears from the account of the Mahyarnameh that what happened in the matter of his Desaigiri was this: When Jahangir came to the throne, he generally remitted the dues from the people as a concession on the occasion of his accession. Again, there was a scarcity in the districts of Naosari and Parchol, and so, the cultivators could not pay him any dues as the Desai of the place. He therefore remitted Rs. 12,000 that were due from the cultivators and represented to the Government that nothing was collected and that therefore he himself could not give anything to Government. But the Hindu muquaddams who had become hostile to him bribed the

Nawab and represented that Kaikobad had made no remissions but had collected Rs. 12,000 from the ryots, which sum ought to go to Government. The Nawab claimed the amount and represented to the Court of Delhi that Kaikobad was a defaulter and that he should pay the amounts. The high revenue officers at the Court thereupon claimed Rs. 12,000 from him, and, on his failing to pay, imprisoned him.

There are several discrepancies between the statements of the petition and those of the Mahyar nameh, the principal of which, in the matter of Kaikobad's visit to the Royal Courts, was this : The Petition says that he was officially sent for or summoned to Delhi to account for the default, and, on his failing to pay, was imprisoned. But, according to the Mahyar-nameh, Kaikobad of his own accord went to Delhi to place his case before the higher authorities. The statement of the petition that he was summoned to the Royal Court seems to be more probable.

*Dates from Mahyar Nameh.*

Parsees first came to Naosari from Sanjan 511 A.Y. A.C. 1142

Birth of Māhyār, Roz Shahriwar, mah Meher, year

905 A.Y., *i.e.*, 1536 A.C.      ..      ..      ..      .. , 1536

Mahyar, began his early education near his father

at the age of 6      ..      ..      ..      .. , 1542

Invested with Sacred shirt and thread at the age of 7      .. , 1543

Became Navar and Maratab at the age of 14      .. , 1550

Akbar came to throne at the age of 14 in 924 A.Y.

963 A.H.      ..      ..      ..      .. , 1556

Retired from worldly life for 5 months for riāzat,

*i.e.*, for abstemious or ascetic life at the age of 21      .. , 1557

Akbar first thought of knowing all the religions of

the world and consulted Abu Fazl about it

947 A.Y. 986 A.H.      ..      ..      ..      .. , 1577-78

Mahyar called to the Royal Court of Akbar at the

age of 43      ..      ..      ..      .. , 1579



Kaikobad accompanied his father to the Royal  
Court .. .. .A.C.1579

Akbar, pleased with the mission of Mahyar, pre-  
sented him 200 bigahs of land at Ghelkhari .. , 1579

Mahyar, on his return to Naosari from his success-  
ful mission to the Court of Akbar, was ap-  
pointed Dastur by the Parsees .. .. , 1579

The Parsees passed a Document accepting his  
leadership 948 A.Y. .. .. , 1579

The Parsees of Naosari passed another document  
to Mahyar, acknowledging his leadership  
949 A.Y. .. .. , 1580

Mahyar died on roz Daepadar, mah Asfendarmad  
960 A.Y. after carrying on the Dasturship  
for 20<sup>1</sup> years .. .. , 1591

His age at the time of death was 63<sup>2</sup> .. .. , ....

Kaikobad was appointed Dastur in his father's  
place .. .. , 1591

Kaikobad went for the 2nd time to the Royal  
Court to have a regular Document for the gift  
of 200 bigahs 964 A.Y. .. .. , 1595

Akbar gave him a farman for the 200 bigahs of  
land and gave 100 bigahs more, and gave him,  
in addition, the Desaigiri of Parchol and  
Naosari. This was in the 40th year of the  
reign of Akbar .. .. , 1595

Kaikobad returned to Naosari in the same year .. , 1595

<sup>1</sup> This is a mistake. It must be 12 years, because Mahyar was appointed Dastur as said above in 1579 and died in 1591. So, the years of Dasturship would be (1591-1579 = ) 12.

<sup>2</sup> This again is a mistake, because, as said above, he is said to have been born in 1536. So, at the time of his death, his age comes to (1591—1536 = ) 55 years.

The Heads (rais) of 6 villages—Parchol, Eru, Vizalporo, Ebrama, Parstal and Ancheli, passed a document (parwanah) to Kaikobad consenting to carry on their work under him  
966 A.Y. . . . . . A.C.1597

Akbar died after a reign of 50 years in 975 A.Y.  
1035 A.H. . . . . . 1605<sup>1</sup>

Kaikobad went with his nephew to the Mogul Court for the third time to ask redress of grievance from Jahangir 980 A.Y. . . . . . 1611<sup>2</sup>

Kaikobad died on roz Mehr, mah Asfandarmaz  
988 A.Y. . . . . . 1619

The author, Dastur Erachji, gives, at the end, the date of finishing his poem as roz Shahriwar, mah Khordad, year 1250 . . . . . 1881

<sup>1</sup> The date of Akbar's death is 17th October 1605 (14th Jum II, 1014). So Mahyar-nameh's Hijri year is wrong. The Yazdazardi year is well nigh correct. Akbar came to throne at Kalan aur, on 14th February 1556. So, the period of his rule comes to about 49 years 8 months and three days. So when Mahyar nameh gives the period of rule as 51, we must take it that it is according to the Mahomedan calendar, because the Hijri date of Akbar's accession to the throne is 2/3 Rabi II 963, and that of his death, 14th Jum II, 1014 (Smith's Akbar, pp. 449 and 459).

<sup>2</sup> This date of Mahyar-nameh is wrong, because, on the authority of historical events referred to in the petition, we have determined the date in the paper, to be 1615

# THE ZEND-AVESTA AND THE MAGYARS.

## THE DEVELOPMENT OF THE MAGYAR PSYCHÉ.

### THE EFFECTS OF THE AVÉSTA.

BY PROF. FRANCIS ZAJTI.

#### (II)

In my first paper,<sup>1</sup> I arrived at the period when the Magyar people were divided into two branches in their ancient Lebedian home, owing to the cruel attacks of the Bessenyő peoples. One division turning to the East returned to Persia, their old home, whilst the other—and this is where I take up the thread, dropped in my last paper—found a new home in Etelköz. Starting from this point, they selected Hungary for their new home. In their progress, they were joined under Kiev by some cognate tribes of the Eastern Huns, who like the Kabars, had left the decaying Kozar realm.

Thus strengthened, they started to take possession of Atila's realm, not only as being entitled by the kinship which they nursed all along—but also as valiant conquerors, wishing to subjugate it. The new country was flowing with "milk and honey", because the people's main occupation was cattle-breeding. Again, the country with its vales and mountains, found a splendid basis for the fighting tribes anxious for adventure and contained many charming places, for the offerings of the pious adherents of Anahita. The people were soon at home in their new country and the fire on the offering-stones flamed brightly in the most beautiful forest of the new country; and the songs of Anahita, sung by young people rose towards the skies, and the Hymn of the "Taltos", the high priest, sounded far and wide in its solemn deep tunes. Restless blood, and undaunted energy, urged the Magyars on, to seek for new adventures towards the North, West and South. They dragged captives from everywhere. New tribes were taken up by the nation which was a mixed one before. Although, until this period, excepting the Vogul and Ostyák elements, they only mixed with their own kin, now they got mixed with the various Slavic elements of their new home, as well as with the Gepides, with the subsiding elements of the Avars and with the Bessenyös, Kumanians, Palócz and other elements of smaller tribes coming from the East.

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<sup>1</sup> See: Zajti, *The ancient History of the Hunno-Magyars*, Budapest 1928. Zajti: *The Huns in the Avesta Literature*, Bombay, 1928. *Journal of the K. R. Cama Oriental Institute*, No. X, pp. 24-42.

These elements had great influence upon the enrichment of the Magyar language and acted equally upon the development of the ripening Magyar character, but the strong Magyar temperament remained at the bottom as a basis. The Magyar temperament did not only exercise a selective and transforming power, but created alien elements, new ones after its own character.

Just as the Scythian Huns, being strong in their faith, were greatly attached to their religion, so the people of the Magyars evinced this quality in their new religion, in the budding Christianity. The kings of the house of Arpád gave in a comparatively short time five prominent saints to the Catholic Church, *viz.*, King Stephen, Prince Emeric, King Ladislaus and the princesses Margaret and Elizabeth.

St. Stephen (997-1038 A.D.) was the eternal paragon of the earnest religious feeling, which works for the good of the present life as well, so much so, that Pope Sylvester, while sending him the crown, stated: "I am apostolic, but he is really an apostle." King Stephen and the people of his realm sought for a way of approaching the western Christian nations, the so-called civilized nations. But they were soon disappointed because they understood that the Christian exterior of the foreigners who flooded the country was often covering their rough character. The work of converting the people as attempted by Bishop Pilgrin of Passau (Bavaria), who served selfish purposes, had not the effect hoped for, so much so, that Bishop Bruno, alluding to the great missionary work, says: "I believe, the shadowy Christianity of the Magyars be worse than the Pagan barbarism."

When our first king St. Stephen, accepted the Christian faith together with his people, he had to solve a very difficult problem. The Magyars had given up, with their ancient faith, their trust in Ardivisura Anāhita, the Goddess of Nature. St. Gellert, the bishop, who converted the Magyars, advised them to call the Virgin Mary the Blessed Mother, something of a Christian Goddess of Nature. So it happened that the holiday, consecrated to the Virgin, on the 25th of March, became with the Hungarians the day of the "fruit grafting Blessed Mother." This is the reason why the month of August became the month of the Virgin, and the 8th of September, the day of the Virgin Mary. Thus the trust in the maternal cares and watchfulness of Anāhita became the pillar of the new faith. The ancient Hunish Magyar religion was always a religion of the heart, so they entrusted the special care of the nation from above to a woman's soul. They saw their numerous sins. From where could they hope for forgiveness

if not from the mother of Him, who was great in forgiving, the mother of Christ? This is why our great King Stephen offered our country to the special protection of a much suffered woman, the mother of Jesus! This is why the Virgin Mary became the Patron of Hungary. The successor of king Stephen was Peter, the son of an exulated Venetian duke and of a sister of king Stephen's. He was an alien with no propension whatever towards the Magyars. As soon as he became king, an interminable struggle for the Magyar hegemony was inaugurated. Although Peter had sworn to King Stephen to respect his widow, Queen Gisella, and to leave her in the possession of her own grounds—soon after the death of Stephen, he robbed her of her goods and had her imprisoned. According to the chronicle of Kézai, he squandered haughtily and greedily the goods of the land in the society of Germans and Italians. He robbed the Magyars of all high offices, castles and fortresses and gave those to foreigners. He and his courtiers were extremely lustful. In his undaunted pride, he proffered his envenomed wickedness to the sight of the world, saying: "If I keep my strength for some time, I shall appoint foreigners as judges, lords, captains and magistrates of the realm and I shall cede my country to the Germans." "This was," says the chronicle of Kézai, "the main reason of the disharmony in the country." Peter offered Hungary, through the symbol of a golden lance to Emperor Henry III, and he with his peers and great men, swore to be faithful to him, and proffered him royalties. This was the reason why the Magyars rose, two years later, (1047 A.D.) and killed Bishop Gellert, who was of Italian origin and was on his way towards German territories.

The same reason started the movement initiated by Koppány, under the reign of St. Stephen. The chief Koppány did not only wish to restore the religion of his ancestors, but he recruited an army with the help of which he wished to return to the ancient home far away in Asia. Later, under Andrew I (A.D. 1047), the followers of Vatha established, for a short time, the ancient religion of the Magyars, in opposition to the Christian religion,—extinguishing nearly all Christian monuments in Hungary. The last resurrection of the ancient but very much weakened religion was under Bela I (A.D. 1060). The strong-handed King Ladislaus (1077-1095) endeavoured to reorganize Christianity on a national basis, filling the place of the Slavian, German and Italian priests with Hungarian members of the clergy. But order had scarcely been restored to the country, when, under Andrew II (1205-1235), a new

foreign influence tore the laws of the country to pieces, affecting even its moral basis.

Whilst the insurrection of Vatha and his son John, who were both adherents of the ancient faith, was the result of the cry of the agony of the people, suffering under the yoke of a foreign spirit, the eruption of the will of the nobility under the leadership of the banus Bank was an ill-boding protest on the part of the influential circles of the Magyars. Whilst Andreas carried war into the Holy Land, order and discipline in the country became the prey of arising autocrats. There were only a few more steps wanting to bring the country into a condition, which made it powerless against the cruel invasion of the Mongols. The message of Hungarian brethren out of "Magna Hungaria" was of no avail. Nobody took their good advice. The Mongols passed through the Magyars of "Magna Hungaria" who, true to their message, fought against the invaders to the last man, and the inexorable Mongolians reached Hungary marching over a field strewn with corpses. They overflowed the land, sweeping off an effeminate generation which had abandoned her moral basis, and had lost her traditions.

The country became a pile of ruins with a king loudly crying for the lost glory of his people. The nation not only supported by her own strength but assisted by the Lord, was dimly understanding her hallowed destination. Is it a wonder that nothing but the ashes and singed remnants of the old religion remained with us. The ceremonies of the ancient religion having an Avestan character were extirpated already during the period of conversion by Christian missionaries whereas the superstitious habits of Finnish origin remained, especially amongst the lower classes of the people, and bore the character of Samanism. The clergy did not fear these habits so much as they feared the Pagan taint of the religion of the nobility, which, according to the abovementioned facts, can be stated with certainty to have been a certain branch of the Zarathushtrian Avesta religion.

The Magyar mind always seeking spiritual values, and especially the simple-minded sons of the people, could not very well understand the ceremonies of the Latin speaking monks. They saw nothing else than appearances and sought vainly for internal values from the representatives of the Christian religion. The invading foreigners represented Christian morals very badly, and the Magyar race, instead of being raised to the higher level of Christian ideas, sunk deeper and deeper into depth. External foes demolished the valuable treasures which

lay hidden in their souls and the hand of misunderstanding mowed down the characteristics, which were considered to be "supports of Paganism." Bernhard of Clairvau, who understood the whispers of the woods or St. Francis of Assisi, and who could talk the language of the nature, could have worked wonders with the Magyars.

After the invasion of the Mongols, for centuries, the Magyars were unable to sheath their swords. Now they were fighting against the Turks and, later on, they had to fight for the new ideas raised by the reformation and under the banners of Rákóczi for national liberty. During this period of spiritual emancipation the Magyar psyche created her first real works—the gems of poesy and literature (From the sixteenth century on). God sent the greatest representatives of the Magyar genius unto the world in the nineteenth century. This was the period of the great dawn of understanding and awakening. All ages give birth to their own great men. Just as on the advent of spring, when there is the first appearance of the young buds of the wine, the pure wine of Hungary trembles in its damp caves feeling that the hot sun shines above, the soul of the Magyar people became trembling in the souls of those who were sent to resuscitate it. The first translations of the Avesta into European languages, especially the work of Anquetil Du Perron, and the German translation of Kleüker in 6 volumes edited in 1772-78, in which the translator has made use of the previous French translation, had a great influence upon Hungarian research work. Based on Eastern sources, there lived a certain belief in this country about the people's connection with the people of the Avesta; as for instance, John Fischer edited a work about 1750, which had, as a subject, the comparison of Finnish, Magyar and Persian words. This belief became a certainty when the materials provided by the abovementioned translations of the Avesta became available. The work of Paul Beregszászi 1793, "A Comparison of the Persian and Magyar languages," proves this statement.\*

Some writers consider the Magyars as the people of the Avesta and identify the Magyar language with the language of Avesta; e. g., Prof. Josef Szabo, considered them to be so much identical that he did not make use of the usual method of Philology, but simply separated words into parts, so to say, with scissors and stuck them together attaching them to some fixed meanings.

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1 J. Fischer : De origine Ungrorum 1756.

2 P. Beregszászi : Parallelon inter linguam Persicam atque Hungaricam (Erlangae, 1794).

\* I am giving the titles of the Hungarian books in English translation.

In his translation, the word Siva means 'stunya-studra'—'ugly, mean'; 'Prit ri-frigytevö,' 'making a vow, especially of marriage,' Badagsan-Badacsöny (a mountain on the borders of the lake Balaton); Sanskrit 'szent kerület, holy district'; Abraham—apám uram-sir father. 'Bramān—baromány id est baromimádó—worshipper of beasts &c.' Szabó I and later Stephen Horváth and others served no other purpose in those days—than to join the Magyars—in opposition to the Finish-Vogul—on the data provided by the Avesta, to a more noble origin, just as Josef Szabó<sup>1</sup> in his work about "The successful fight for the heroic name of Magyar and the dignity of their origin" (1843), a work of comparative philology, identifies the Hungarian language with the Zend Avesta language. Later on, admitting the incompetency of his former works, he studied thoroughly the Zend Avesta, given him as a present by Count Georg Károlyi, and edited a new work entitled the "Eastern memories in the Magyar language" in which he tried to demonstrate the grammatical identities of the Magyar and Avesta language. But this work also was not devoid of certain errors in the comparison of words.

This faulty philological method of the above-mentioned authors helped the more scientific Fimo-ugrian philologists who were also assisted by the living Finnish languages, and by an undeniable affinity of the Magyar and Vogul languages, to vanquish the adherents of the Avestan affinity. This fate was to be the fate of all followers; amongst others, of Florian Mathias, who did far more earnest work and who was an adversary of Hunfalvy. The consequence was that whilst excellent foreign scholars drew the Ugro-Magyar and Iranian relationship more and more to the foreground, in Hungary this movement remained entirely discarded. Bernhard Munkácsy,<sup>2</sup> member of the Hungarian Academy for Literature and Science, says in his "Arian and Kaukasian elements in the Finno-Magyar languages": "The theory propagated by Hunfalvy quenched all interest in the question of Aryan connections causing a great loss to philology. The victoriously developing Altaian, later on the Finno-Ugrian comparative philology, forgot absolutely this very important circle of interest of our philologists, so much so that even the idea of its existence disappeared out of the minds of Hungarian philologists. Even

<sup>1</sup> Szabo J: A Maggyar név Eredet méltóságának kivívása, Tud. Gyűjt, 1826, Budapest.

<sup>2</sup> Munkási B: Árja és kaukásusi elemek a finn-magyar nyelvekben, Budapest, 1901.



such undoubtedly Arian word affinities as : Arany—gold, ezüst—silver, tíz—ten, száz—hundred, ravasz—cute, tehén cow, are entirely forgotten and the Magyar-Ugor dictionary of Budenz,<sup>1</sup> either simply discards the words of Arian origin or gives them rather a Slavish explanation as in the case of “száz” where he declares the Ugor form to be an old transference from the Slavish.” The foreign philologists dealing with the Arian Magyar language are of a different opinion. They follow the resemblance between the Finno-Magyar and the Arian languages with a rising interest.<sup>2</sup>

The above-mentioned Professor Josef Szabó, with the Avesta before him, persuaded his fellow student of the University in Göttingen, Alexander Körösi Csoma, to search for records of the ancient Magyars, and to start with himself upon the track stacked out by the Avesta. But Körösi Csoma started alone tramping down the road unassisted by any one through Bocchra, the Baktrian Balkh, then through Kabul, Badagsan Pamir and Tibet towards the Chinese Turkestan upon a fairly good track according to the dates given in my first essay.

Later on John Jernei started upon the Avesta track to find the connection of the Scythian Huns, of the peoples of the Caucasus, Turkestan and the Parthian country with the Hunish elements of the Magyars. Jernei published the result of this journey in two big volumes.<sup>3</sup> He says “ : The mass of specific Zoroastrian and Parsi religious terms existing in our language gives us a right, in our opinion, to a faultless deduction : It would be easy to construct a Hungarian mythology, in accordance with Parsi rites.”

About half a century later than Körösi-Csoma, Vámbéry followed the same road as far as Bokhara relying himself everywhere on the experiences of Körösi-Csoma. He is of the same opinion as J. Jerney : “Through the influence of Persian culture, the Magyars, when they immigrated in present Hungary, became adherents of the Zoroastrian religion.”

In the year 1866 there was edited an important work by Dr. Frederic Kováts,<sup>3</sup> wherein he declares, that Zarathushtra was

<sup>1</sup> According to dates of Samuel Brassay, Joseph Budentz did not speak Hungarian in his 22nd year.

<sup>2</sup> The book of Jakobsöhns “Arier und Ugro-Finnen” (1922) is worth mentioning in this connection.

<sup>3</sup> Jerney János Keleti utazása, Budapest, 1851, 2

a Scythian Hun high priest, and that the rules of the Zendavesta had been borrowed from the laws of the neighbouring Scythian territories, that the Persians, Parthians, Medes, Chorasmirs, Sakas and Baktrians and many other peoples followed the religion of the Magi—and our ancestors undoubtedly belonged to their number. This religion spread over Persia, Margia, Scythia and this probably was brought to our present country by our ancestors; consequently all those principles which form the basis of the original religion of the Magi are also the fundamental principles of the ancient Magyar religion.

The competent research work of Magyar mythology begins with the work of Bishop Arnold Ipolyi<sup>1</sup>. Regarding the ancient Magyar religion he does also acknowledge the Persian-Zend relationship. He says: "the Huns founded together with the ancient Turan and Iran the new Baktrian Parthian realm in the ancient cradle of the western Arian people, and their Myth..... the religious elements adopted there, were the Zend, perhaps Manicheian, even Buddhistic lores."

The "Kisfaludy Society," a literary society in Budapest, rewarded a mythological work with 50 ducats in the year 1860. The work won the prize amongst 8 competitors, and brought much honour to the author, to whom the copyright of the work, due to the Society, was returned as a special favour. The book was entitled "The religion of the Pagan Magyars" and the author was Francis Kállay,<sup>2</sup> member of the Magyar Academy for Literature and Science. I quote a few lines out of this very interesting work: "Our haunts were in central Asia—and we may consider ourselves to be the descendants of those Turanian Scyths, who fought against the Persians for more than 1000 years, amongst whom a part of our nation merged in Eastern Iran, and who accepted slowly the religion and habits of the Persian Zarathushtra, spreading them amongst their cognate tribes." This subject, says Kállay, deserves to be investigated more intensely.

Christofer Lukácsy,<sup>3</sup> the investigator of the most interesting Armenian sources, in his work the "Aborigines of the Magyars" says: "Chorencis knew the Hun Magyars as well in the neighbourhood of the Kaukasus, as in Central Asia. He mentions them as Hun—chus, Chusán, Euthalites, Saka, Daha and Masa—Gets in inscriptions as Guda—mogori. He declares their relationship to the Parsi, to be genuine (Page 84)."

1 Ipolyi Manyar Mythologia (Hungarian Mythology) Pest, 1854.

2 Kállay F. : A pogány Magyarok vallása, Budapest, 1861.

3 Lukácsy C. : A magyarok őselei, Kolozsvár, 1870.

He states further: "The Hunn-Magyar Skyths, who are united under the Armenian names of Chus, followed the religion of Zarathushtra. A great part of the Hun-Magyar race took possession in the III. century A.D. of the rich capital of Baktria (Balkh) after the decline of the Parthian hegemony in Persia and, according to my opinion, this was the Magyar tribe which later united the cognate tribes under their own name, whilst by far the greater part of the nation, lived a nomadic life, on the territory spreading between the Oxus and the Jaxartes and the mountains of the Caucasus. After the loss of Baktria, in the sixth century A.D., the real Magyars returned to nomadic life on the territories between the Jaik and the Volga which they had left after their defeat by the Patsinceites, and partly returned to Persia, their old home, and partly remained in Asia where they disappeared without leaving a trace."<sup>1</sup>

Valentino Kiss,<sup>2</sup> gives the greater part of his work, entitled "Magyar antiquities" (2 volumes) to the question of the ancient Zarathushtrian religion of the Skytho-Hun-Magyars, of their origin, civil laws and ethics.

A work in two volumes entitled "Upon Asian memories of the Magyars," was published in 1845, by Charles Bizony.<sup>3</sup> This work after stating the story of the Hun-Magyars, gives a resumé of the Avesta religion of the Magyars. In the introduction the author compiles in twelve items the religious conception and ethic of the Magus Zarathushtra as "the main requirements of a civil society—and as the greatest source of such a happiness on earth, as was very similar to that of heaven."

He states among other things: "Plato, among the ancient writers, professed that Zoroaster gave his knowledge first to the Phoenicians, then to the Greeks, and lastly to the whole world. This proves the Magyar origin, as Media is an Assyrian dominion, the first home of our Magyar ancestors the more learned ones amongst them being Magi. Zoroaster was a Magi of high rank amongst the Assyrians. Zarathushtra, wrote a book about the husbandry of the soil. When Kyrus, king of Persia, subjugated the Medes, they did not only keep the Zarathushtrian religion but the king made it the religion of the court. A great disaster happened to the documents of our ancestors, after their settlement in Pannonia; their private documents and

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<sup>1</sup> Pp. 36-38.

<sup>2</sup> Kiss B. : *Magyar Régiségek*, Budapest, 1839.

<sup>3</sup> Bizony C. : *Magyarok ázsiai emléke*, Budapest, 18

manuscripts were given up as a prey to the flames, as our ancestors were converted here to the Christian religion, for the reason that they may not spread Paganism by spreading the dangerous Pagan lore for posterity. But the adherents of the Magi religion believed in the simple moral science, and never worshipped idols. The ecclesiastical father Clemens wrote, that the books of Zoroaster were honoured so much by the Christians that they treasured them like their most valuable goods. That branch of our ancestors, who had parted company with us shortly before our settlement in our present home, and had returned to Asia, settled on the borders of Persia, where they followed the religion of the Magi."

Charles Bizony finishes thus: "If this moral training, following the eternal foundation of truth, worked in the real sense of moral training, it would not have been discarded, and the golden age of the Magyars of the first Asian home would have been resurrected. Not only in mythology and literature, but even in folklore, Zarathushtra had a prominent part."

Louis Balkányi-Szabó,<sup>1</sup> in his "Hungarian Folklore as Legends (1860, 3 volumes)," says in a note to chapter 3 entitled "Zeretostro (Zarathushtra)" thus: "there will be further mention of this greatest man in antiquity in the following tales."

The biographer of Alexander Kőrösi Csoma Theodor Duka, in his eminent work written about him,<sup>2</sup> mentions the following facts which can be supported by many arguments: "The Jerusalem of the Buddhists was in the ancient times across the Jaxartes, in the country of the Jugars." "I believe the oldest Buddha about whom there is any mention to be nobody else but Zarathushtra."

Another interesting contribution, are Albert Kováts<sup>3</sup> following lines, in his Christian Apology: "Zarathustra had a far clearer conception of Divinity than Buddha. It is of great interest for us, Magyars, to investigate the religion of Zarathushtra, as there is no doubt about it, that our ancestors mixed once before the great migration of people, amongst others, with the Persians and that the effects of Parsism are now clearly visible in that religion of the Magyars temporarily settled in Etelköz

<sup>1</sup> Balkányi-Szabó: Magyar ősmesék, Debreczen, 1860.

<sup>2</sup> Dr. Duka T.: Kőrösi Csoma Sándor dolgozatai, Budapest, 1885.

<sup>3</sup> Kováts A.: A Keresztyén vallás apolojiaaja, Budapest.

about which there were to be found some unclear ideas in the chronicles.

Amongst the more recent writers, Koloman Némäti,<sup>1</sup> who in honour of his great learning was recommended by Parker Eduard Harper, the famous sinologist, to English scientific circles as a possible leader for a scientific expedition into Central Asia, states in his "Principles of our Nationality" (1892) as follows: "The stream of the doctrine of Zoroaster and of the science of the Magi rolls through the life of the Magyar spirit in Asia. It is the same science out of the authority of which the Chinese Kongcse, the Indian Buddha, the Greek Aristotle and Pythagoras had drawn. Our ancestors had migrated a thousand years ago from the Turanian regions of the Scythians into our present home, when the first caste of the nation were the Magi priests, and the second the nobility."

Koloman Némäty<sup>2</sup> in his "Turkish Lore" (1892) states: "In Turkestan, in the Bactria of the oldest Kusites, the holy town of the Magi was Balkh, where the high priest of the Magi lived. The fire worship of the Turks of the sixth century came down upon the nation of Arpád as a heirdom. The Turks of the tenth century, according to the Persian writer Ibn Dastah, belonged to the fire worshipping religion of the Magi: The Madsars are fire worshippers. Menander says that the Turks of the sixth century followed the fire-worshipping religion of the Turks. The nation of Arpád is of Turkish origin. I feel thoroughly convinced of the truth of these facts, that according to our traditions, our Psyché is really formed of Scythian blood, and our spirit has been founded by the sacred lore of Zarathushtra."

Alexis Fay<sup>3</sup> in his "Original home of the Magyars" also says: "Apparently the civil wars of many centuries had weakened the Turanian element in Media, in opposition to the Iranian, as the Turanians also had elements which were resting upon a more spiritual religion, the Mazdaism, or there were, let us say, parties with whom, the Arian Iranians expelled the opposition formed by Turanian elements from their ancient haunts. The Magism of the Turanians became the religion of state in Media and Persia."

1 Némäti K.: *Nemzetiségünk elvei*, Budapest, 1892.

2 Némäti K.: *Turk tantétel*, Budapest, 1892.

3 Dr. Fay E.: *A magyarok őshona*, Budapest, 1910.

4 Dr. Erdélyi L.: *Magyar művelődés történet*, Kolozsvár, 5.

Ladislaus Erdélyi, former Professor of University in Kolozsvár, at present in Szeged, states in his "Hungarian Civilisation": The ancient Magyar religion was akin to the Ujgur, Hunn, Avar, and probably Finno Ural-religions. The latter was also a worship of nature (like that of) the Avars, and the objects of their worship were the heaven, the wind, the fire, the water, the woods, etc. Dsajhani mentions the fire as the only object of the worship of the Magyars. Ibn Rostch and Gurdezi also say the same. The fire-worship does not mean the dualistic order of the Zoroastrian religion, the acceptance of the creed of Ahura Mazda and Ahriman, and yet, the effect of Iranian culture and religion upon the Magyar religion cannot be doubted. The word "ármányos", "intriguer" can be traced perhaps to the word "Ahriman".

Vámbery<sup>1</sup> in his "Origin of the Magyars" quotes A. A. Kunik, a member of the Russian Academy, who mentions the following facts about the Magyars:—"The ancient Magyars belonged without doubt to some Turkish race, which was influenced by the religion and habits of some Iranian tribes some time before the Sassanides or during their rule. The nobles and princes of the Hungarian people lost their Turkish tongue, as they changed their own language with the language of their numerous Finnish subjects; as we have seen an example for such a process, with the Southern German Franks of Gallian and the Turkish Bulgarians of Moesia."

A long line of books could be quoted yet to prove that the ancient religion of the Magyars, who are considered to be of one race with the Huns, was a kind of ancient Zarathustrian religion.

Dr. Modi<sup>2</sup> and Dr. Aurel Stein<sup>3</sup> state about the White Huns and their brother tribes, the Yüe-tsi as well as about the so-called Turanian Huns of a period 8 or 10 centuries previous, that their religion is Zarathushtrian, or that it was a certain branch of Zarathushtrianism ; or it was based on the ancient Pre-Zarathustrian religion, known as the Mazdayasnan religion.

<sup>1</sup> Vámbéry . Á: A magyarok eredete, Budapest, 1882.

<sup>2</sup> Dr. J. J. Modi: *The Early History of the Huns*, Bombay, 1917. (*Asiatic Papers*, Part II).—*Hunas in Avesta and Pahlavi*, Bombay, 1917.—*The Huns, who Invaded India. What was their Religion?* (Bombay)—*A hunokröl, akik megíóditották Tndiát. Mhóvolt a hunok vallása*, Budapest, 1926.

—The Iranian Name of the Hunnic King Toramána who Invaded India, (Bombay).

<sup>3</sup> Stein A. : A Fehér hunok és rokontörzsek indiai szereplése, Budapest, 1897.

I had the honour of mentioning before, that research work had shifted from the Avestan to the so called Finno-Ugor or Turk-Magyar territory. The two convictions stood opposed to each other, in bitter feud. But we may consider it as a result of this strife, that Josef Szinnyi, the excellent representative of the Finnish tendency, author of the Finno-Magyar dictionary, Finnish grammar &c., states in his "Origin of the Magyars" thus:—"The affinity of the languages does not involve the consequence of the kinship of nations. Therefore, the supposition of some authors stating, that the real Magyars, or better the nucleus of the Magyars according to their race is not Finno-Ugor, but a Turkish-Tartarian race. We must accept the possibility of this fact as a principle."

Thirty years later Dr. Josef Balassa, the editor of the Magyar Nyelvőr, (a high class periodical for the orthodoxism of the Magyar language,) who for his scientific research work has been elected honorary member of the National Finnish Literary Society, speaks thus in his essay, which appeared as an extract of the result of his research in the paper entitled "Világ"<sup>1</sup> :—

"It may be stated as a fact that besides the resemblance of the languages the idea of the Finn Magyar relationship has failed before the scientific circles and that at present scholars consider the Magyars undoubtedly as a Turkish race."

Dr. John Karácsonyi's<sup>1</sup> essay may be called the last effort of the weakened will-power of the opposite party. Dr. Alexander Márki, Professor at the University in Feged and Dr. Alexander Pethő, the chief editor of the paper "Magyarság" attacked this essay calling it "the dry criticism reeking with the smell of paper and extirpating old results and well known facts."

Dr. Márki sums up the assertions of Karácsonyi: "The Magyars are not of Asian origin, and never were in Asia. The Magyar ethnos, according to their innermost blood vessel is nothing else but a non-pugnacious nomadic tribe, under continual subjugation of others and of Ugrian origin, which mixes only in its second home in Europe with the belligerous Turks. The Székelys are neither Hunns nor Avars, not even descen-

<sup>1</sup> 1, IV, 1926.

<sup>2</sup> Dr. Karácsenyi T.: A, magyar nemzet őstörténete 896-ig, Nagyvárád, 1924.

A magyar nemzet honalapítása 896-997-ig, I Nagyvárád, 1925.

dants of an Eastern spark of the Magyar mother tribe, but a Germanic, or rather Gepid tribe." The absurdity of this doctrine was demonstrated by the book of Valentine Hóman,<sup>1</sup> the Director of the Magyar National Museum, Professor at the University, entitled "About the Huns", in which the learned author states: "The identity of the Hunns and Magyars is not a fictional tradition, developed in our present country but it is the ancient tradition, founded upon a certain historical knowledge and brought from the East by the Magyars, that is by the Bulgarian Tribes and above all by the tribe of Duke Árpád, who were at that period already entirely united so in tongue as in moral character with the Finno-Ugrian elements of the Magyar people.

The Bishop Arnold Ipolyi may also be considered justified in stating in his "Magyar Mythology" the following facts concerning the Magyar people:—

"In our days the accomplished investigations have proved without leaving any doubt, that the Finnish affinity as regards the linguistic family does not suffer any doubt. The Finns and especially the Ural-Finish tribes are nearest to the Magyars amongst the Central Asian linguistic affinities; but without justifying an origin of the Hunn Magyar tribes from any of them. The name of Skyths as collective genericus, was repressed and the protruding Hunnish branch began already to play a part, and this is the beginning of the story of our specified tribe: the Scytho-Hun or with other words of the Hunno-Magyar branch of the Scythian people. Our historical traditions are indirectly adherent to the ancient Scythes and directly to the Scytho-Hunns. This is very much strengthened by the general European tradition calling us from the beginning Huns or Hungarians."

And Karl Fischer,<sup>2</sup> author of the "The Hunns of Switzerland" and of other works dealing with the Hun-Magyar question was also justified in saying in his "White and Black Huns:" "It is quite clear that there never was such a thing as Kazar, Bessenyő, Avar, Kumani-n or Palócz, nation but there was one Skytha later Hun, or possibly Cumanian nation, and at present the brave nation known under the collective name of Magyars, the

<sup>1</sup> Hóman B.: A Magyar hun-hagyomány és hun-monda, Budapest, 1925.

<sup>2</sup> Fischer K.: A hunok és magyarok, Budapest, 1888.

—Die Hunnen im Schweizerischen Eifischthale and ihre Nachkommen bis auf die hertige Zeit, Zurich, 1896.



above. The Hun-Magyar nation is an independent race developed, *se ipse*. Between the Black Huns, *i.e.*, the people of Atilla, and the White Huns, *i.e.*, the Magyars, or the people of Árpád there was no other difference than a slight phonetic one in the pronunciation of the word and the variety of the colour of their clothes." The Ugor nations are only related to the Finns as regards their language, but not as regards their race and they became connected through the intermediary of the Hun-Magyars. The Hun branch of the Magyar race is meant by the denomination of the Royal Skyths. Priskos Rhétor<sup>1</sup> "calls Atilla and his men *The Royal Skyths*."

Alexander Körösj Csoma and Gabriel Bálint<sup>2</sup> de Szent Katolna, are justified when they call the Székely Hunno-Kazaians, Dr. Charles Pongrácz<sup>3</sup> was also right when stating "The Magyar nation flooded from the ancient Indo Skythia towards the West and the Bessenyös Székelys, Paloczs Jazigs and Cumanians who settled in Hungary in the XIII century, are the descendants and relations of the White Huns taking part in the foundation of Indo-Skythia.

Professor Josef Huska<sup>4</sup> states the same fact drawing his conclusions out of the analogic elements in art, in his "Ancient historic connections of our material Ethnography" (p. 35): "The Skyths of Baktria and India, compelled by their geographic situation, according to the evidence of history, kept up a daily intercourse with the Persians, for 800 years, many of the Persians being subjected to them. The very frequent identity in clothes, buildings, and ornaments could not be explained otherwise. If we consider further that the Iranian influence in our language is mostly Pehlevi, that is belonging to the Sasanide epoch, there can be no doubt about their living together. Considering the abovementioned facts, I cannot say that we are direct descendants of the mighty Baktrian and Indian Skyths but I take it for granted that there, on the place where in the VI century this wave in its backward flow disappeared, the wavelet was born, which is called at present the Magyar nation."

<sup>1</sup> A Byzantine historiographer contemporary to Atilla.

<sup>2</sup> Dr. Szentkatolnai Bálint G.: A honfoglalás revíziója, Kolozsvár, 1901.

<sup>3</sup> Dr. Pongrácz Sándor : A magyarság keletkezése és őshazája, Budapest, 1901.

<sup>4</sup> Huszka J.: Tárgyi ethnografiánk őstörténeti vonatkozásai, Budapest, 1898.

I do not wish to deal with the novel of the great historical novelist Nicholas Jósika<sup>1</sup> "The Ancier t History of the Magyars," based upon the identity of the Hun-Magyar—I only quote the following lines out of Count Eugen Zichy<sup>2</sup> : "The wanderings of the Magyar race," in which he gives us the opinion of Adolf Bastian, the nestor of ethnological research work, as follows :

" . . . the Hiu-Hun (hiung-nu) tribes keep up an intercourse with many different tribes, the Finns in the North, Turkish hordes in the South ; they accept certain ideas from them, the sounds used for their denomination—if you please together with the words. But it would be an absolute mistake to draw a conclusion on their Finn or Turk origin hereby."

Count Zichy, giving his own opinion states further : " We can state it as a fact out of the dates given by Eastern authors, that the Huns played a prominent part continually from the second century A.D. in the districts between the Don and the Volga, that the Huns and Avars are branches of the same people, that the Magyar race formed an element present in the Huns, that the Hun-Magyar historical connection cannot be denied, as Count Géza Kuun, Géza Nagy and Professor Henrik Marczali as well as Bernhard Mukácsi accepted and admitted the fact, also (Ethnografia 1894, 103)."

But the picture given would not be complete, if we should not quote the " epilogue of Amadé Thierry,<sup>3</sup>" the great French author, written in his work upon Atilla and his sons. The eminent writer, whose work deserves to be a manual book in our schools, says as follows :

" The Magyars conquering from step to step, the lands of Bajan and Atilla, founded a third Hunnish realm.

" . . . . . These days are far beyond us, and yet there is even to this day a Magyar realm, the brother by adoption of the Western nations, which has been humbled in the course of time, but which is by far not the last as regards his brave soul, his confidence in his own character and his noble racial pride. My work is finished, however interesting the story of the third Hunish realm may be."

1 Yósika M. : A magyarok őstörténelme, Budapest. 3 vols.

2 Zichy I. : A magyar faj vándorlása, Budapest, 1897, 2 vols.

3 Thierry Amadé : Atilla történelme, Budapest, 1865, 3 vols.

"Whatever sympathies the Magyar name raises in me, I must adhere to the plan, which I have drawn for myself. I wanted to prove that the Hunish race, which Balamir had brought into Europe and which Atilla had led to its greatest power, has representatives still this day amongst us, and that the name of the greatest conqueror of this race has been rendered eternal in Eastern Europe by them. I think I have proved both."

We must admit, that we have discarded this belief, entirely on account of an unlucky conflict raging amongst our scholars. We have also neglected to collect books regarding this question, and it would have meant an eternal hiatus in the library of our Academy for Literature and Science, if Aurel Stein would not have presented his own library dealing with this question to the Academy.

Our brief space does not permit dealing more elaborately with the work of Aurel Stein<sup>1</sup> which is of great interest to us. He states for instance in his inaugural speech, that the White Huns are related partly with the European Huns of Atilla, partly with the Indo-Skythes who ruled for 700 years over India, called also the Yüe-tsi people, and their kin, the white Huns.

I quote some of his statements made in his inaugural speech about the religion of these people. "Every sign shows the great impression which the Iranian culture had upon the Skythian-Hun-Yüe-tsi nation, as well as upon many other nomadic tribes of their kind."

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<sup>1</sup> Gyula Halász, the Hungarian translator of the works of A. Stein, gives us the following interesting dates: "By his rapidly growing interest towards the most ancient monuments of the Literature of the Indian and Iranian (Persian) languages, Aurel Stein was lured to the University in Tübingen where he heard the lectures of the greatest scholar in Indiology, of the great student of the Zoroastrian religion, Rudolf von Roth, with whom he remained, after he obtained the degree of Doctor of Philosophy in the year 1883. Thereafter he spent ten months in Oxford and London for the study of the ancient Persian and other research work of antiquity. He reached Bombay in 1887 and had scarcely spent there a few weeks with his study of Parsi tradition when he got an invitation to accept the post of head master of the Eastern College of the Punjab University in Lahore. He edited the critical edition of the *Rajatarangini* in 1892 which was followed by many other works. In 1893 he published the catalogue of the Sanskrit manuscript collection of the Maharadsa of Kashmir, and in 1897 he gave in the Hungarian Royal Academy of Literature and Science his inaugural speech entitled: "The white Huns and their brother tribes in India." (Stein Aurél: *Indiából Kinába*, ford. Halasz Gy., Budapest, 1923,

"The best proof thereof is the great number of Iranian, or rather Zoroastrian godheads, which appear in a rather original representation and with clearly legible names on the reverse of the medals of the Scythian Turuska kings Kaniska and Huviska. We see there the personification of the holy fire, the Persian Atash, Mithra, i.e., Mihir, the God presiding over light of the sun Verethragna, the genius of strife with the eagle on his head, etc."

As soon as the first Avesta dictionaries and Etymologies of any consequence were published—we can scarcely submit into their number the "Asia Polyglotta" of the well known Caucasian Traveller Klaproth, although it contains a small number of compared Avestan words but in the year of its publication—1823—the comparative philology was only in her cradle—the attention of the Finno-Ugrian philology was drawn towards the territory of the Avesta language. They made namely the observation that on the whole southern line of the Finno-Ugrian territory there has been a considerable Eranian influence upon the Finno-Ugrian languages, which can be easily divided into the periods of Old Avesta, of Pehlevi and of newer Caucasian. Bernhard Munkácsy, member of the Academy, one of the most important and most diligent scholars of the Finn-Ugrian philology, relying upon the little Avesta dictionary of Geiger, and making use of Hübschmann and Horn's comparative collection of words, proves the Avestan Iranian origin in 400 Hungarian words. And yet he made use of the little dictionary of Geiger of 175 pages—whilst later there appeared the Dictionary of Bartholomae comprising 1,000 pages which has been complemented by the new dictionary, written after the Prussian-Turanian expedition had investigated the writings on the territories of Bactria and Turan and which numbers 300 pages. It is very characteristic that the words, covering religious conceptions, did not come from Finno-Ugrian but from Avestan territories, and as Vámbéry<sup>1</sup> remarks—not with the Turks as intermediaries, but a direct connection with the Iranian territories. Our Iranian, Avestan words, referring to this subject are: God-Isten, Ármány—ruse, Manó—hobgoblin, dévaly—fresh, Bálvány—idol, sárkány—dragon. Further, we may mention eternal—örök, mennyi—heaven, idvöz—blessed, böjt—fast, and bün—sin.

But our ancient Avestan and Pehlevi words come to us also from Iranian territories, like the words: gulya—herd of cattle,

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<sup>1</sup> Vámbéry A.: A magyarság bölcsőjénél, Budapest, 1914.

—A magyarság keletkezése, Budapest, 1895.

konda—herd of swine, tehén—cow, üszö—heifer, göboly—kid, Ló—horse, csikó—colt, ostor—whip, hám—harness, and kutya—dog. We may also mention here words for numbers : egy—one, hét—seven, tíz—ten, száz—hundred, ezer—thousand. Note also the words Vám—toll, vásár—market, as well as viskó—hut, ház—house and the word falu—village.

It will surely be of interest to have some light thrown upon these words, *i.e.*, their roots, 400 in number, which are of Avestan origin.

A very interesting adaptation is the Avestan word “rezura” or “Arezura.” The word *Rezura* is used in Transylvania and in certain districts of the Transsylvanian Western part of Hungary. It signifies some undergrowth, or such woods, where the timber has been hewn, and where the running deer is easily spotted.<sup>1</sup> The corresponding Avestan word, *Rezura* or *Arezura*, means the scanty undergrowth, standing on the entrance of the valley of death. In the text of the Avesta it also means “the fresh branches, spread over a wolf-trap.” The conception covers the Magyar use of the word entirely.

We can find also many names of rivers and families, which also agree with the oldest roots of the Avesta and with the more recent shape given to them by the Parsis.

The word “betyár” I have already compared in the first of this series of essays, with the word used in the “Göcsej”<sup>2</sup> Petyár, which means in the Avestan “somebody, who opposes some one.”

Our Magyar word for “ösztvér”—gaunt in its Avestan form has been formed out of the noun “stawar” and the prefix of negation “a”. “Stawar” means in Avestan “thick” “Astawar” means “not thick,” *i.e.*, thin, haggard. The Székely word of the same meaning, “vissztér” reminds us also of the Avestan conception, as “vi” in Avesta is also a negative prefix. So “Banga” means tipsy, we call some idiot “banga” in Hungarian, the Avestan “vi-banga” means “not tipsy,” *i.e.*, sober.

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<sup>1</sup> It is a very interesting coincidence, that in Mediæval Latin “rasura” had the same meaning.

<sup>2</sup> A territory in Western Hungary, where there is spoken a very old Magyar dialect.

The Avestan meaning for "czucza" is "strengthen." The Hungarian calls an iron-mounted pike by that name, and we know the verb "Czuczázás" in connection with the custom of striking the eggs dyed red for Easter, to test whose egg is stronger and does not break.

The word "kutak" usually round; Kis-Kun-Halas means "dwarf"; the Avestan form "kutaka" means also "small." The words are also identical both in sound and meaning.

The word "hombár"—the name of a deal chest made to store up corn—has its original Avestan form composed out of the ancient Avestan words "ham" and "baraiti," i.e., a place where they gather something, where they carry something. The Székely form of the word is "hambár" in accordance with the Avestan "ham bar" and "ambar" its Pazend form.

We beg to affirm that at present there is no difficulty to begin the Eranian-Magyar comparative philological studies. Nobody would assert the identity of the two languages just as notwithstanding this their close resemblance the Magyar and the Vogul or Ostjak languages have never been identical. There were very strong mutual influences amongst the words of ancient culture; one-third of these words belong to the Finno Ugrian languages; almost two-thirds belong to the Ural-Altain-Turkish languages. We can also state that a number of words have come into the Magyar language from the Avesta, from the Pahlavi, and from the regions round the Caucasus.

But all those statements do not justify the surmise that the Magyar language which has been developed independently would ever have been a Finnish, Turkish or any Iranian language, the less so could the racial identity of the Magyars be proved by grammatical constructions and a certain quantity of common words.

We can state that the Bulgarians, a people of Hun origin, gave up their ancient language and speak Slavian now, and this change of language did not affect their racial character.

If we investigate the Iranian words of the Finno-Ugrian and Huno-Magyar linguistic territories, we shall perceive that a certain stock of words spread equally on both territories with some difference in the pronunciation, so much so, that some

Iranian words appear softened on Finno-Ugrian territories—as opposed to the stronger Magyar form, which is nearer to the original Iranian formation. We may even attempt to go so far as to state that whilst this mutual stock of words seems to point to a vicinity of their ancient home, the various forms of single words admit of separate linguistic territories.

But we cannot accept, on any account, the statement, that the Magyars originate from some Finnish tribe or from some Vogul or Ostják one, that they themselves were originally also some Finnish tribe, which later on assimilated with the Turks—and getting into opposition with pugnacious tribes, gradually in the short space of one hundred years, became the first fighting nation of which the whole world trembled, and about which the Emperor Leo, in his book, written about war science, states, that the Hun-Magyars were the typical representatives of the right war tactics.

The development of the Magyar language points also towards the isolation of the linguistic territories. *e.g.*, Dr. Robert Gragger discovered some time ago an ancient Magyar poem 100 years older than the Funeral Oration (1280-1320) which, discarding some vowel changes, agrees in its grammatical construction, syntax and in its stock of words, with the modern Magyar language, but the pronunciation is a little deeper.

The lines of the poem are :

“ Szemen könnyel árad,  
 En jonhom buval fárads,  
 Világ világa,  
 Virágnak virága  
 Keserűen kinzatos,  
 Vasszegekkel veretől,  
 Óh nékem én fiam....  
 Kegyedjotek fiamnak,  
 Ne legyen kegyelm magamnak,  
 Avagy halál kinjával,  
 Anyját ézes fiával  
 Egyetemben öljétek.”  
 (My eyes overflow with tears  
 my innermost is tired with grief  
 world of all worlds, flower of all flowers,  
 you are bitterly tortured,  
 Iron nails smite you,  
 Oh, my own son....

Mercy for my son  
and none for me,  
or with the tortures of death,  
the mother and the son  
be murdered together.)

This proves that the Magyar language was identical with our present Hungarian, in the time of the settlement here as well as in the earliest days of the Árpád dynasty.

Now it is certain that the Hunno-Magyar elements dwelt for a considerable space of time in the neighbourhood of Finno-Ugrian tribes and were linguistically influenced by them. Had the Magyars been a Finnish tribe, they could never have transformed in the short time of their association with the Hunno-Kabars and Kazars their language into the present Magyar, as old as their conquest of Hungary, and as definitely different from all Finno-Ugrian languages as a Hunnian language can be.

There is no doubt about it, that when the linguistic territories of the Finns and Hun-Magyars abutted, they underwent a certain racial and tribal mixture, and I even wish to point out that this connection had a very good effect upon the Hun-Magyar race, giving a certain more sedate character to the high spirited Magyars, and a certain softer strain into the hard ringing Hun-Magyar language. The psyche of the Finn races formed of softer material, was added to the massive metal of the Ural-Altaian Skythian Hun basis which received the clear tinkle of gold out of the pure mentality of the People of the Avesta.

Whether we investigate the effect of fructification in the first Skythas, or in the Huns, or in the ancient element of the Magyars settled on the regions of the Kaukasus, we see that besides the Finn races, which fructified the Ural-Altaian Hunn basis, we meet another decidedly Avestan (Parsi) fructification, which was not only of an earlier date than the other but was of a more lasting and valuable effect upon the character of the nation. Like the spider's web, which with its fine threads covers the calyx of the flower, shutting off the fructifying morning dew, the kiss of the Sun, the ancient culture of the Finn races, imbibed with samanism, surrounded the Magyar soul. This influence,—just like the moisture of the soil through the main root—reached the heart of the Magyar nation through the lower classes of the people, whilst coming from the opposite direction the intellectually leading classes accepted the beautiful, multi-coloured, purer Parsi civilization.



And the point where these two civilizations, viz., the Finn and the Avestan, met in the Turkish-Ural-Altaian basis, and have developed in ancient Huns, is where the Magyars got the psyche of the real ancient Magyar type.

The Skythian religion as sketched by Herodotus takes us to the plateau of Turan. It is the same as the religion of Tanhi Ardevisura Anāhita. The ancient philosophy of the Avesta and the frequently mentioned reform of Zarathushtra are meant to purify this religion. But in its purified shape, it stood opposed to the Magism of the Caucasus, and the ancient religion of the Turanian Skythian Huns as well as with the endeavours of the Turanians, when the Iranian kings took it under their protection.

The strength of the new religion was directed especially against the Skythians, including the Hun race, which formed the most valuable element of them, and was directed against their unruly standard of life. The words written three thousand years ago, admonishing for fight, with a view to help the rule of the good and repel that of the wicked, sound like thunder ;

Rise, rise, rise into the heights  
thy soul should rise in the fateful moment  
with the strength, to be able to bear the Sun.  
Fly like the Eagle !

The admonishing voice of the Zend Avesta says further on :

Once it will be over  
The long strife  
and the wicked will slink away  
as if he could not bear it to the last  
the bright clear sight of goodness !  
Rise to the strife, to gain victory over the wicked  
and to make the Good, our Lord Zarathushtra.

(Zend Avesta).

We read in the Vendidad of the Zend-Avesta, 3000 years old : "The whole world lives only for themselves, everybody aims to be master, and everybody tries to find such who will pay him homage."

Further, turning a few pages we read as follows :

1. Let humanity give up its present senseless life.
2. Let them create their homes with continual work.
3. Let them husband the soil and breed animals.

4. Love and follow the laws of God, living in continual prayer.
5. Let them create a pure home.
6. Let them choose careful spouses and found a family.
7. Let them plough and harvest, and plant fruit trees.

The teachings of the Avesta say : Oh man ! Try to be pure, in your actions and deeds, thoughts and words. The Sun does not shine willingly upon the impure so neither the Moon, nor the stars.

These are words three thousand years old, an admonition of three thousand years. Had it any effect ?

One thousand and a few hundred years passed when we could already watch the ancient Székely people, crystallised out of the Huns with their rich mentality. Taking a special person as a type, we see the simple, noble character of Atilla.

In this type, we can find different religious influences. The ancient Ural Altaian dualistic religion, joined by the ideology of the Magi, which reached them from the Caucasian regions ; later on, the Manicheism, which wished to combine Christianity with the Avesta ; then on the other side the purer air of Parsism of Zarathushtra coming from the Iranian side.

In this type, there are contained the stubborn strength of the Tibetan climate, the glory of the flower-covered Caucasian hill-side and the luxury of the Chinese meadows covered with Kansu tulips and Irises, the powerful influence of the mountains of Kashmir with their snow covered pinnacles, striving to unknown heights and the deep peace of the distant meadows, sprinkled with clear pools.

The mighty words of the Vendidad tied our ancestors to the soil, and made the Huns love it.

The greatest influence of the Avesta upon the psyche of the Magyars was that Zarathushtra had made the love of the soil and its husbandry a religious injunction. The pious man—he says in the Avesta—should be diligent and should work. The most valuable work is that which increases the number of crops and gives food to men and cattle, and makes the life and blossoming of the world prosper. “The virgin soil cannot rejoice,” says the Avesta, “that soil feels the happiest upon which the pure man builds a house to himself and provides it well with a fire-place and cattle and herds and lives in it with his wife and children.

where people grow the greatest quantity of forage, where they water the dry soil best, where they plant many fruitbearing trees, and where he who soweth, moweth. He who drains the ground with channels, waters it where it lacks water, or drains the water where there is too much of it, does a good turn to the soil. He who husbands the soil gains life from it. As a friend helps a dear friend, so does this soil help him and gives him progeny and riches."

Ancient Greek writers said that the Egyptians loved the running rivers for the profit they brought them. The "Skythian" people also loved the rivers, but for the sake of God who himself arranges the road for the rivers and the brooks carefully. The love of the soil—not its worship—sparkles in the same way everywhere through the Avesta.

This is no Pagan prayer, but a love which enables us to love the Creation for the Creator, and this love is bordering upon worship. This is what is lost, what has disappeared, gone astray of the Magyar psyche, as our great poet Andreas Ady says so beautifully:

### ON THE BANKS OF THE TISZA.

*By Andreas Ady.*

I came from the banks of the Ganges,  
I dreamt, whiling away noon,  
My heart is a huge bluebell  
And slight tremblings are my strength  
Draw well, mill wheel, hatchet,  
Desert, noise, rough hands,  
Wild kisses, fools, murderers of sleep,  
What do I want on the banks of the Tisza....

Yes, we must find this psyche, to build Christ's pure temple upon it, breaking down what is wrong in Nature and building happily upon the good therein.

There is no need for vain contemplation and self-chastisement but for practical work, the strain of the power of the soul, and aiming at the purity of the body and soul, the self preservation instead of the destruction of our own self.

The wicked in nature and in the human soul are not supposed in the Avesta to be separate divine powers, but they are subject to divine authority. God could never have wished anything wrong, but He sees it on its road of sin.

The reformed Avestan religion was never a dualistic one. The figures of Ármány and Petyár, the first covering the character of a spiritual and the second of a material evil doer, who played a part in the beginning, mark with him only an inimical power which had some importance in the beginning of the new creative period. The idea of some lower divinity present in the Magyar folklore comes from a different source and not from Parsism.

Vāmbéry writes in his "Cradle of the Magyars" thus:—Concerning the Magyars we see, that they had two ruling religions—Samanism and Parsism,—the first is proved by the Ukkon, the second by the word Isten—God (Persia—parszi, Izden—God).

Bernhard Munkācsi<sup>1</sup> in his great work "Arian and Kaukasian elements," says: "the connection of the word 'ördög' devil can be traced back to the same Avestan territories, wherefrom many words like Isten, Armány—ruse, manō—hobgoblin, idvöz—blessed, büjt—fast and other words belonging to religious ideology and brought from the East have been inserted." The words Meny—heaven, ur—gentleman (lord), dévaj—riotous, Bün—sin, bālvāny—the idol are all of Iran-Avestan stock.

The Zend Avesta possessed the noblest idea of Divinity, many thousand years before the conception of Divinity was formed by the Finns, the Voguls and the Ostjaks.

According to the myth about the creation of the Universe as told by Finno-Vagul tradition, the God of the Finns, the father Numi-Tarom: dropped his head, crowned with seven pleats of hair, and sitting in the fire for the time needed to cook seven fishes, opened his mouth, with ten teeth and said.....

This type of Deity is the type of the Magyar peasant's Deity in his fairy stories.

How different those thoughts are which although written a thousand years before Christ, are in the wording of the Avesta:

The deepest secret of my life, oh my God  
is that the innermost of all things that exist  
Thou art,  
That the beginning and the end

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<sup>1</sup> Munkasi B.: Ánja és kaukázusi elemek a Finn-magyar nyelvekben Budapest, 1901.

The existence of this world  
 and its innermost being  
 all come from thee !  
 That the meaning of this world  
 Its most beautiful thought  
 Thou art  
 The innermost core of our best sentiments  
 and the eternal source  
 of the unlimited stream of flowing life.

This type is the type of the Hun-Magyar ideal of God.

The Hungarians were always pious people. The true God brought them into this country, and they blessed God in everything.

According to the ancient invocation :

“ Where to rest our heads,  
 you had prepared the resting place,  
 on the dawn of our life  
 our eyes scarcely opened  
 when this earth  
 blossomed already  
 and bloomed  
 and brought sweet fruits for us.

But our nation carried also other treasures in their hearts—the wonderful ideal of God : searching for the features of God in the surrounding beautiful world.

In their God, they did not only find the severe giver of Justice, but also the God who looked after those who believe in him with his divine care, the God who, in his beautiful created world, lowers himself to him, as one friend would to another.

“ My lord I cover him, who attempts to oppose you, with  
 the wings of my prayer,

And I wish to keep far from you with my prayer the pride  
 of the mighty

To cover with my wings the despairing needy  
 and what could spoil the blossoming of my soil  
 all wicked I wish to exhort.”

Yes, this was the ancient prayer of the Magyar soul fructified by the Avesta.

But what became of this rich spiritual life, which grew and ripened for thousands of years ?

The original Magyar type besides having many faults still may boast of possessing many qualities. I wish only to point out some prominent features. Let us watch the composed earnestness of the Magyar farmer, his majestic gait, his great love for his ground.

The Magyar race is earnest by disposition, cool, and circumspect, as well in thoughts as in conversation and action. This characteristic earnestness originates partly from the continuous danger they were wont to face in their numerous efforts, standing so much in the face of death, and partly from the hard struggle with their barren soil. But their earnestness never became sullenness—their subtle humour, sparkling now and then, preserved them from becoming so.

The certain knowledge of their personal value gives them a certain authority. They know that they are able to hold their ground against a crowd of attacking people. They know that considering the innermost quality of their soul they are somebody.

A Székely popular song says :

You are of low birth,  
But royal is your gait  
Your lodge is no pompous Hall,  
But gold too grows amongst dust.

But also his poor Skythian ancestor compared his spiritual qualities with his scanty means, when he appeared before Leucanor, Duke of Bosphorus as a suitor for the hand of the Duke's daughter. The Duke asked him about the number of his herds and cars and he gave the Duke the answer : " I have neither herds nor cars, but I have two staunch friends, such as nobody amongst the Skythians can boast of."

But the " Gulyás " the herdsman, guarding cows on the Western borders of the Danube, sings characteristically :

I am a " a gulyás," so was my father before me,  
My whip and my pouch hang on my neck,  
My realm stretches as far as my eyes will carry me,  
I shall conquer those nether Indies.

Their love for the soil is more than mere love—it is veritable worship. He does not love it for the crop it brings him, but out of attachment, for its beauty—it is a deep sentiment. Their love for nature is rambling, we might call it overwhelming. Every single popular song begins with a picture taken out of nature, wherewith they prepare the frame of mind needed for the understanding of the song. This spiritual happening, crammed into the description of nature, is the soul of his poesy. Without this key he is unable to think, to write Hungarian. As our music is always tuned to a certain key, so the riches of nature, whose rambling world opens in so many ways, are just what the Magyar soul ever had to say. He always replants his say into God's world surrounding him, wherefrom he took his ideas. God's beautiful world is not only a stage for the Magyar whereon to act, but it is his eternal companion, his friend, his sweetheart.

Petőfi says in one of his poems: *I am the wild flower of Nature*. And he is right,—the whole nation is such a wild flower, grown in a meadow. The wind bends it, the sun scorches it, the passers-by step on it,—and once trodden upon he gathers forces and revives because the Lord created him thus, the Lord created him for this purpose.

Shall I mention Arány, Csokonay or Tompa beside Petőfi? Their soul is also bound with strong fetters to the great Magyar plain, resembling the Skythian deserts, to the melancholy pools, to the sweet company of the birds, the storks and herons swarming there and to the flowery vales and wild ravines of Transylvania and the borders of the well timbered Tátra reminding them of the Caucasus and of their ancestors.

It is impossible to remain unmoved, when hearing that in the last great war, when the Magyar troops had to set a village on fire, one of the soldiers wrote on the wall of a house "Comrades, spare this house, there is a stork's nest on it!"

The fairy world of the old Finno-Voguls is quite a different one. It is sombre and oppressive. The fig-tree, ebony, cypresses and cedar trees so often occurring in Magyar folklore are never born in the northern districts. Discarding linguistic connections Maurus Jókai f. i. who knew every notion of the Magyar character so well, joined the ancient religion and people of the Magyars to the Avestian religion, and to the ancient people of the Avesta.

When our ancestors came into this new country—the ancient Magyar culture must have been interwoven, with a certain rich culture imbibed by the Parsi civilisation, which they made splendid use of, in their political and religious opinion and their laws, so very clear and just.

\* Vámbéry says in his “At the cradle of the Magyars,” as follows: “The leaders of the Magyars entering their new country were better educated, as their Pannonian relations. We might even say that the leaders of the Magyars were so much imbibed with the Persian spirit of the Parsi world that they were surpassing, as regards education, Europeans of the same rank. Árpád certainly found the auxiliary means of his political wisdom with which he founded his realm on the Danube, in the Parsi culture which had already previously made its effect felt, as far as the Ural and the regions on the centre of the Volga. The Magyars brought with them into their new country the social and governmental system, which they had learned partly from the Khazars, and partly from the north off the Caucasus where the culture of the Sassanides was domineering.

I could go on quoting all our eminent writers, dealing with this question as they all agree, upon the point, that there is a definite Parsi influence upon us.

Oblivion spreads its dark cloak over the past, and yet the past resounds in our souls continually! And when we are suffering much, the memory of times past long ago returns and in it revives and reasserts himself the Magyar.

We have seen that the Magyars were born of the Skythian Hun people of Turan, that Turan gave ancient culture to antiquity, that Zarathushtra belonged to the Turanian people, that the Zend-Avesta was born in the Turanian psyché and that the great tragedy of the Magyars is, that the Doom of Turan has smitten them, because out of haughtiness, spite and disdain they could not develop the most valuable ideology of ancient Turan and could not have been its faithful caretaker. So it happened that the age which the old Magyars value equal to some valuable gem, was let uncut and unset, and was left to shift and to be shifted by fate. The Magyars are like a tree whose trunk has been robbed of its crown, and which therefore gives only scanty side branches, instead of a lofty crown.

But no nation is able to escape its fate :

*There are beautiful prophecies inscribed into the book of Fate of the Magyars, besides their many sufferings !*



Zarthushtira was sent to the ancient Turanians to serve this purpose. The ancient power of the Magyars, and the spirit of Zarathushtra work yet, searching for each other.

Let us join in one strong Unity !

One heart, one soul, one arm !

One past and one future !

Three thousand years ago this call was sounded ! Oh if the Magyars of our days would hear it ! It was the voice of Zarathushtra addressing Purity which, incorporated in the Skythas, was fructified in the Hunns and developed in the Magyars.

I quote the words of the Avesta :

Oh God, when will the time come

When with open brave looks

We dare to

Look into each others eyes ?

When with burning fire in our eyes

Carried along by thy power

We can tramp

Through this laughing, happy

blossoming earth.

Oh, is humanity born

which in the possession of its great strength

is yet so meek, and fully understanding its power

yet aims at peace . . . .

Oh where are you

oh where do you tarry

Ye long expected heroes ?

We do justice

and in it the great sainted laws

of the spirit

faithfully obey

I take those to be heroes of the world

Who search for you with outstretched arms

and the sparkling of their eyes gazes into Heaven

He does not rave and is in no fury

He is not cringing

But he is the true God's veritable

Child.

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**EDITED BY**

**SHAMS-UL ULAMA DR. JIVANJI JAMSHEDJI MODI, B.A.,**  
**PH.D., C.I.E., JT. HON. SECRETARY**

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**1929**



This number contains an English translation of passages in Greek and Latin literature relating to Zoroaster and Zoroastrianism, prepared by President W. Sherwood Fox, Ph.D., D. Litt., F. R. S. C., of the University of Western Ontario, London, Canada, and Professor R. E. K. Pemberton, M.A., Assistant Professor of Classics, in the same University.



## FOREWORD.

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In the course of correspondence I had with our President Mr. M. P. Khareghat in the matter of the publication of a review of Professor Pettazoni's book "Religione di Zarathushtra" he advised me to have the Latin and Greek passages given at the end of Professor Jackson's "Zoroaster, the Prophet of Ancient Iran" translated into English. So I wrote to the well-known scholar, Dr. Louis H. Gray of Columbia University, New York, requesting him to translate the passages referred to above. Dr. Gray advised us to include in the translation the passages collected by himself and published in Le Muséon as well as those collected by Clemen in his Fontes Historiæ Religionis Persicæ, and recommended that the work of translation be entrusted to President W. Sherwood Fox, Ph.D., D.Litt., then Dean of the Faculty of Arts and Professor of Classics in the University of Western Ontario, London, Canada. The work was accordingly entrusted to Dr. Fox and this book is the result. Dr. Fox has associated with him in the work Prof. R. E. K. Pemberton, M.A., Assistant Professor of Classics of the same university. The Institute is thankful to both these gentlemen for the good work done by them.

JIVANJI JAMSHEDJI MODI,

*Joint Honorary Secretary,*

2nd January, 1928.

*K. R. Cama Oriental Institute.*



## TRANSLATORS' PREFACE.

So far as we know this work is the first attempt to produce a translation in a modern language of even approximately all the passages in extant Greek and Latin literature that refer to Zoroaster and the religion of ancient Persia. While we do not and dare not claim that the compilation we present is absolutely exhaustive, it is true that we have included in it practically all the passages that have been noted by scholars down to the present time and for that reason we feel confident that only very few passages, and these probably unimportant, have escaped our notice. It is quite possible that the recently revived interest in the patristic writers may be responsible for the discovery, from time to time, of references to Zoroaster and the religion attributed to him, which, like the proverbial needle in a haystack, have hitherto escaped the notice of investigators. As far as compilation is concerned our task has been relatively light, for we have had before us the comprehensive collections of such thorough scholars as Louis H. Gray and Carl Clemen; to the passages contained in their works we have added others contributed by friends, notably by Dr. Gray himself, and also a number which we came across in the course of our own reading.

The work of translation, on the other hand, has been beset by many difficulties. Vagueness of reference, the ignorance and credulity of the original authors, corruptness of texts, the ambiguity of terms and the almost unknown meaning of certain words—all these at times have made progress uncertain and slow. In addition, one must not ignore the retarding effect of the necessity of constantly comparing the numerous variations of statement made by different authors at widely different periods regarding the same thing; this necessity could not be evaded if the translation was to be given any appearance of unity. Happily, we are spared the obligation of preparing a commentary upon our material; that we leave to scholars who have a special competency in the field concerned.

We wish to record an acknowledgment of our debt to Dr. Gray; his unceasing practical help and his tireless interest have been of untold value to us. To Professor A. C. Johnson and Dr. A. V. Holmes Dennis of Princeton University we are exceedingly grateful for assistance in securing photostatic copies of texts that were not available in Canadian libraries. The generous patience and kindly sympathy of the Editor of the journal have been a constant encouragement to us.

LONDON, CANADA.

*August 7th, 1927.*

W. SHERWOOD FOX.

R. E. K. PEMBERTON.





# PASSAGES IN GREEK AND LATIN LITERATURE RELATING TO ZOROASTER AND ZOROASTRIANISM TRANSLATED INTO ENGLISH

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## SOURCES OF THE PASSAGES TRANSLATED.

Louis H. Gray, Appendix V in *Zoroaster, The Prophet of Ancient Iran*, by Professor A. V. Williams Jackson, Columbia University Press, New York, 1919 (referred to as G).

Louis H. Gray, Additional Classical Passages mentioning Zoroaster's Name, *Le Muséon*, IX (1908), pp. 311-318 (referred to as GM).

Carolus Clemen, *Fontes Historiæ Religionis Persicæ*, Marcus and Weber, Bonn, 1920 (referred to as C).

Translations whose sources are not indicated by one of the foregoing letters represent passages not included in any of the three collections.

## XANTHUS.

(wrote in the reign of Artaxerxes I and before Herodotus, Fifth Century, B. C.).

In Müller, *Fragmenta Historicorum Græcorum* I, p. 42, frag. 19 (G. 232 ; C. 30-31) : Now while in great haste they were stretching a purple canopy over Cræsus, superstitious fears fell upon the people who were alarmed by the darkness and the storm as well as by the flashing of the lightning, and who were being trampled under the feet of the horses maddened by the noise of the thunder ; at the same time the oracles of the Sibyl and the sayings of Zoroaster came to their minds.

So they began to call upon Cræsus, even more earnestly than before, to save them, and they fell forward to the ground upon their knees praying to the god to be propitious. Some authorities say that Thales, judging by certain signs that it was going to rain, proceeded to wait until the rain should actually fall.

As for Zoroaster, the Persians claim that it was from him they derived the rule against burning dead bodies or defiling fire in any other way, and that after this rule had been followed for a long time they finally established it as a custom.

*ib.* Quoted by Clement of Alexandria, *Stromata* (ed. Stählin) III, 11, 1 (C. 3): Xanthus . . . . says in his writings on the Magians: "The Magian men cohabit with their mothers; they may also have like association with daughters and sisters; moreover wives are held in common openly and without constraint, but by two men making a friendly agreement whenever one of them desires the wife of the other.

See also Diogenes of Laerte.

#### HERODOTUS.

(lived about 484—425 B. C.)

*Histories* (ed. Hude) I, 86 (C. 3): The . . . . Persians captured Sardis and took Crœsus himself prisoner . . . . After his seizure they brought him before Cyrus, who built a great pyre and placed Crœsus, bound and shackled, upon it, and beside him fourteen Lydian boys, intending thereby either to consecrate them to some god as the first fruits of the campaign or perhaps to fulfil a vow. Or again, he may have put Crœsus on the pyre because he had heard of his piety and wished to find out if some divinity would save him from being burned alive.

*ib.* 101 (C. 3): These are the tribes of the Medes: the Busæ, the Paretaceni, the Struchates, the Arizanti, the Budians, the Magians.

*ib.* 107 (C. 3): Astyages . . . . . the son of Cyaxares, succeeded to the throne. He had a daughter whom he named Mandane and in a dream he thought he saw her make so much water as to overflow his own home city and all Asia as well. When he had submitted the vision to those of the Magians who interpret visions, he was filled with alarm upon learning from them the significance of each detail.

*ib.* 108 (C. 4): During the first year after Cambyses had consorted with Mandane Astyages beheld another vision: it seemed to him that he saw grow from this daughter's generative organs a grapevine that covered all Asia. Having referred the vision to the interpreters of dreams he sent for his daughter, who was now with child, to come to him from Persia; when she had come he kept her under guard, since he desired to destroy that to which she would give birth, for the interpreters of dreams were declaring the vision to mean that his daughter's issue would be king in his stead.

*ib.* 120 (C. 4): Astyages in deliberating concerning Cyrus proceeded to summon the same Magians who had thus interpreted his dream. When they had come he asked them in what manner they had made their interpretation of the vision. They answered in the same way, saying: "The child must become king if he has lived on and has not died." The king responded to them in this wise: "The child still lives and the boys of the rural village where he is being reared have made him king. Moreover, he has done all those things that real kings do, for he has organized orders of spearmen and chamberlains and messengers and has thus begun to rule. And now to what do these things seem to point?" Said the Magians: "If the child still lives and has become king without premeditation, then be of good cheer and take courage, for he will not rule a second time; for, apart from certain details, some of our predictions have only now been proved correct and certainly things like dreams are entirely untrustworthy." Astyages thus answered them: "Magians, I am myself strongly convinced that since the child has become king my dream has been fulfilled and that the child forebodes me no ill. Nevertheless do ye consider the matter thoroughly and give me such counsel as will be the best for my house and for yourselves." To which the Magians said: "Even we hold it to be of much importance that thy rule be kept secure; for, if it passeth to this child who is a Persian, it will become alien and then we being Medes and hence strangers will become slaves and of no account in the eyes of the Persians, but so long as thou remainest king, being our fellow-citizen, we have a share of authority and have great honors from thy hand. Thus then it behoves us to look ahead to the interest of thyself and of thy rule."

*ib.* 128 (C. 4): Astyages impaled the Magian interpreters of dreams who persuaded him to send Cyrus away.

*ib.* 131 (C. 5): I am aware... that the Persians observe the following customs: so far from being in the habit of setting up statues, temples, and altars, they regard those who do so as fools; the reason being, in my opinion, that, unlike the Greeks, they never considered the gods to be of the same nature as man. They call the whole circle of the heavens Zeus, and it is their practice to climb the highest mountains and there make sacrifices to him. They sacrifice also to the sun, the moon, earth, fire, water and winds. Now these were originally the only deities to whom they sacrificed; but they have acquired from the Assyrians and Arabians the habit of sacrificing also to Urania. Now the Assyrians call Aphrodite Mylitta, the Arabians Alilat, and the Persians Mitrás.

*ib.* 132 (C.5): The established Persian form of sacrificing to the above-mentioned deities is as follows: They do not, when preparing to sacrifice, either build altars or kindle fire; they pour no libations, have no pipe-music, and neither put a garland upon the victim nor sprinkle barley-corns over it. When a Persian desires to sacrifice to any of these deities he leads the victim to an open place, and having placed a garland, preferably of myrtle, on his tiara, calls upon the god. The man who is sacrificing may not pray for the happiness of himself alone; since it is into the whole people that he himself is born, he beseeches the god to grant prosperity to all the Persians and to their king. When he has dismembered the victim and boiled the flesh, he spreads a carpet of the tenderest herbage, preferably clover, and then places all the flesh upon it. When he has arranged the pieces, a Magian, standing beside him chants an incantation which the Persians say has the character of a genealogy of the gods. (They may not make sacrifice except in the presence of a Magian.) Then, after waiting a short time, the man who has sacrificed removes the flesh and does with it whatever his reason decides.

*ib.* 133 (C.5): It is their practice to honour above all days that one on which they were born. On this day they think it right to spread a more elaborate meal than they do on other days. The rich among them serve up an ox, a horse, a camel, and an ass, roasted whole in ovens; the poor serve up the small animals. They use little grain, but have many courses of dessert, but not all at once. And for this reason the Persians say that the Greeks, when at meals, get up hungry, because nothing of any account is served after dinner; but that if anything were brought on, they would never stop eating. They are excessively addicted to wine: they may neither vomit, nor relieve themselves before any one else. These customs, then, they maintain, and they are accustomed, when under the influence of wine, to deliberate about the most important matters. Whatever decision they reach in their deliberations is put before them the next day, when they are sober, by the master of the house in which they conducted their deliberations. And if they approve it when sober also, they adopt it; if not, they reject it. And any decision which they first reach when sober they re-examine when under the influence of wine.

*ib.* 134 (C.6): When they meet each other in the streets, you may tell in the following way whether the men who meet each other are equals in birth. Instead of addressing each other they kiss on the mouth; if however one of them is a little

inferior they kiss on the cheek ; while if the one be very much less well-born he falls at the feet of the other and does him obeisance. They honour most of all, after themselves, their nearest neighbours ; and next the neighbours of these. Beyond this degree they hold people in honour in proportion to their distance away, giving least of all to those who live farthest away from them, since they consider themselves far superior to the rest of mankind in every respect, and that other people partake of virtue in the above-mentioned proportion, the farthest away being the worst. When the Medes were supreme the peoples ruled each other ; the Medes ruled over all, and over their nearest neighbours ; these over their own neighbours and the latter also over theirs. The Persians also give honour in accordance with the same rules ; for this people extended the limits of its rule and administration.

*ib.* 135 (C. 6) : The Persians adopt foreign customs more readily than any other people. They wear the Median dress, because they think it finer than their own, and for war they don the Egyptian breastplate. When they hear of luxurious habits, they practise them, of whatever kind they may be. They even indulge in homosexual vice, having learned it from the Greeks. Each man has a number of lawful wives, and an even larger number of concubines.

*ib.* 136 (C. 6) : Manly virtue has come to be approved as consisting, primarily, in being a good fighter ; secondarily, in having a number of children to point to. The King sends gifts every year to the man who shows the most. Bodily strength, however, is valued much higher. They instruct their children between the ages of five and twenty in three subjects only, horsemanship, archery, and truth-telling. The child, before he is five years old, is not shown to his father, but lives with the women. The motive of this practice is to avoid causing distress to the father in case the child should die while it is being reared.

*ib.* 137 (C. 6) : I approve, then, of this custom, and also of the one which forbids the putting to death on a single charge either of any man by the King himself, or of any of his slaves by any of the other Persians, on the ground that it is wrong to do irremediable harm to any one on a single charge. Only if, after consideration, a man finds that the other's crimes outweigh his services does he give vent to his indignation in this way. And they say that no man has ever yet murdered his father or mother, and that in such cases as had occurred investigation

would inevitably lead to the discovery that the murderers were either supposititious children or children born in adultery, it being quite improbable that the man who was really their father would be murdered by his own children.

*ib.* 138 (C. 6-7) : They are not allowed even to speak of any of those things which they are not allowed to do. They are accustomed to think of telling lies as the most disgraceful vice, and of owing money as the next, for the reason, chief among many others, that a man who is in debt will inevitably fall into some falsehood. Any of their people who suffer from leprosy or white leprosy avoid entering a town and do not mix with the other Persians, while their affliction is alleged to be the consequence of some sin against the sun. The Persians assemble in crowds and drive out of the country any foreigners who are attacked by these diseases, as also white doves, and they give the same reason for doing so. They do not relieve themselves in or spit into a river, nor wash their hands in one, nor allow any one else to do so, but revere rivers in an especial degree.

*ib.* 139 (C. 7) : It has happened that they have acquired also the following characteristic, which has escaped the notice of the Persians themselves, but has been detected by us. Their names, which are appropriate to their personal appearance and their self-importance, all end in the same letter, which the Dorians call San and the Ionians Sigma. Investigation will show that the Persian names, not only some of them, but all alike, terminate in this letter.

*ib.* 140 (C. 7) : So much I can accurately affirm about them from my own knowledge. That the corpse of a Persian is not buried before it has been mauled by a bird or a dog, is, however, rumoured in a manner suggestive of an attempt at concealment, and without precision. I have positive knowledge that the Magians do this, for they do it openly. At any rate the Persians cover the corpse with wax and then bury it in the ground. The Magians are very different from the rest of the people and especially from the priests in Egypt, for the latter make it a religious duty to refrain from killing any living thing, except for the purpose of sacrifice, while the Magians kill with their own hands anything but a dog or a man, and vie with each other keenly in putting to death promiscuously ants and snakes and all other reptiles, and also birds as well. And as to this custom, let it maintain the character which it had from the beginning. I will now return to my original subject.

*ib.* 187 (C.7): This very same queen (Nitocris) contrived this deception also. On the summit of the gates of the city through which most people passed she built a tomb for herself and cut the following words upon it: "Whosoever of my successors upon the throne of Babylon is in need of money, let him open the tomb and take what money he desireth; but if he needeth it not, let him not open the tomb, for that is the better course." This tomb remained untouched until Darius became king. Now Darius thought it a shame not to make any use at all of these gates where lay the money which the inscription forbade anyone to take. The reason that he refrained from using the gates was that the dead body lay over the head of anyone who passed through. But he did open the tomb and there found no money, but only the corpse and these words: "If thou wert not greedy and insatiate for money, thou wouldst not have opened the resting-place of the dead."

*ib.* 189 (C. 7-8): When Cyrus was on his way to Babylon he came to the river Gyndes. As he was about to attempt to cross over it (the passage requires boats), one of his sacred white horses madly stepped into the river and attempted to cross it, but the stream engulfed it and carried it away in its course. Cyrus was exceedingly angry at the river for this act of violence and threatened that he would so enfeeble it that even women would easily cross it without wetting their knees. After uttering the threat he abandoned the expedition against Babylon and proceeded to divide his army into parts. Having divided his army into two parts he laid plans for one hundred and eighty straight trenches to radiate in every direction from each bank of the Gyndes and ordered the army to dig them. Inasmuch as a vast host was engaged the task was brought to completion; nevertheless, they spent the entire summer there in this undertaking.

*ib.* 190 (C. 8): When Cyrus succeeded in punishing the river Gyndes by distributing its water among three hundred and sixty channels, the second spring was beginning and accordingly he set out against Babylon.

*ib.* III, 16 (C. 8): Cambyses . . . . came from Memphis to the city of Saïs, wishing to repeat the deeds he had already done. That is, as soon as he entered the royal buildings of Amasis, he gave orders that the body of Amasis be taken outside; this done, he commanded his men to scourge it, to pluck out the hairs from its head, to pierce it with goads and to subject it to all other indignities. When they had wearied



so doing (for the body, being mummified, endured this treatment without falling apart), Cambyses gave orders that it be burned, but thereby was guilty of impiety, since the Persians regard fire as a god. Indeed, the burning of dead bodies is contrary to the customs of both peoples; to those of the Persians, for the reason that has been stated, since they say it is wrong to defile a god with a human corpse; to those of the Egyptians, because they believe that fire is a living animal that devours whatever it seizes and that when it has sated itself with food it dies along with that which it has devoured. . . . In this way, then, Cambyses was commanding acts to be performed that were approved by the customs of neither people.

*ib.* 25 (C. 8) : After this . . . . his expedition reached Thebes, where he told off about fifty thousand of his men, with orders to enslave the Ammonii and set on fire the seat of the oracle of Zeus. With the rest of the army he then marched against the Ethiopians.

*ib.* 27 (C. 8-9) : After the arrival of Cambyses at Memphis, (the bull) Apis, which the Greeks call Epaphus, appeared to the Egyptians. On its appearance the Egyptians straightway donned their finest clothes and indulged in festivities. Observing them so engaged, Cambyses was convinced that these rejoicings were occasioned by his reverse, and he therefore summoned to his presence the overseers of Memphis. When they appeared before him, he enquired why, on this occasion of his presence in the city after the loss of a part of his army, the Egyptians were acting in this way; whereas nothing of the kind had occurred at the time of his former sojourn in the city. The governors explained that a god, whose custom it was to manifest himself at long intervals, had appeared to them; and that on every occasion of his appearance the whole people of Egypt rejoiced and kept feast. Having heard their tale, Cambyses declared that they were liars, and on that ground punished them with death.

*ib.* 28 (C. 9) : Having put them to death, he next summoned the priests before him. Upon their giving a similar explanation, he said that if any tame god had arrived among the Egyptians, the fact would not escape his notice. He then ordered the priests to bring Apis before him, and they departed with this purpose, etc.

*ib.* 29 (C. 9) : When the priests brought Apis before him, Cambyses, who was not without some trait of insanity, drew his

dagger with the intention of striking Apis in the belly. He stabbed it, however, in the thigh, and then, breaking into a laugh, said to the priests: "Scoundrels that you are, of such sort then are your gods, creatures of flesh and blood, that can feel the knife? Worthy indeed of the Egyptians is such a god as this. Nevertheless shall you regret that you thus mocked me." With these words he commanded the proper officials to scourge the priests, and to put to death any of the other Egyptians whom they should find keeping the feast. Thus was the festival of the Egyptians brought to an end. The priests were chastised and Apis lay in the temple wounded and wasted away. After his death the priests buried him without the knowledge of Cambyses.

*ib.* 31 (C. 9-10): He put to death the sister who had followed him into Egypt and with whom he cohabited though she was his full sister. Before this it had in no wise been the custom of the Persians to cohabit with their sisters. But Cambyses married her in the following way. He fell in love with one of his sisters and then, desiring to marry her, he summoned the royal judges, since the thing he was planning was contrary to all custom, and enquired of them whether there was any law which gave the right to cohabit with his sister to any man who desired it. . . . On being questioned by Cambyses the judges gave a reply that was at once safe and in accordance with justice, saying that while they could not discover any law which gave to a brother the right to cohabit with a sister, they had nevertheless discovered another law which gave to the King of the Persians the right to do whatsoever he willed. In this way they avoided breaking the law, in spite of their fear of Cambyses, and to prevent their own destruction for maintaining the law they unearthed another law which satisfied the desire of a man who wanted to marry his sister. So Cambyses married the sister he loved; yet after no long time he married another sister also. Of these it was the younger who had followed him into Egypt and whom he put to death.

*ib.* 35 (C. 10): He (Cambyses) arrested twelve Persians on an utterly trivial charge and buried them alive with their heads downwards.

*ib.* 37 (C. 10): He (Cambyses) visited the temple of Hephaestus and made much mockery of the statue of the god. Now the statue of Hephaestus bears a close resemblance to the Phœnician Patæci, which the Phœnicians parade as figure heads upon the prows of their triremes. For those who are not familiar

with these, I can describe them by saying that they are representations of pygmies. He entered also the temple of the Cabiri, in violation of the religious sanction which allowed only the priests to do so. He loaded their statues with taunts, and had them burnt.

*ib.* 62 (C. 10): (Prescapes): 'I did in person that which you ordered, and buried him (Smerdis) with my own hands. If then the dead rise again, you may, assuredly, expect that Astyages also, the Mede, will rise again.'

*ib.* 65 (C. 10): (Cambyses): 'It was Smerdis.....the Magian to whom the god, in my dream, pointed as the man who should rise in insurrection. This deed then have I done; and you must consider that Smerdis, the son of Cyrus, is no longer alive among you. But the Magians are wielding the kingly power, namely, he whom I left as governor of the palace and Smerdis his brother. Now he, to whom above all should have fallen the duty of avenging the shameful treatment which I have suffered at the hand of the Magians, has most impiously been done to death by his own nearest relation. Since then he is no longer alive, in the second place, Persians, the most necessary of the things which remain for me to do is that I enjoin upon you those things which, as I depart this life, I desire should be accomplished. In the name of the gods that protect this throne, I charge you all, and especially those of the Achæmenidæ who are here present, never to permit the sovereignty to revert again to the Medes.'

*ib.* 66 (C. 10-11): The Persians.....when they saw the king burst into tears, all rent whatever clothes they had and gave themselves up to unstinting lamentations.....But the Persians who were present in nowise believed that the Magians were in control of the government.

*ib.* 67 (C. 11): The.....Magian.....conferred great benefits upon all the subject peoples, so that when he died he was regretted by all the dwellers in Asia, saving only the Persians themselves.

*ib.* 72 (C. 11): (Darius): 'I shall explain, why in this case a lie should be told. Whether we lie or speak the truth, we are striving for the same object. The former tell lies when by doing so they will persuade men to their own profit; the latter speak the truth that by it they may reap some gain and that a man may trust them the more. In this way though our practices

differ, our aims are the same. If men had no apparent prospect of gain, the man who told the truth would be indistinguishable from the liar, and the man who told lies from the truth-teller.'

*ib.* 73 (C. 11): (Gobryas): 'We Persians are being ruled by a Magian of Media, a man, forsooth, without ears.'

*ib.* 79 (C. 11): The Persians, when they learned what had been done by the seven, and were informed of the treachery of the Magians, thought fit to do likewise themselves also, and drawing their daggers put to death all Magians that they could discover. If they had not been checked by the coming of night, they would have left not a single Magian alive. The Persians observe this day, more than any other, as a national anniversary, and upon it they celebrate a great feast, which they call the 'Slaughter of the Magians.' On this day the Magians keep within their houses, for no one of them is allowed to appear in the open.

*ib.* 84 (C. 11): Concerning . . . . the sovereignty, they came to the following decision: they would mount their horses in the suburbs of the city, and that man should succeed to the throne whose horse was the first to neigh after the sun rose.

*ib.* 86 (C. 11): When dawn was breaking the six, as they had agreed, were present and mounted. They then rode about the suburbs, and when they approached the place where during the night the mare had been stalled, Darius' horse ran up and whinnied. As soon as the horse did this, lightning flashed in a clear sky, and thunder was heard. These additional signs consummated the election of Darius, occurring, as it seemed, by pre-arrangement. The others jumping from their horses, did obeisance to Darius.

*ib.* 90 (C. 11): From the Cilicians . . . . three hundred and sixty white horses, one for each day of the year.

*ib.* IV, 92 (C. 11-12): Darius . . . . arrived at another river, which is called the Artiscus, and flows through the land of the Odryssæ. Having arrived at this river he acted as follows: he showed the army a certain spot and ordered every man to pass in order and place a single stone on this spot which he had pointed out. When the troops had completed the task, he left behind him in this place great mounds of stones, and marched away with his army.

*ib.* V, 106 (C. 12): (Histiaeus): 'Having done this..... according to your pleasure, I swear by the gods that protect your throne that I will not discard the clothes that I shall wear when I enter Ionia, before I have made the great island of Sardinia tributary to you.'

*ib.* VI, 97 (C. 12): While.....they were thus engaged, the Delians also took to flight, and, abandoning Delos, proceeded to Tenos. But when the fleet was approaching Delos, Datis sailed forward and ordered the crews to bring their ships to anchor across the strait at Rhenæa, forbidding them to do so at Delos. When he learned the whereabouts of the Delians he sent a herald with the following message to them: 'Holy men, why have ye departed in flight, having formed an adverse judgment about me? For I myself have enough wisdom, and these are my orders from the king, not to harm the place wherein the two deities were born, neither the land itself nor the inhabitants thereof. Return then to your own, and occupy the island.' This then was the herald's message. And afterwards he piled three hundred talents of frankincense upon the altar, and burnt it.

*ib.* VII, 19 (C. 12): After this, when Xerxes had determined to make the expedition, he saw a third vision in his sleep, which the Magians, when they heard it, interpreted to mean that all men, all over the world, would be his slaves and pay him tribute. The vision was this: Xerxes seemed to be crowned with a wreath of olive, the branches of which covered the whole earth; afterward, however, the wreath that was around his head disappeared. When the Magians and the Persians who were there assembled had thus explained the vision, every man straightway departed to his own province, full of confidence in consequence of what had been said.

*ib.* 31 (C. 12): When....leaving Phrygia he invaded Lydia.....on this march he came upon a plane-tree which, because of its beauty, he presented with golden ornaments and entrusted to one of the immortals to be tended. The day after, he arrived in the city of the Lydians.

*ib.* 35 (C. 13): When.....Xerxes heard this, he was indignant and gave orders that three hundred lashes be administered to the Hellespont and that a pair of fetters be lowered into its waters. And I was told that he even sent branders at the same time to brand the Hellespont. However that may be, orders were given that the men, while flogging the waters, should utter

these arrogant and barbaric words : 'Hateful water, this is the penalty which the master doth inflict upon thee, for that thou didst wrong him, though before having suffered no wrong at his hands. And Xerxes the king shall cross thee, whether thou wilt or not. Verily with justice do all men refuse to sacrifice to thee, turbid and bitter that thou art.' This then was the punishment which he bade them inflict upon the sea, etc.

*ib.* 37 (C. 13) : When he had already set out.....the sun, abandoning his seat in the heavens, vanished, though the day was not overcast and was mostly clear. And instead of day there was night. And Xerxes, when he saw and realised what had happened, took heed of it, and enquired of the Magians concerning the meaning of the sign. And they replied that the god was foretelling to the Greeks the abandonment of their cities ; saying that it was the sun who gave knowledge of the future to the Greeks, but the moon to the Persians.

*ib.* 39 (C. 13) : He ordered those who had been charged with this duty to find the eldest of the sons of Pythius and to cut his body in two ; which done, they must arrange the severed halves, one on the right, the other on the left of the road ; and the army should pass that way.

*ib.* 40 (C. 13) : Next (came) ten of the sacred horses called Nisæan, richly caparisoned. They are called Nisæan for this reason : there is a wide plain in Media, called the Nisæan, and this plain produces these large horses. After these ten horses came the sacred chariot of Zeus, which was drawn by eight white horses, and behind the horses followed on foot the charioteer, holding the reins. For no man ever mounts this seat.

*ib.* 43 (C. 13) : When.....the army had reached the Scamander....., Xerxes went up to Perganius, the citadel of Priam, having a desire to see it. Having seen it, and learned all the details of its history, he sacrificed a hundred oxen to Athene of Ilium, while the Magians poured libations to the heroes. After they had done this a panic fell upon the army during the night.

*ib.* 53 (C. 14) : (Xerxes) : 'Now.....let us make prayer to the gods of the Persian land, and then cross over.'

*ib.* 54 (C. 14) : On the next day.....they waited for the sun, desiring to see it rise. And they burnt incense of all kinds on the bridges, and strewed the way with branches of myrtle. When the sun rose, Xerxes, pouring a libation, from a golden

bowl, into the sea, prayed to the sun that he might meet with no misfortune that would check his conquest of Europe before he had reached its furthest limits. After this prayer he cast into the Hellespont the bowl and a golden mixing-vessel, and a Persian sword, which they call acinace. I am unable to determine precisely whether he did this as an offering to the sun or whether, repenting of having scourged the Hellespont, he was making atonement by presenting the sea with gifts.

*ib.* 55 (C. 14) : Next (came) the sacred horses and the sacred chariot.

*ib.* 113 (C. 14) : (They reached) the Strymon, where the Magians obtained good omens (for a crossing) by a sacrifice of white horses.

*ib.* 114 (C. 14) : Having practised these enchantments, and many others as well, for the purpose of propitiating the river, they proceeded on their journey by the Nine Ways of the Edonians, crossing the river by the bridges which they found spanning it. And learning that this place was called the Nine Ways, they buried alive just that number of youths and maidens of the inhabitants. It is a Persian custom to bury people alive ; and I learn that even Xerxes' wife Amestris in her old age buried fourteen youths, all sons of prominent men, as an offering on her own behalf to the god who is said to dwell under the earth.

*ib.* 117 (C. 14) : While Xerxes . . . . . was at Acanthus, it happened that Artachæes, an Achæmenid whom he greatly esteemed, and who was in charge of the work of digging the canal, died of a disease . . . . . So Xerxes, considering his loss a great misfortune, caused his body to be carried forth and buried with great ceremony. The whole army was engaged in the task of raising the funeral mound.

*ib.* 180 (C. 14) : The barbarians, following up, straightway captured the ship from Trœzen, which was under the command of Prexinus. They then led the handsomest of its marines up to the prow of the ship, and there slew him.

*ib.* 191 (C. 14-15) : The storm . . . . . lasted three days. The Magians by performing sacrifices and shrieking incantations at the wind, and also by making offerings to Thetis and the Nereids at last brought the storm to an end on the fourth day ; or else in some way it abated of its own accord.

*ib.* 194 (C. 15): When.....he (Sandoces) was already hanging, Darius, on consideration, decided that he had done more good than harm to the royal house. Having come to this decision, and having realised that he had acted with more haste than judgment, he set the man free.

*ib.* VIII, 24 (C. 15): Xerxes, when he had completed his preparations for the disposal of the dead, sent a herald to the fleet. His preparations were as follows: he left where they lay about a thousand out of the twenty thousand of his troops who had fallen at Thermopylae; the rest he buried in trenches dug for the purpose, covering the bodies with leaves and heaping up earth over them, so that the sailors should not see them.

*ib.* 54 (C. 15): Having.....completed the capture of Athens, Xerxes.....called together the Athenian exiles who were with his army, and told them to go up to the Acropolis and perform the sacrifices in their own way. He gave this order either because of some vision seen in a dream, or because he felt a scruple about having burned the temple. The Athenian exiles did as they were bidden. I shall now explain why I have mentioned this incident.

*ib.* 55 (C. 15): There is on this Acropolis a temple of Erechtheus, the so-called earth-born. In the temple there is an olive-tree and a well of salt water, which the Athenians say were placed there by Athene and Poseidon as evidence of their contest for the possession of the country. It happened then that this olive-tree was burned by the barbarians along with the rest of the temple. On the day after the conflagration the Athenians who were under orders from the king to make sacrifice went up to the temple. There they saw that a shoot had sprung out of the stump, to the length of a cubit. They then made this report.

*ib.* 99 (C. 15): The first report that reached Susa, telling that Xerxes was in possession of Athens, caused such rejoicings among the Persians who had been left behind, that they strewed all the roads with myrtle and burned incense and busied themselves with religious offices and with joyful celebrations. But the second report, when it reached them, caused such dismay that they all rent their garments and gave themselves up to shouting and lamentations without ceasing, putting the blame upon Mardonius.

*ib.* 109 (C. 16): (Themistocles): 'It is not we....who have done these things but the gods and heroes, who grudged a single



man the empire over both Europe and Asia, a man, moreover, who was both impious and arrogant. For he molested sacred and secular things without distinction, burning and throwing down the statues of the gods ; and even scourged the sea and cast fetters into its waters.'

*ib.* 115 (C. 16): In Macedonia.....he (Xerxes) had also left the sacred chariot of Zeus, when he advanced against Greece ; and on his departure he did not take it with him.

*ib.* IX, 24 (C. 16): When.....the cavalry arrived in the camp, the whole army and Mardonius, above all, mourned the loss of Masistius. They cut off their hair and that of their chargers and baggage-animals, and lamented without ceasing.

*ib.* 110 (C. 16): On the king's birthday.....alone does the king wash his head ; and he gives presents to the Persians.

#### CTESIAS.

(wrote after 397 B. C.)

See under Athenæus, Tertullian, Photius and Eustathius.

#### AGATHOCLES.

(wrote in the same period as Ctesias).

See under Athenæus.

#### XENOPHON.

(Lived about 430-354 B.C.)

Oeconomicus (ed. Thalheim) IV, 24 (C. 16) : (Cyrus) : ' You are surprised at this, Lysander ? I swear to you by Mithras, that, when I am in good health, I never dine before I have sweated at the performance of some military or agricultural labour, or always at least in the practice of some honourable pursuit.'

Expediitio Cyri (Anabasis) (ed. Gemoll) IV, 5, 35 (C. 16) : And on this occasion Xenophon took him (sc. the head man of the village) to his own slaves, and gave him the horse which he had taken some time before to be looked after and reserved for sacrifice ; for he learned that the animal was sacred to the sun, and feared that it might die, since it had suffered much as a result of the journey. But he took some of the foals, and gave one of them to each of the company-commanders.

*Institutio Cyri* (Cyropædeia) (ed. Gemoll) I, 2, 16 (C. 16—17) : And even now there remains evidence both of the moderation of their (sc. the Persians') way of life and of the care with which it was elaborated. For to this day the Persians think it disgraceful to be seen to spit or to wipe the nose or to suffer from flatulency, as also to go anywhere openly in order to relieve themselves or for any similar purpose. This could not be the case, unless they observed in addition temperate habits and worked off the moisture by hard work, so that it found some other outlet.

*ib.* 4, 27 f : (C. 17) : It is said that when Cyrus departed and they were taking leave of each other, his relations saw him off in the Persian way, by kissing him on the lips. This is still the custom in Persia. It is added that a certain Mede, a man of the highest character and upbringing, who had for a long time been a great admirer of Cyrus' beauty, saw his relations kissing him, and kept in the background the while. But when the others had departed he approached Cyrus and said : "Am I the only one of your relations, Cyrus, whom you do not recognise?" "What," replied Cyrus, "are you also related to me?" "Most certainly," he said. "This then," remarked Cyrus, "was the reason why you used to stare at me. For I think I often notice you doing this." "Yes," answered the Mede, "for though I have always wanted to approach you, by heaven, I have been ashamed to do so." "That was unnecessary," said Cyrus, "considering that you are my kinsman"; and with these words he went up to him and kissed him. 28. And the Mede, after the kiss asked, "Is this kissing of relations the custom of the Persians also?" "Certainly," he said, "whenever at least they see each other after a long separation, or when they are leaving each other and going anywhere." "It must be quite time," returned the Mede, "for you to kiss me again; for I am departing directly, as you see." So Cyrus kissed him again and saw him off and then departed himself. They had covered no great distance when the Mede rode up again with his horse covered with sweat. Cyrus, when he saw him, said "Why, did you forget something you intended to say?" "No," he replied, "but it is a long time since I last came." And Cyrus said "No, kinsman; quite a short time." "How, short?" said the Mede, "do you not know that even the time when I am blinking seems very long to me, as it prevents me from beholding your beauty." At this Cyrus, who had been weeping, broke into a laugh and told him to depart and be happy, for he would before long be back with them, and then he would be able to behold him, if he wished, without blinking.

*ib.* 6, 1 (C. 17-18): Cyrus.....when he returned home, prayed to the paternal Hearth and to Zeus, the god of his fathers, and to the other gods. He then started out upon his expedition, and his father was among those who saw him off. It is said that when they left the house auspicious omens of thunder and lightning were vouchsafed to him. After the appearance of these signs they set out without seeking any other omens from the flight of birds, feeling that no one had ever failed to recognise the signs sent by the greatest of the gods.

*ib.* 6, 33 (C. 18): In consequence.....of these events, it was ordained—and we observe the rule to this day—that we should wholeheartedly teach our children to speak the truth—just as we train our slaves to do this in their dealings with ourselves—and to be free from deceit and greediness; and that we should punish them, if they acted otherwise; to the end that, trained in these habits, they might grow up to be more well-behaved citizens.

*ib.* II, 1, 1 (C. 18): When an eagle appeared on their (sc. Cyrus' and his father's) right and led the way for them, they prayed to the gods and heroes that possess the land of Persia to send them on their way with their favour and goodwill; and then they crossed the frontier. When they had crossed it, they prayed in turn to the gods who possess the land of Media, that with favour and goodwill they would welcome them.

*ib.* 3, 1 (C. 18): (Cyrus and such guests as from time to time he invited to dinner), after pouring the third libation and praying to the gods, would rise from the banquet and depart to their beds.

*ib.* III, 3, 21 f. (C. 18): Cyrus.....sacrificed first to Zeus the king and next to the other gods, and besought them with kindly favour to go before his army, and to defend and assist and advise it for good. 22. In addition he called upon the heroes who dwelt in and protected the Median land. And when his sacrifice gave good omens and his army had assembled at the frontier, then, having received favourable auguries, he advanced into the enemy's country. As soon as he had passed the frontier, he offered libations to Earth and propitiated with sacrifices the gods and heroes who dwelt in Assyria. Having done these things he again sacrificed to Zeus, the god of his fathers, nor did he neglect the other gods of whom men reminded him.

*ib.* IV, 5, 14 (C. 18): When dawn.....was beginning to break, Cyrus first summoned the Magians and instructed them, in consideration of this great victory, to separate out of the spoil the portion that custom reserved for the gods.

*ib.* V, 2, 17 (C. 19): No Persian who has received the proper education would ever allow his eagerness for food or drink to become conspicuous. He would neither gaze at it nor snatch at it, and would not even think about it to an extent which would interfere with his attention to things which would interest him when not occupied with eating. The confidence begotten by good riding enables men while on horseback to see and hear and talk as may be necessary; and in the same way the Persians consider it their duty to observe moderate and reasonable habits as well at the table as away from it. Any excitement induced by eating or drinking they regard as bestial in the last degree.

*ib.* VII, 1, 1 (C. 19): Cyrus.....having besought Zeus, the god of his fathers, to be his guide and ally, mounted his horse.

*ib.* 1, 3 (C. 19): When (Cyrus).....halted and was looking in the direction which he intended to take, thunder was heard on the right. And Cyrus said: 'O great Zeus, we shall follow thee.'

*ib.* 1, 4 (C. 19): (Cyrus) gave the word.....to look at the standard and follow at equal distances. His standard was a golden eagle, with wings outstretched, mounted upon a long pole. Moreover the Persian kings retain this standard to this day.

*ib.* 3, 5 (C. 19): It is said that his (Abradates') eunuchs and servants are digging a grave for the dead man upon a hill.

*ib.* 14 (C. 19): His wife.....instructed the nurse to envelop her husband and herself, when she died, in the same shroud.

*ib.* 5, 22 (C. 19): (Cyrus): 'We have the god Hephæstus for our ally.'

*ib.* 53 (C. 19): (Artabazus): 'By Mithras, if I had not fought with many men, I would have been unable yesterday to come to you.'

*ib.* 57 (C. 19): When.....Cyrus entered, he first sacrificed to the Hearth, next to Zeus the king, and then to certain other gods, as the Magians directed.

*ib.* VIII, 1, 23f. (C. 19-20): There was inaugurated the Magians' practice of chanting hymns to the gods at dawn every day and of offering sacrifice every day to such gods as the Magians enjoined. In consequence the practice started on that occasion is still observed at the palace of the reigning king.

*ib.* 42 (C. 20): (Cyrus) interested himself in the enforcement of the rule against spitting or blowing the nose in public.

*ib.* 3, 11f. (C. 20): When.....the gates of the palace were thrown open, there were first led out splendid bulls to the number of four, which were to be offered to Zeus and such of the other gods as the Magians directed. For the Persians consider the employment of professionals far more important in matters of religion than in any other sphere. 12. After the bulls, were led out some horses, to be sacrificed to the sun. After these came a white chariot with a yoke of gold. It was sacred to Zeus, and was wreathed with garlands. After this, a white chariot, sacred to the sun, and, like the one in front, covered with garlands. Behind this followed a third chariot, the horses of which were caparisoned in purple. Behind it followed men carrying a fire in a large brazier.

*ib.* 24 (C. 20): When.....they reached the sacred precincts, they offered sacrifice to Zeus and made a holocaust of the bulls. Next they made a holocaust also of the horses, as an offering to the sun. Then they sacrificed to Earth, slaughtering the animals as the Magians directed; and lastly to the heroes who possess the Syrian land.

*ib.* 4, 12 (C. 20): In answer Hystaspes said: 'By Hera, O Cyrus, it pleases me to have asked you this question.'

*ib.* 7, 3 (C. 20): (Cyrus) straightway.....procured victims and sacrificed to Zeus, the god of his fathers, and to the sun and to the other gods, performing the office, as the Persians do, in lofty places, and praying: "O Zeus, god of my fathers, and sun, and all ye gods, accept these victims as a thank-offering for my many successes and for the bodies of the victims, the heavenly signs, the flight of the birds, and the prophetic voices, whereby ye made clear unto me that which I ought to do and that which I ought not to do."

*ib.* 17f. (C. 20-21): (Cyrus): "I charge you, my children, by the gods of our fathers, to honour one another, if in aught you are to please me. For of a truth you do not seem to realise that when my mortal life is finished, I shall exist no more at all."

For never even in life did you see my soul, but by its actions you detected its existence. 18. Have you not yet observed what fears the souls of those who have suffered wrong visit upon the guilty, and what avengers they let loose upon the impious? Do you think that the dead would still receive marks of respect if their souls had no power for aught? 19. For myself, my children, I never believed that the soul lives while it dwells in a mortal body and dies when it departs from it; since I observe that the soul gives life to these same mortal bodies during such time as it dwells in them. 20. Nor am I persuaded that the soul will be without understanding when it is separated from the body that has no understanding. Rather is it probable that the intelligence, when untempered and free, is more full of understanding than ever before. When a man dies every part of him may be seen to depart unto its like, save only his soul, which no man can see either abiding with him or departing from him. 21. Now realise," he said, "that of all things that happen to mankind, sleep is that which most closely resembles death. In sleep the soul of man is felt to be most divine and in sleep, in some degree, it foresees the future. For then, it seems, is it most free. 22. Now if these things are as I think, and the soul departs from the body, do you show reverence to my soul and do the things that I ask you to do; but if otherwise, that is to say, if the soul remains in the body and dies with it, do you avoid all acts and intentions that are impious and unholy, abiding in fear of the eternal gods who are all-powerful and all-seeing, who uphold this order of the universe in its unimpaired and unaging perfection, which for its beauty and grandeur no man can describe."

*ib.* 25 (C. 21): "My . . . . body, children, when I die, entomb neither in gold nor in silver nor in aught else of the kind, but with all speed restore it to the earth. For what greater happiness can there be than to be thus mingled with the earth that bears and gives nurture to all that is beautiful and good? In my lifetime I have loved my fellow man; and now, methinks, would I rejoice to become part of the benefactor of mankind."

*ib.* 8, 8 (C. 21): They had a rule . . . . against spitting or blowing the nose. Clearly, they did not adopt it as a means of preserving the moisture that is in the body; they wished rather to strengthen their bodies by means of labour and the sweat which comes of it. Their habit of refraining from spitting or blowing the nose still remains, but that of devoting themselves to hard work is now nowhere practised.

*ib.* 11 (C. 22): It was also their custom, when on a journey to abstain from eating and drinking and from the open perfor-

mance of any of the necessary actions that result from these. The custom is still observed, but the journeys they make to-day are so short that it is no cause for surprise that they should refrain from such actions.

Agesilaus (ed. Thalheim) 5, 4 (C. 22): All would agree that it is human to abstain from that which one does not desire. But was it not an almost superhuman exercise of temperance on the part of Agesilaus, that when Megabates, the son of Spithridates, attempted, according to the Persian custom of kissing those for whom they feel respect, to kiss him, he strove with all his might to repel the kiss, and that though he loved Megabates with all the intensity of affection which a passionate nature can feel for a beautiful object?

HERMODORUS.

(a disciple of Plato)

See under: Diogenes of Laerte.

PLATO (PSEUDO-PLATO).

(written after 374 B. C.)

Alcibiades I (ed. Burnet). 121f. (G. 231: C. 22.): When the boys reach the age of seven years they begin to associate with horses and horse-trainers and to go hunting. But when they have become twice seven they are taken in charge by officials known among the Persians as royal tutors, four men in the prime of life who have been selected because they have been judged to be the most excellent of the Persians, that is, the wisest men, the most just men, the most temperate men and the bravest men. The first of these gives instruction in the magic doctrine of Zoroaster, the prophet of Horomazus (to wit, the worship of the gods) as well as in the duties of princes; the most just man teaches the boys to be truthful throughout life, etc.

Anonymous Life of Plato (ed. Westermann, Paris, 1862), p. 7 (G. 231): (Plato) having ascertained that the Pythagoreans derived the principles of their doctrine from Egypt, went there, and after a thorough training in geometry and priestcraft departed. Going then to Phœnicia he there fell in with some Persians and among them learned the doctrine of Zoroaster.

Axiochus (ed. Burne.) p. 371f.: (Socrates): Listen, also, if you will, to an alternative account, which was given to me by Gobryas, a Magian. He said that, at the period of Xerxes' expedition, his grandfather, who bore the same name, was sent to Delos to keep inviolate the Island in which the two deities were born; and that he there learned, from certain tablets of

bronze, which Opis and the Fardarter\* had brought from the Hyperboreans, that after the dissolution of the body the soul goes to the obscure region near the subterranean dwelling which includes a palace of Pluto not inferior to the court of Zeus. This view is based on the theory that the earth occupies the central point of the universe, and that the firmament is spherical in shape, the celestial gods having obtained one hemisphere as their portion, and the chthonic gods the other, the former being brothers, the latter cousins..

The gateway on the road leading to Pluto's palace is fortified with iron bolts and bars. A man who has opened these is faced by a river, Acheron, and after it by another, Cocytus; these he must cross and then be led to Minos and Rhadamanthus in a plain which is called the plain of truth. They sit there as judges and ask every newcomer what life he has lived and what habits have become ingrained in his body. And it is impossible to give a false reply.

All who in life were inspired by a good dæmon are settled in the region of the pious, where the seasons teem with growing crops of all kinds, and springs of pure water flow, where are great tracts of meadows in the full spring-bloom of variegated flowers, where philosophers discuss and where poets perform their plays, where the chorus dances round the altar and music holds her festivals. Here they sing as they quaff their cups, and feast on repasts self-furnished; here is pleasure undefiled and life is sweet. No severity of heat or cold comes thither; but a temperate atmosphere is shed abroad, mingled with soft beams of sunlight. In this realm a certain precedence is accorded to the initiated; and they perform there their sacred rites. Surely then you being a parent of the gods are first in this honour. And legend says that Heracles and Dionysus and their companions had been initiated on earth for their journey down to Hades and that it was Eleusis which stirred their courage to undertake it.

On the other hand all whose lief was passed in wickedness are led by the Erinyes through Tartarus to darkness and chaos, where are the region of the impious, the futile pitchers of the Danaides, thirsty Tantalus, the vitals of Tityus, which are being eternally eaten and eternally renewed, and the stone fore ver rolled by Sisyphus that reaches its goal only to renew his labours. There, licked by beasts and perpetually burned by the torches of the goddesses of Vengeance and suffering every indignity, they are consumed by everlasting punishments. This then is the account I heard from Gobrayas.

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\* Reading 'Εμάεργος.



## EUDOXUS.

(flourished about 368/5 B. C.)

See under Pliny and Diogenes of Lærtæ.

## HERACLIDES OF CUMÆ.

(flourished about 340 B. C.)

Quoted in Athenæus. *Dipnosophists* (ed. Kaibel) XII, 8, 514 (C. 23): According to the account given by Heraclides of Cumæ in the first book of his *Persian History*....., the king (of Persia)\* through the court of the Apple-Bearers. These were a division of the royal body guard, the end of whose spears was ornamented with golden apples. The Apple-Bearers were all native Persians, and were a thousand in number, being selected according to merit from the ten thousand Persians who bore the title of 'Immortals.' The king walked through this court upon five smooth carpets from Sardis, which were never trodden by any one but himself. When he reached the end of the court, he would ascend his chariot, or, sometimes, mount a horse. For the king was never seen on foot outside the palace.

*ib.* IV, 25, 145 (C. 23): Heraclides of Cumæ, the historian of Persia, relates, in the second volume of the work entitled 'Preparations,' that.....of the king's guests some dine outside the royal apartments, and are visible to any onlooker. The others dine inside with the king. And yet even these do not dine at the same table with him. There are, in fact, two halls, leading the one out of the other; and the king dines in one of these and his guests in the other. The king can see the guests through the curtain which falls across the doorway, but he is invisible to them. It sometimes happens, however, on the occasion of a feast, that they all dine together, the king included, in a single hall, to wit, the great hall. When the king drinks, as he does often, he has about a dozen companions. And on the occasion of a dinner, the king being by himself and the guests apart, these companions of the wine-cup are summoned by one of the Eunuchs. When they enter the royal dining-room, they drink with the king, but they do not take the same wine, and while the king reclines on a couch with golden legs, his companions sit on the floor. When they have become thoroughly intoxicated, they depart. For the most part, however, the king both breakfasts and dines alone; though sometimes his queen and some of his sons take these meals with him.

See also under Plutarch.

\* MS. defective.

## DINO.

(wrote after 340 B.C.)

Quoted by Athenæus, *Dipnosophists* (ed. Kaibel) XIV, 33, 633 (C. 24): This..... custom was preserved also among the barbarians, according to Dino in his *History of Persia*. For example, the minstrels with their incantations predicted the bravery of Cyrus the first and the war with Astyages. For Dino says: "When Cyrus asked permission to go to Persia.... and departed (.....\*) And so, while Astyages was feasting with his friends, a man named Angares, the most renowned of the minstrels, was summoned. He sang the usual ballads and when he had finished said that a great beast fiercer than a wild boar had been let loose in the marsh; and that if it became master of its neighbourhood, it would before long be more than a match for many enemies. When Astyages asked "What kind of beast?" he said "Cyrus the Persian." Astyages, therefore, realising the shrewdness of this guess, and being summoned.....(\*) did not assist him.

*ib.* 67, 652 (C. 24): Dino says in his *History of Persia*: 'At the king's table were served the first fruits of all the foods produced in the Persian Empire. Xerxes held that the kings of Persia should abjure any food or drink that came from foreign lands. And this, in consequence, later became the custom.'

See also under Cicero, Plutarch, Clement of Alexandria, Diogenes of Lærtē, and the scholia on the *Theriaca* of Nicander.

## ARISTOTLE.

(lived 384-322)

*Metaphysics* (ed. Christ) XIV, 4, 1091b. (C. 24): Pherecydes and others regard the first source of creation as the highest principle. They are followed by the Magians and also by some later philosophers, such as Empedocles and Anaxagoras, who ascribed to love and to mind, respectively, the original creative impulse.

*Nichomachean Ethics* (rec. Susemihl, Apelt.) V, 10 (7, 2) 1134b (C. 24): Fire burns both here and among the Persians.

*ib.* IX, 12 (10, 4) 1160b (C. 24): In Persia the authority of the father is that of a despot; for fathers treat their sons as slaves.

See also under Pliny and Diogenes of Lærtē.

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\* MS. defective.

## THEOPOMPUS.

(born 376 B.C.)

Quoted by Athenæus, *Dipnosophists* (ed. Kaibel) VI, 60. 252 (C. 25): Theopompus.....in the eighteenth book of his History says of Nicostratus of Argos that he flattered the King of Persia, and adds: 'We cannot avoid forming a poor opinion of Nicostratus of Argos, who, in spite of having become the leader of the Argive democracy, and notwithstanding his noble birth and the wealth and other abundant resources which he had inherited from his ancestors, outdid in flattery and self-abasement all who took part not only in that expedition, but in all previous expeditionary forces as well. In the first place he was so eager to be held in honour by the barbarians that he took his son to the Persian court, in the attempt thereby to increase the favour and confidence which he enjoyed. An examination of the records will show no other man has ever done this. Further, every day, when about to dine, he had another table arranged apart and loaded with food and all kinds of provisions, for the service, as he said, of the divine spirit of the king. He heard that this was the practice also of Persian courtiers, and he hoped as a result of this flattery to receive the richer presents from the king. For his desire to enrich himself knew no distinction of methods and in order to gain money he sacrificed his dignity to an extent which has probably never been equalled.'

See also under Plutarch, Diogenes of Lærtæ, Athenæus, and Aeneas of Gaza.

## CHARES OF MYTILENE.

(was a companion of Alexander)

Quoted by Athenæus, *Dipnosophists* (ed. Kaibel) XIII, 35. 575 (C. 25): Charles of Mytilene writes.....as follows in the tenth book of his History of Alexander's Exploits: 'Zariades was the younger brother of Hystaspes. The natives say that they were the children of Aphrodite and Adonis. Hystaspes became ruler of Media and the lower country, Zariades of the country north of the Caspian Gates as far as the Tanais, etc.'

## ARISTOXENUS.

(a disciple of Aristotle)

See under Hippolytus.

## PHANIAS.

(a disciple of Aristotle)

See under Pseudo-Plutarch.

## EUEMUS OF RHODES.

(was at Athens before 306 B.C.)

See under Diogenes of Lærtæ and Damascius.

## DURIS.

(wrote after 281 B. C.)

Quoted by Athenæus, *Dipnosophists* (ed. Kaibel): X. 45. 434 (C. 26): Duris, in the seventh book of his History, writes as follows concerning him (*i.e.*, the King of Persia): "At the festival of Mithras alone of all the festivals celebrated by the Persians, the king gets drunk and the Persians dance. None of the other Asiatic peoples do so, however; all abstain from dancing on this day. The explanation is that the Persians learn to dance just as they learn to ride, and they consider the movements practised in that exercise to constitute a training conducive in some degree to bodily strength."

See also under Eustathius.

## HECATÆUS OF TEOS.

(lived at the beginning of the age of the Ptolemies)

See under Diogenes of Lærtæ.

## PHŒNIX.

(wrote 292 - 289 B.C.)

Quoted by Athenæus, *Dipnosophists* (ed. Kaibel) XII, 40. 530 (C. 26): The poet Phœnix of Colophon says of Ninus in the first book of his Iambics: 'There was, I hear, a certain Ninus, an Assyrian, whose wealth would have filled the sea.... He did not kindle the sacred flame with the Magians, as the custom is, by touching the god with a wand.'

## EVANDER.

(lived near the end of the third cent. B.C.)

See under Zenobius.

## HERMIPPUS.

(wrote about 200 B.C.)

See under Pliny and Diogenes of Lærtē.

## SOTIO.

(wrote about 200-150 B.C.)

See under Diogenes of Lærtē.

## AGATHARCIDAS.

(wrote about 130 B.C.)

See under Pseudo-Plutarch.

## POLYBIUS.

(lived about 201-120 B.C.)

History (ed. Buettner-Wolst) X, 27, 12 (C. 27): When Antiochus was (at Ecbatana) the pillars surrounding the temple of Fame, as it was called, were still gilded, while tiles of silver had been arranged in larger numbers upon the roof, and a few golden bricks, and still more silver bricks, were still in position.

## CORNELIUS ALEXANDER POLYHISTOR.

(lived about first century B. C.)

In Clement of Alexandria, *Stromata*, I, 15 and Cyril of Alexandria, *Against Julian*, IV, p. 133 (G. 233-234): Alexander in his treatise on Pythagorean symbols relates that Pythagoras studied under Nazaratius the Assyrian (certain authorities hold that this man was Ezekiel, but one cannot prove it now), and is ready to believe that he received instruction from Galatians (Gauls) and Brahmans as well.

Alexander, surnamed Polyhistor, in his treatise on Pythagorean symbols relates that Pythagoras was a disciple of Zaras who was an Assyrian by nationality.

See under Diogenes of Lærtē, Cyril of Alexandria, and Georgius Syncellus.

## CATULLUS.

(lived 84 - 54 B. C.)

Poems (ed. B. Schmidt) 90 (C. 27): Let there be born a Magian, issue of the unholy union of Gellius and his mother, and let him learn the ways of Persian augury. For if the impious religion of Persia is true, it is fitting that the Magian be born of mother and son, to the end that he may adore the gods with acceptable hymns and melt the rich fat in the flame, and so find favour in their sight.

## DIODORUS SICULUS.

(wrote 60 - 30 B.C.)

Historical Library (ed. Vogel) 1, 44, 3 (C. 27): (Some..... tell the tale) that the Persians, after their King Cambyses subdued the Egyptians, ruled that people for a hundred and thirty-five years. This period includes the times when the Egyptians were in revolt, to which they were driven by the brutality of Persian rule and the insults that were offered to their national gods.

*ib.* 46, 4 (C. 28): It is recorded.....that the gold and silver and the costly works in wood and ivory were pillaged by the Persians at the time that Cambyses burned the Egyptian temples.

*ib.* 94, 2 (G. 232; C. 28): Tradition says that this kind of device existed among several other nations also and was responsible for many benefits enjoyed by those who believed in it. It is said that among the Arians, for example, Zathraustes claimed he had received the laws from the Good Dæmon; that among the people who are known as Getæ and who believe in immortality, Zalmoxis maintained in like manner that the laws had been given him by the goddess of the public hearth, etc.

*ib.* 95, 4f. (C. 28): It is said that Darius, the father of Xerxes, was the sixth to interest himself in the laws of the Egyptians. He had conceived an aversion to the lawless methods of Cambyses, his predecessor on the throne, in dealing with the temples of the country, and desired to live a just and pious life. 5. He associated with the Egyptian priests and learned something of their theology and the contents of their sacred books.....For this reason he was held in such honour that the Egyptians addressed him as a god during his lifetime, a mark of respect accorded to no other monarch. After his death he received honours equal to those given to the kings of old time whose rule in Egypt had been most just.

*ib.* II, 6, 1-2 (G. 232-233): So Ninus although he had set out against Bactriana in such strength was compelled by reason of the ruggedness of the district and the narrowness of the passes to lead his forces through by divisions. Now Bactriana while possessing many large cities had one that was especially famous and in which the royal palace was situated; this was called Bactra and far surpassed all the others in size and in the strength of its citadel. During his reign Oxyartes\* had conscripted all the men of military age, thus mobilizing a force of four hundred thousand. Taking this army, then, and advancing to meet the enemy near the passes, he permitted only a part of Ninus's forces to emerge, and, when it seemed to him that enough of the foe had come out into the open country, he drew up his own force in battle formation.

After a hard struggle the Bactrians routed the Assyrians and pursued them as far as the mountains that lay close behind, killing one hundred thousand foemen. Subsequently, however, when the whole invading force came out of the pass, the Bactrians were overpowered by sheer numbers and retreated to their respective cities, each contingent purposing to defend its own homeland.

Now Ninus easily subjugated all the other cities, but because of its great strength and its preparations for defence was unable to take Bactra by storm. The siege being long protracted the husband of Semiramis was taken with a passionate desire for his wife, and, though campaigning with the king, sent for her to come to him. Richly endowed as she was with intelligence, courage and all the other qualities that make for distinction, she seized the opportunity to display her own superior powers. So first of all, since she was about to undertake a journey of many days, she took the trouble of making herself a robe through which it was impossible for one to recognize the wearer as a man or a woman. This garment being easily adjusted and youthful in style was useful to her in protecting her complexion as she journeyed amid the heat as well as in permitting her to do freely whatever she wished to do. Altogether so charming was it that, later on, the Medes, when they had become rulers of Asia, and, after them the Persians also, wore robes modelled after the robe of Semiramis.

Coming to Bactriana and observing the conditions of the siege, Semiramis perceived that attacks were being made on the level

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\* The manuscripts are not in agreement as to this name; it is doubtful if it refers to Zoroaster.

ground and in areas where approach was easy, but that no one was assailing the citadel because of its great strength; she saw, too, that the occupants of the citadel had deserted their posts there and had gone to the assistance of the men defending the walls below. Accordingly, she chose those of the soldiers who were used to scaling rocky heights, and by ascending the eminence by way of a difficult defile, she seized a part of the stronghold and signaled the news to those who were besieging the wall on the level ground beneath them. The defenders, terrified at the capture of the height, left the walls and gave up all hope of successful resistance.

*ib.* V, 63, 1f. (C. 28): In.....later times the cult of Hemithea increased to such an extent that.....the Persians, though they were rulers of Asia and were in the habit of pillaging all the temples of Greece, made a single exception in favour of the temple of this goddess.....It is related that the greatly increased popularity of this cult was due to her general beneficence to mankind: she appeared in person to the sick when they were sleeping and tended them; while many, who were in the grip of diseases from which recovery was despaired of, were restored to health; in addition she rescued from the suffering and danger of travail those women for whom childbirth was a special trial.

*ib.* 77, 3f. (C. 28-9): Now the Cretans tell the following tales concerning the gods who are said to have been born on the island.....: 6. They say that Apollo for a very long time appeared at Delos and in Lycia and at Delphi, and Artemis in Ephesus and the Pontus, and also in Persia and Crete. 7. And for this reason the former bears the titles of Delian and Lycian and Pythian, derived either from the places themselves or from actions performed at each; and similarly Artemis is called Ephesian and Cretan, and in addition Tauropolan and Persian, and this in spite of the fact that both deities were born in Crete. 8. This goddess is held in especial honour among the Persians also. The barbarians worship her with mystic rites, which are performed in other countries to this day in honour of Persian Artemis.

*ib.* (ed. Dindorf) XVII. 114 (C. 29): Alexander gave orders that all the inhabitants of Asia should carefully extinguish the fire that the Persians call sacred, until he had completed the obsequies (sc. of Hephæstion). This used to be the custom of the Persians on the occasion of the death of their kings.



## CICERO.

(wrote his philosophical works 54-44 B. C.)

*De Republica* (ed. Mueller) III, 9, 14 (C. 29): Anyone who could "ride in the chariot drawn by winged serpents", of which *Pacuvius* speaks, and from it look down upon and survey many different peoples and cities, would see in Greece....., as among ourselves, magnificent temples which have been dedicated to images of the gods in human shape, images which the Persians thought irreligious. This is said to have been the only reason for Xerxes' order that the temples of Athens should be consigned to the flames; he considered it wrong to keep shut up within walls the gods whose dwelling-place was this whole world.

*De Legibus* (ed. Mueller) II, 10, 26 (C. 29): I consider that there should be temples in cities, and do not agree with the Persian Magians, who are said to have prompted Xerxes to burn the temples of Greece on the ground that they shut up within walls the gods, to whom everything should be open and free, and whose temple and home was the whole world that we know.

*De Natura Deorum* (ed. Plasberg) I, 41, 115 (C. 29): 'Epicurus wrote also books on holiness and piety in relation to the gods. But what is his attitude in these works: such that you would think you were listening to chief pontiffs like Tiberius Coruncanius or Publius Scaevola, instead of to the man who thoroughly undermined religion and overturned the temples and altars of the immortal gods not with his hands, as Xerxes did, but with his philosophy.

*Disputationes Tusculanæ* (ed. Pohlenz) I, 45, 108 (C. 29-30): The Egyptians embalm their dead and keep them in their homes; the Persians, in addition to embalming them, cover them with wax, with the object of preserving their bodies as long as possible. It is the custom of the Magians not to bury the bodies of their dead until they have been first mangled by wild beasts.

*De Divinatione* (ed. Mueller) I, 23, 46 (C. 30): Why should I repeat from Dino's Persian History the explanation of a dream which the Magians gave to the famous ruler Cyrus? He says that Cyrus, when asleep, saw the sun at his feet, and three times tried to reach it with his hands, but without success, since the sun glided away and escaped; and the Magians told him that his

three-times repeated attempt to reach the sun portended that he would reign for thirty years. And so it happened: for he lived to his seventieth year, after having ascended the throne at the age of forty.

*ib.* 41, 90f. (C. 30): That method of divination is practised also by foreign peoples; for even.....in Persia the Magians, who assemble in a temple for meditation and discussion, practise augury and divination.....Nor can any man ascend the throne of Persia, unless he has first studied the teaching and the doctrines of the Magians.

#### NIGIDIUS FIGULUS.

(died 45 B. C.)

De Diis (quoted by Servius Danielis on Vergil's *Bucolics* IV, 10) IV (ed. Swoboda) (C. 30): The Magians predict the reign of Apollo, by which we must consider whether they do not mean heat, or a general conflagration, as it should perhaps rather be called.

#### NICOLAUS OF DAMASCUS.

(lived about 64 - 4 B. C.)

Essay on Virtues and Vices (ed. Buettner-Wolst) 28 (67) (C. 30): Cyrus the king of Persia had an especially thorough grasp of philosophy, having received instruction in their doctrines from the Magians. He had been taught to observe truth and justice in accordance with certain ancestral customs which obtain among the Persian nobility. It was Cyrus, moreover, who sent for the Sybil from Ephesus, the prophetess who was called Herophile.

*ib.* 29 (68) (C 30-31): After Crœsus had prayed a dark mass of clouds suddenly gathered from all quarters, and thunder and lightning occurred continuously. In addition, so great a fall of rain burst upon them, that not only were the flames of the pyre extinguished, but the men could scarcely endure it. However, they quickly spread a purple coverlet over Crœsus. But in the confusion caused as well by the darkness and the storm as by the lightning, and when they were trampled upon by the horses, which were maddened by the roar of the tempest, they conceived superstitious fears and bethought themselves of the responses of the Sibyl and the oracles of Zoroaster..... In the case of Zoroaster at least, the Persians, in consequence

of this incident, interpreted him to forbid the cremation of the dead and the pollution of fire in any other manner, and on this occasion ratified this custom, which had already prevailed over a long period.

Customs of Different Peoples (quoted by Stobaeus, *Anthology* (ed. Hense) IV, 2, 25) (C. 31): The Persians do not speak of any act which they are forbidden to do. If a man kills his father, they consider him to have been a supposititious child . . . . . They receive rewards from the king for having large families. In their country children learn truth-telling as a subject of study.

STRABO.

(lived 63 B. C.-19 A. D.)

Geography (rec. Meineke) XI, 8, 4, 512 (C. 31): The Persian generals who were in this region at that time made a night attack upon them (sc. the Sacæ) while they were celebrating a feast with the booty, and utterly annihilated them. And in the plain they piled earth upon a certain rock so as to give it the shape of a mound, and thereon built a wall and founded sanctuaries of Anaitis and of the gods, Omanes and Anadates, dæmons of the Persians, who were worshipped at the same altar. Here they instituted a yearly religious festival, called the Sacæa, which is still kept up by the inhabitants of Zela. For this is the name of the place, which is for the most part a city of temple-servitors. Pompey added to it a considerable tract of land, the inhabitants of which he brought within the wall, thus constituting one of the cities which he founded after the defeat of Mithridates.

*ib.* 5, 512 (C. 31-32): Such is the account of the Sacæ given by some of the authorities. Others write as follows: Cyrus made an expedition against the Sacæ and was defeated in battle. In his flight from the field he encamped at the place where he had left his supplies, which included immense stocks of all kinds, and particularly of wine. Here he gave his army a short rest, after which he proceeded on his way in the evening, leaving the tents full, as though to indicate a rout. When he had covered what seemed a sufficient distance he encamped. The Sacæ, in full pursuit, came to his former camp, and finding it empty of men, but full of all the requisites for enjoyment, indulged themselves without restraint. Cyrus, returning on his tracks, caught them when they were already mad with drink. Some were slaughtered as they lay asleep in drunken stupor on the

ground. Others, who were dancing and revelling, offered a naked target to their enemy's weapons. They were destroyed almost to a man. Cyrus, regarding this success as a gift of heaven, dedicated the day to the national goddess under the name of Sacæa. The festival of the Sacæa is observed wherever there is a sanctuary of this goddess. It is a revel which lasts all day and continues through the night. The votaries are dressed in the Scythian fashion and while in their cups dally with each other and with the women who are drinking with them.

*ib.* 11, 3, 517 (C. 32): No very favourable account of this people (sc. the Bactrians) is given by the followers of Onesicritus: They fling to the dogs all who are worn out with age or disease, and these animals, which in the native tongue are called 'buriers,' are kept for this very purpose. Further, the environs of the metropolis of Bactria are well-kept and clean, while most of the city itself is littered with human bones. Alexander put an end to this practice. Much the same is their account of the Caspians, who shut up their parents and starved them to death, when they had reached the age of seventy years. This, though a practice worthy of Scythians, is similar to the custom of the Ceans, and less objectionable than that of the Bactrians which is a great deal more barbarous. Indeed, it was really difficult, at the time when Alexander discovered the customs of the country to be of this nature, to imagine the probable nature of their customs during the period of the first Persian and of even earlier hegemonies.

*ib.* 14, 9, 530 (C. 32): The Nisæan horses, which were used by the kings of Persia, are reared here also (sc. in Armenia), and the satrap of Armenia used every year to send twenty-thousand foals to the Mithracini.

*ib.* 16, 532 (C. 33): All the Persian cults have been held in honour by the Medes and Armenians, the latter of whom are especially devoted to that of Anaitis, to whom they have established sanctuaries in Acilicene as well as in other provinces. In these centres of the cult they dedicate slaves, both male and female, to the service of the goddess. In this there is nothing surprising; but the most prominent people in the land actually devote their virgin daughters to the same service. It is customary to give these girls in marriage after they have prostituted their bodies for a long period in the precincts of the goddess, and no one disdains to take them to wife.

*ib.* XII, 3, 37, 559 (C. 33): The province . . . . . of Zelitis contains the town of Zela, in which is the temple of Anaitis, this

deity being worshipped by the Armenians also. The worship is celebrated with especial solemnity here, and here also all the inhabitants of Pontus make their oaths upon matters of the greatest importance. In former times the number of the servitors and the privileges of the priests were such as have already been described ; but at the present day everything is under the jurisdiction of the Pythodoris. Various people contributed to the decline of the temple, both by decreasing the numbers of its servitors and by curtailing its general prosperity..... For long ago the kings administered Zela not as a city but as a temple of the gods of Persia, and the priest had entire charge of it. It was inhabited by the servitors and the priest, who was extremely wealthy ; while his numerous assistants had the use of the sacred land in the vicinity, which belonged to the priest.

*ib.* XV, 3, 1, 727 (C. 33) : The tribes.....which inhabit this country (sc. Persia) are the so-called Patischoreis, the Achæmenidæ, and Magians. Now the last-mentioned aim at austere living of some kind ; the Cyrti and Mardoï live by brigandage ; and other tribes by agriculture.

*ib.* 6, 729 (C. 33) : There is.....the river Cyrus, which flows past Pasargadæ and through what is called 'hollow Persia.' The king, when he changed his name from Agradates, adopted the name of this river.

*ib.* XV, 3, 7, 730 (C. 33-34) : Next he (Alexander) came to Pasargadæ.....Here he saw the tomb of Cyrus. This was situated in a park, where it was completely hidden in the middle of a dense growth of trees. It was in the form of a tower of moderate size, the lower part of which was solid while the upper was roofed. It was surrounded by an enclosure to which there was an extremely narrow entrance. Through this Aristobulos says that, by the king's order, he passed inside and paid honour to the tomb. He goes on to say that he saw there a golden bed, a table covered with goblets, a bath of gold, an abundance of raiment, and splendid mosaics ; that all these things he saw on his first visit, but that later the tomb was robbed of most of its contents ; the bath, however, and the bed had only been broken, while the body had been moved—a fact which proved that it was not the satrap who had been responsible for the outrage, but some party of foragers, who had left behind them what they could not easily carry away. The robbery had been committed in spite of the fact that a body of Magians had been on guard round about.....Such is the account given by Aristobulos.....Onesicritus, on the other hand, relates

that the tower was of ten stories, and that the body of Cyrus lay in the highest of these.

*ib.* 8, 730 (C. 34): Mention is also made by Onesicritus and in the inscription upon the tomb of Darius.....Aristus of Salamis, however, who is a much later authority, says that the tower was large and of two stories, that it was built by successive Persian kings, and that a permanent watch was kept over the tomb.....Cyrus honoured Pasargadæ as the site of his final victory over Astyages the Mede, after which he had transferred to himself the empire over Asia and had founded a city and built a palace to commemorate his victory.

*ib.* 13, 732 (C. 34): Numerous authorities have described the customs of the Persians, which are the same as those of the Medes and many other peoples. I must myself however give an account of those that are important. The Persians then do not set up statues and altars, but sacrifice in a high place, considering the heaven to be Zeus. They hold in honour also the sun, which they call Mithres, and also the moon, Aphrodite, fire, earth, winds, and water. They sacrifice in an open space, after prayer, having crowned the victim with a garland and placed it besides them. When the Magian who superintends the rite has divided\* the flesh, they depart each with his own share, having apportioned no part of it to the gods. They say that the god needs the soul of the victim, but nothing else. Still, according to some, they do place a small portion of the caul upon the fire.

*ib.* 14, 732 (C. 34-35): Their methods of sacrificing to fire and to water are different. For fire, they use dry logs, without the bark, and cover them with fat. Then they ignite it from below, pouring olive-oil over it, and not blowing, but fanning it. They put to death any one who has blown it, or has put a dead body or dung upon fire. For water, they go to a lake, river, or spring, and dig a hole, and sacrifice the victim in it, taking care not to let any blood get into the water near by; for this, they think, would pollute it. Then, disposing the flesh upon branches of myrtle or bay, the Magians touch it with slender rods and chant an incantation, pouring a libation of olive-oil mixed with milk and honey not into fire or water, but on the ground. They perform the incantations for a long time, holding a bundle of slender rods of tamarisk.

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\* reading *μερίοντος*.

*ib.* 15, 733 (C 35): In Cappadocia, where the order of the Magians is strong (they are called fire-worshippers) and holy places of the Persian gods are numerous, they do not even slay the victim with a knife, but strike it with a log, as though with a pestle. There are also fire-temples, a kind of enclosure of considerable extent. In the middle of each is an altar, upon which is a large heap of ashes, and upon it the Magians keep up a fire that is never put out. They enter the enclosure every day, and chant an incantation for almost an hour before the fire, holding the bundle of rods, and wearing a felt head-dress both sides of which come down until the cheek-pieces cover the lips. The same customs are observed in the worship of Anaitis and of Omanes. There are enclosures of these deities also, and a wooden image of Omanes is carried in procession. These things I have seen myself, but the ones first mentioned and those below are described in the histories.

*ib.* 16, 733 (C. 35): For the Persians will not make water into a river; they will not wash any part of their bodies in it, nor bathe in it, nor cast into it a dead body or any other thing that they consider polluted. And before making a sacrifice to any god they pray to Fire first.

*ib.* 17, 733 (C. 35): They marry many wives and keep at the same time a number of concubines, with the object of having as many children as possible. And the kings give prizes every year for large families. The children that are being reared are kept out of sight of their parents until they have reached the age of four. Marriages are consummated at the beginning of the spring equinox....The bridegroom comes to the bridal-chamber having eaten that day nothing but an apple or the marrow of a camel.

*ib.* 18, 733f. (C. 36): Between the ages of five and twenty-four they receive instruction in archery, hurling the javelin, riding, and telling the truth. The children are decked out in gold, the Persians holding in honour anything that has the appearance of fire, for which reason they will not allow gold, just as, because they honour it, they will not allow fire, to come into contact with a dead body.

*ib.* 20, 734f. (C. 36): They deliberate over wine upon subjects of great importance, and consider decisions reached in this way to be more reliable than the counsels of sobriety. When they meet people on a journey they advance and kiss them if they are known to them, and of equal standing; but if they are

of more humble station, they thrust the chin forward and receive their kiss upon it. Men of still lower station merely do them obeisance. They bury the dead after having first given their bodies a coating of wax. They do not however bury the Magians, but leave their bodies to be devoured by the birds. Among these marriage even with one's mother is sanctioned by ancestral custom. Such then are their customs.

*ib.* XVI, 1, 4, 738 (C. 36) : In the neighbourhood of Arbela... is the city of Demetrias. Here is the spring of naphtha, the fires, and the temple of Anaia (Anaitis ?).

*ib.* 2, 39, 762 (C. 36) : The seers used to be held in such honour as to be considered suitable tenants of a throne, on the ground that both in life and after death they convey to mankind the commands and corrections of the gods. Such was Amphiaraus... while among the Persians a similar position is occupied by the Magians, the necromancers and also by the so-called dish- and water-diviners.

*ib.* XVII, 1, 27, 805 (C. 36) : At the present day... the city (sc. of the Sun) is entirely deserted. It contains the ancient temple which was built and adorned in the Egyptian style, and which bears many traces of the mad sacrilege of Cambyses, who did great damage to the sacred objects, some by fire, others with tools, mutilating and scorching them, etc.

#### ISIDORE OF CHARAX.

(lived in the time of Strabo)

*Mansiones Parthicae* (Geographi Graeci Minores, rec. Müller I) 6 (C. 36) : Next comes upper Media, at a distance of seventy-six parasangs. The first city is Concoabar, where there is a temple of Artemis, at a distance of six parasangs... the next is Batana, the capital of Media ; here the treasure is kept. The city contains also a temple dedicated to Anaitis, where they always sacrifice : distance, twenty-four parasangs.

#### VITRUVIUS.

(wrote 25 - 23 B. C.)

*De Architectura* (ed. Krohn) VIII, præf. 1 (C. 37) : Of the seven wise men, Thales asserted that the first principle of all things was water, Heraclitus fire, and the priests of the Magians water and fire.



## OVID.

(lived 43 B. C.—17 A. D.)

*Fasti* (ed. Peter) I, 385 f. (C. 37): with a horse the Persians propitiate Hyperion who is girt with rays, lest a slow-moving victim be offered to the swift god.

## PHILO OF ALEXANDRIA.

(lived about 20 B. C.—40 A. D.)

*De Specialibus Legibus* (ed. Cohn) III (3) 13, (C. 37): The Persian grandes take their own mothers in marriage, and consider sons born of them to be the most noble of all, and, if report is true, to be eligible for the office of sovereign.

*ib.* (18), 100 (C. 37): The true . . . magic is a science of divination which reveals the workings of nature with more certainty than other methods. It is held in great honour and esteem, and is studied, not merely by men in a private station, but also by kings and the greatest of kings, especially by the kings of Persia, as a subject of such importance, that, as we hear, no man can ascend the throne in their country, unless he has first been received into the order of the Magians.

(*Quod Omnis Probus Liber Sit*) (ed. Cohn and Reiter) (11), 74 (C. 37): In . . . foreign countries, which have been the home of the finest things in literature and action, there are very large orders of noble and virtuous men. Among the Persians there is the order of the Magians, who investigate undisturbed the workings of nature in the attempt to acquire a full knowledge of the truth, and by clearly-stated rules order both themselves and others in the direction of the divine virtues. Among the Indians there are the gymnosophists, etc.

## VALERIUS MAXIMUS.

(wrote 28-32 A. D.)

*Facta et Dicta Memorabilia* (ed. Kemp) II, 6, 16 (C. 38): There is every reason to believe that it was the custom in Persia for parents not to see their children until they had completed their seventh year; the object being to enable them to bear more easily the loss of any children in their infancy.

## VELLEIUS PATERCULUS.

(wrote under Tiberius)

*Historia Romana* II, 24, 3 ; Sulla, after completing the settlement of the transmarine regions, was visited by envoys from the Parthians, being the first Roman to receive ambassadors from this people. Certain Magians among them predicted, from marks upon his body, that his life and fame would be those of a god. He then sailed back to Italy, etc.

## CURTIUS RUFUS.

(wrote under Claudius)

*History of Alexander* (ed. Hedicke) III, 3 (7), 8 ff. (C. 38) : It is recorded that the Persians, according to their national custom, do not start upon a journey before sunrise. Accordingly when the sun was already shining the signal was given by a trumpet-blast from the king's tent ; and above the tent, visible to all, shone a representation of the sun, enclosed in crystal. . . . Now the order of march was as follows. 9. The Fire, which the Persians called sacred and eternal, was carried in front upon a silver altar, followed immediately by Magians singing a national hymn. 10. Behind the Magians were three hundred and sixty-five young men, clad in purple cloaks, and equalling in number the days of the year, since the Persians also divide the year into this number of days. 11. Behind them came the chariot dedicated to Jupiter, drawn by white horses ; and next a horse of remarkable size, which they called the horse of the Sun. The riders of these horses carried golden rods and wore white uniforms.

*ib.* 3, (7), 16 (C. 38) : Each side of the chariot was adorned with representations of the gods, moulded in gold and silver ; the yoke was conspicuous for the jewels which glistened upon it, while from it rose, to a cubit's height, two statuettes of ancestors, representing Ninus and Belus respectively. Between these they had consecrated a golden eagle with wings outstretched.

*ib.* 12, (31), 13 f. (C. 38-39) : On the following day Alexander diligently buried the soldiers whose bodies had been discovered, and gave orders that the same honour should be paid to the bodies of the Persian nobility. He also allowed the mother of Darius to bury in accordance with the national usage as many as

she wished. 14. She gave orders for the burial, with a simplicity appropriate to their recent misfortune, of a few who were nearly related to her ; she considered that the elaborate ceremonial, with which the Persians paid the last honours, would be invidious at a time when the victors were cremating their dead without any ostentation.

*ib.* IV, 10. 1. They (the Egyptian priests) asserted that the sun belonged to the Greeks, the moon to the Persians ; whenever the latter was eclipsed it boded destruction and slaughter for those peoples.

*ib.* 13, (48), 12 (C. 39) : He (Darius), with his generals and the royal family, went round the lines, as the column stood to arms, and called upon the Sun and Mithras and the sacred and eternal fire to inspire them with a courage worthy of their former triumphs and of the great deeds of their ancestors.

*ib.* 14, (55), 24 (C. 39) : (Darius) : I beseech you, by the gods of our country, by the eternal flame, which is carried before us on the altar, by the bright sun which rises within the limits of my kingdom, and by the imperishable memory of Cyrus, who first deprived the Medes and the Lydians of the supremacy, and transferred it to Persia, save the Persian name and people from the last disgrace.

*ib.* V, 1, (2), 22 (C. 39) : Next came Magians, singing a hymn, according to their practice. They were followed by soothsayers, and also by instrumentalists playing their national lyre. The latter were Babylonians, whose custom it is to sing the praises of the kings ; the former Chaldeans, who point out the motions of the heavenly bodies and the appointed changes of the seasons.

*ib.* VII, 5 (24), 40 (C. 39) : Alexander ordered Oxathres, the brother of Darius, who was one of his bodyguards, to approach nearer and to receive Bessus in custody, and then, having mutilated his ears and nose and impaled him upon a cross, so that the barbarians might transfix him with arrows, to preserve his body, in order to prevent even the birds from touching it.

*ib.* X, 5, (16), 17 (C. 39) : The Persians, with their wives and children put on mourning (for Alexander) and cut off their hair ; as their custom is, mourning for him not as an enemy who had recently conquered them, but with the sincere grief which they would have felt for the loss of a just king of their own race.

*ib.* 5, (17), 19 (C. 39): (The news of this sad event) was quickly brought also to the mother of Darius; when she heard it she tore off the garment which she was wearing and put on mourning, and then, tearing her hair, she threw herself on the floor.

*ib.* 24 (C. 39): Finally she succumbed to her grief and, covering her head, rejected the consolation of her grandson and grand-daughter when they fell at her knees, and abstained alike from food and from light.

*ib.* VIII, 2, (8), 19 (C. 39): Among them it is considered right for parents to have incestuous intercourse with their children.

*ib.* 5, (18), 11 (C. 40): The Persians...revered their kings as of the number of the gods, and this not merely out of affection for them, but also for prudential reasons, the majesty of the empire being the guardian of their welfare.

*ib.* X, 1 (5), 30ff. (C. 40): It happened that...Alexander, desiring to sacrifice in honour of Cyrus, ordered the opening of the tomb in which his body was preserved. 31. He had thought that the mausoleum was full of gold and silver—for rumours to this effect had been current all over Persia—but he found nothing but his sword, crumbling with age, two Scythian bows, and a scimitar. 32. However, he placed a golden crown at the head and covered with a cloak, which he had been accustomed to wear himself, the coffin in which the body lay, marveling that so famous and so wealthy a king had been buried with no more display than if he had been a common citizen.

#### SENECA THE PHILOSOPHER.

(died 65 B. C.)

Dialogues (ed. Hermes) II, 'The Steadfastness of the Wise Man'. 4, 2 (C. 40): Again, do you think that, when that stupid monarch (sc. Xerxes) darkened the day with his showers of darts, any one of those arrows hit the sun, or that, when he sank fetters in the sea, he was able to reach Neptune?

*ib.* V, Anger III, 16, 4 (C. 40): How much more com-  
plaisant was Xerxes! When a Delphian, the father of five, begged that one of his sons might be excused from service, he allowed him to choose whichever one he wished; and then

severed the unlucky youth in two, placed the halves on each side of the road, and, thus using him as a victim, purified his army.

*ib.* 21, 1ff. (C. 40-41): He (sc. Cambyzes) was enraged against a people he knew nothing about, and who had done nothing to deserve his wrath, though they were destined to experience it; while Cyrus became enraged against a river. Intending to attack Babylon he was hastening to the seat of war—and in war the greatest issues depend upon seizing opportunities—and tried to ford the broad stream of the Gyndes, which it is scarcely safe to do even when the river has felt the effect of the summer-heat and its volume has decreased to the lowest point. 2. One of the white horses which used to draw the royal chariot was carried away by the stream, and the king was deeply angered; he swore that he would reduce that stream, for sweeping away the king's retinue, to such a size that even women would be able to cross it on foot. 3. Thereupon he proceeded to apply all his preparations for war to the chastisement of the river and continued at the task, until he had succeeded in breaking up the bed into a hundred and eighty canals and distributed the water through three hundred and sixty channels, leaving the main bed dry now that the water was finding its way in other directions.

#### PLINY THE ELDER.

(lived 23-79 A. D.)

Natural History (ed. Mayhoff) VI, 26, (29), 116 (C. 41): To the east of this place (sc. Laodicea) the Magians occupy the fortress of Phrasargida, where the tomb of Cyrus is situated.

*ib.* VII, 16, (15), 72 (G. 234; C. 41): I have heard it said that only one human being has laughed on the day he was born, to wit, Zoroaster; his brain pulsated so violently that it would repel a hand that was laid upon it—a presage of his future wisdom.

*ib.* XI, 42, (97), 242 (G. 234; C. 41): There is a tradition that Zoroaster lived in the desert on cheese so carefully cured for twenty years that he did not perceive its age.

*ib.* XVIII, 24, (55), 200 (G. 234; C. 41): In his Praxidica Accius added to these instructions that sowing must take place

when the moon is in Aries, Gemini, Leo, Libra and Aquarius; Zoroaster, however, wrote that it should be after the sun had passed through twelve parts of Scorpio and when the moon is in Taurus.

*ib.* XXIV, 17, (99), 157 (C. 41): In completing my promised account of wonderful herbs, it occurs to me to say something also of the magic herbs, than which none are more wonderful. The first to bring them to notice in our part of the world were Pythagoras and Democritus, following the Magians.

*ib.* 17, (102), 160 (C. 41): There is certainly no doubt that Democritus wrote a work called Chirocmeta. But in this, though he knew more about the Magians than any one since Pythagoras, he records events much more extraordinary; for instance about the herb called 'Aglaophotis' . . . . . saying the Magians made use of it when they wished to conjure up the gods.

*ib.* 165 (C. 41-42): He speaks of the Helianthes (sun-flower) as growing in Themiscyrene and on the mountains near the coast of Cilicia. It is boiled down with myrtle-leaves and lion's fat and mixed with saffron and palm-wine. It is used in this form by the Magians and the Persian kings as an ointment for their bodies. It gives the skin an agreeable appearance and for this reason is also called 'heliocallis' (beautiful as the sun).

*ib.* XXV, 2, (5), 13 (C. 42): Since his (sc. Homer's) time, Pythagoras, the famous philosopher, was the first to write a book concerning their effects (sc. the effects of herbs) . . . . .; another book was written by Democritus. The author in each case had visited the Magians of Persia, Arabia, Ethiopia, and Egypt.

*ib.* XXVIII, 6, (19), 69 (C. 42): For its sake the Magians forbid people to strip in the light of the sun or moon, or to let the shadow of anybody be cast by him (*i.e.*, when he is nude).

*ib.* XXX, 1, (2), 3 f. (G. 234; C. 42): There is no doubt (this sect) arose in Persia from Zoroaster, as the authorities agree. But whether he was the only Zoroaster or there was also another one later is not certain. Eudoxus, who wished this sect to be regarded as the most famous and the most useful of the learned sects, handed down the tradition that this Zoroaster lived six thousand years before the death of Plato; so, also, wrote Aristotle. 4. Hermippus, who has written

with the utmost carefulness concerning this whole doctrine and has recorded that Zoroaster composed two million lines of verse in the indices to his books, has stated that even Azonaces (who according to him was Zoroaster's teacher) lived five thousand years before the Trojan War. It is especially remarkable that the doctrine has been remembered for so long a time without the aid of books, especially as Zoroaster's successors were neither distinguished nor in continuous succession. 5. Indeed how few people have heard the names—the only ones to be recorded, of Apuscorus\* and Zaratus, the Medes, of Marmarus and Arabantiphocus, the Babylonians, or of Tarmœndas, the Assyrian, none of whom has left any written works ?

*ib.* 8 (G. 234 ; C 42) : So far as existing evidence is concerned, as I personally find upon research, the first to write on this subject was Osthanes, who accompanied Xerxes, the king of the Persians, in his war against Greece. This man broadcast the seeds, so to speak, of his monstrous doctrine, incidentally leaving a contamination upon every place that he visited. The better scholars place another Zoroaster, a native of Proconnesus, at a somewhat earlier date than this man.

*ib.* 11 (G. 234 ; C. 43) : There is also another school of magic that is derived from Moses, Jannes, Lotapes and the Jews, but which dates many thousands of years after Zoroaster.

*ib.* 2, (6), 16 f. (C. 43) : Tiridates, a Magian, had come to him (sc. Nero) from Armenia, and as he lowered himself to that extent he made himself for that reason a greater burden to the provinces. 17. He had refused to travel by sea, because the Magians do not consider it right to pollute that element by spitting into it or to desecrate it by other inevitable bodily refuse. He had brought some Magians with him, and had even admitted him to the Magians' suppers ; but Nero, though giving him a kingdom, had not the intellect necessary for receiving this art from him.

*ib.* XXXIII, 4, (24), 82 f (C. 43) : The first statue made entirely of solid gold, of the type which they call 'holosphyraton' is said to have been set up in the temple of Anaitis, the deity most revered by those peoples, before one could be made of bronze in the way described. I make this mention of the deity by way of indicating the name of the place where the statue was set up. 83. It was despoiled at the time of the Parthian

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\* Or Apusorus.

campaign of Antonius, and it is recorded that one of the veterans, at a large banquet given by the divine Augustus in the city of Bononia, made a neat reply when asked whether it was true that the man who had first violated that deity had first lost the use of his eyes and limbs, and then died; he answered that at that very moment Augustus was dining off the leg of that statue, and that he himself was the man, and owed all his wealth to that robbery.

*ib.* XXXVII, 9, (49), 133 (G. 234; C. 43): They also highly commend the astroites<sup>1</sup> and those who are conversant with such things relate that Zoroaster in his treatises on magic sang its praises in an extravagant fashion.

*ib.* 10. (55), 150 (G. 235; C. 43): Zoroaster says that the bostrychitis<sup>2</sup> is somewhat like women's tresses.

*ib.* 10. (57), 157 (G. 235; C. 43): Zoroaster prescribes the daphnea<sup>3</sup> for attacks of epilepsy.

*ib.* 10. (58), 159 (G. 235; C. 44): Zoroaster describes the exhebenus<sup>4</sup> with which goldsmiths polish gold as a beautiful stone of a glittering white colour.

#### DIO CHRYSOSTOM.

(lived about 40 — 120 A. D.)

Orations (ed. de Budé) 4, 66 f. (C. 44): (Diogenes to Alexander). Have you not heard of the festival of the Sacæ, which is celebrated by the Persians, against whom you are eager to make an expedition. 67. Alexander, who wished to know everything about the Persians, at once asked: 'What kind of festival is it?' Diogenes replied: 'They take one of the prisoners who are under sentence of death, set him on the king's throne, give him the king's clothes and allow him to give orders and to drink and indulge himself and to consort with the king's concubines during the days of the festival, nobody offering any opposition to his doing anything he pleases.' After this they strip and scourge him and then impale him.

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1. A precious stone, otherwise unknown.

2. A precious stone.

3. A precious stone.

4. A precious stone.



*ib.* 13, 24 (C. 44): They (the Persians) regarded stripping the body and spitting in public as disgraceful in the last degree.

*ib.* (ed. de Arnim) 36, 39ff. (C. 44): Another . . . . . story that attracts attention is sung at the performance of secret rites by Magians, who praise this god (sc. Zeus the king) as perfect and as the first driver of the most perfect chariot. For they say that the chariot of the Sun is inferior by comparison with the other, though well-known to the generality of mankind, because its course is visible. Hence it became the subject of popular interest, which started, as it seems, with the poets who described at various times the risings and setting of the heavenly bodies; for they all gave the same account of the yoking of the steeds and of the Sun himself mounting the chariot. 40. As for the mighty, perfect chariot of Zeus, no writer in this part of the world, not even Homer or Hesiod, has glorified it as it merits, whereas Zoroaster and, following his example, the sons of the Magians, extol it highly in their hymns. This man, according to the account of the Persians, through zeal for wisdom and righteousness withdrew from the rest of men to live by himself in a certain mountain; a great fire then fell down from heaven and set the mountain on fire so that it burned continuously. Accordingly, the king accompanied by the most notable of the Persians drew near to it prompted by a desire to pray to the god. The man came out of the fire unscathed and appeared before them and graciously bade them be of good cheer and to offer certain sacrifices, since the god had come to that place. After this he associated with men, not with all, however, but only with those who by nature were really the best and who were capable of comprehending the god, a class whom the Persians called Magians, knowing, as they did, how to worship divinity, but who were not "magicians," as the Greeks term them in their ignorance of the meaning of the name.

*ib.* 41 ff. (G. 236-7; C. 45-47): They (the Magians) perform various duties according to the rules of their faith, the chief of which is the maintenance of the chariot of Nisæan horses in honour of Zeus. These horses are the finest and largest that are produced in Asia. They also maintain a single horse in honour of the Sun. 42. They relate the story without the straining after plausibility which characterises the narratives of our interpreters of the Muses; on the contrary, they show a contumacious independence. They say that supreme experience and strength guide and steer the whole, as it were a chariot, in a single and permanent course which continues everlastingly in everlasting cycles of time. The courses of the Sun and Moon are, as I said,

movements of parts, and are for that reason more distinctly perceived by men. The course and movement of the whole is not understood by the generality of men, who fail to realise the magnitude of this race in which they run. 43. I am ashamed to explain the further details of their description of the horses and of the driving, for they are not at all careful that all the points in the allegory should be mutually consistent. I might well seem ridiculous, adding this barbarian song to the choice productions of the Greeks. Nevertheless, I must make the attempt. They say that the first of the heavenly horses is distinguished by an infinite beauty, size and speed; for he runs round the course at its longest extent, on the outer edge, and is sacred to Zeus himself. He has wings and his colour is white, of the purest brilliance. Upon him the Sun and the Moon are visible as distinct signs, just as, I suppose, their horses also have signs, some crescent-shaped, others of a different kind. 44. These are seen by ourselves all together, as though they were great sparks speeding through the bright glare of the flame; but they have each its own individual movement. And the other stars are made visible by its light and are all real parts of it; some of them revolve with it, this being their only movement; while others move in other courses. Among mankind each one of these has an individual name; but the former are multitudinous in number, and are separated into certain figures and forms. 45. The horse which is brightest and most splendid and most dear to Zeus is celebrated by them somewhat in this way, and being the first, naturally receives the first sacrifices and honours. The second, which keeps close to it and is nearest to it, is named after Hera. It is tractable and tame, but it is much inferior in strength and speed. Its natural colour is black, but that upon which the sun shines ever partakes of brightness. But that part of it which is in the shadow during the circular course has the form of colour which is natural to it. 46. The third is sacred to Poseidon, and is slower than the second. It is a likeness of this one, I think, which the poets describe as having appeared among men: I mean the horse they call Pegasus, which, they say, by breaking the earth with its hoof caused a spring to well up at Corinth. The fourth is the most paradoxical element in the allegory. So far from having wings, it is stark and immobile, and is named after the Hearth. In spite of its nature, they cling to their allegory and say that it is yoked to the chariot with the rest, but that it stands still, and gnaws at a bit, which is made of adamant. 47. It remains rooted to the spot with all its limbs and the two horses near it both lean towards it, for in reality they fall against it in the press. The outermost is always turning round the stationary

one as if it were the turning-point in a stadium. Now for the most part they continue in harmony and friendship, unharmed by each other. But it has sometimes happened in the long course of time in which they have so often run round the course, that the heavy breath of the first horse, natural in so spirited an animal, descends from above and scorches the others, especially the last one; it scorched its mane, which was its special distinction, and also all its trappings. 48. It was a disaster of this kind, they say, that the Greeks mentioned on one occasion, and ascribed to Phathon, not being able to criticise the driving of Zeus nor wishing to find fault with the course taken by the Sun. On which account they say that a younger charioteer, the mortal son of the Sun, desiring to essay a sport that was difficult and unprofitable for all mortals, asked his father's permission to drive the chariot; and then, driving carelessly, burned up everything that was alive or growing upon the earth and in the end, smitten by a greater fire, himself perished. 49. And again whenever, at long intervals of years, the foal sacred to the Nymphs and Poseidon rears up, in the excitement of some unusual effort, it deluges with sweat the same fourth horse which is its yoke-mate. And so, drenched by the stream of water, it causes a disaster which is the reverse of the former one. And it was a deluge of this kind, they say, that the Greeks, because of their youth and poor memory, describe, being satisfied to believe that Deucalion was their king in the time before the general flood. 50. As these events happen very rarely, men think that, because their own destruction is involved, such things are interruptions of the course of nature and are not phases in the ordering of the whole; they do not realise that they have a real place in nature and that they occur in accordance with the will of that which preserves and directs the whole. The case is similar to that of the charioteer correcting one of his team by a jerk of the bridle or by implanting his spurs. The horse in sudden terror and panic leaps forward. This then, they say, is the only case of chariot-driving which is sound and which does not involve the complete destruction of the whole.

*ib.* 49, 7 (C. 47): It is a general practice..of the most powerful peoples to appoint philosophers to guide and share the power of their kings, since the permanent rule of philosophers is impossible. This position is occupied among the Persians by those whom they call Magians, who were skilled in natural lore and who understood the ways in which to give proper service to the gods.

*ib.* 74, 14 (C. 47): Did not the king ignore the royal gods and his own pledges?

PLUTARCH.

(lived about 46—120 A.D.)

Moralia (ed. Bernardakis), De Superstitione, 13, 171 D. (C. 47): Amestris, the wife of Xerxes buried alive twelve men as an offering to Hades on her own behalf.

De Mulierum Virtutibus, 263 AB. (C. 47): When...Xerxes went down against Greece, he (Pythes), having distinguished himself above all others for the magnificence with which he had received him and the number of the gifts which he had made him, asked the king as a favour to excuse one of his many sons from service and to leave him behind to take care of his father in his old age. Xerxes, however, in a rage, put to death just the one son for whom Pythes had asked this favour and then, cutting his body in two, made his army pass between the severed halves. The other sons he took with him, etc.

De Alexandri Magni fortuna aut virtute, I, 5, 328 C (C. 47): If you investigate the civilising work of Alexander, you will see that he taught the Hyrcanians marriage and the Anachosians agriculture, and that he persuaded the Sogdianans to look after their parents instead of putting them to death, and the Persians to respect their mothers instead of marrying them.

*ib.* II, 6, 338 F. (C. 47): (Darius): 'If...my empire has passed, I pray, O Zeus, hereditary deity of the Persians, and ye gods of my throne, that no other than Alexander may ever ascend the throne of Cyrus.'

Isis and Osiris, 44. 368F: (C. 48): Originally the dog received the greatest honour in Egypt. But when Cambyses destroyed Apis and cast forth its body, no animal but the dog approached its body or tasted its flesh, and since that time the dog has forfeited the first and chief place in honour that it held among animals.

*ib.* 46 f. 369 D—370 C. (G. 235; C. 48): Now this is the opinion of the majority and of the wisest of men. Some believe there are two gods, rival craftsmen as it

were, the one the creator of good things, the other of evil things. Others call the better divinity, God, and the other, Dæmon, as does Zoroaster the Magian, who they say lived five thousand years before the Trojan War. Now Zoroaster called the former Horomazes and the latter Arimanius; furthermore, he showed that one was more like light than anything else apprehended by the senses, the other more like darkness and ignorance, and Mithras midway between the two; hence Mithras is known to the Persians as the Mediator. Zoroaster taught them to make to the one vows and thank-offerings, to the other sacrifices for averting evil and things of depressing appearance. For example, while pounding in a mortar a certain herb called Omomi, they appeal to Hades and to darkness; then they mix it with the blood of a slaughtered wolf, take it to a place where the sun never shines and throw it away. The reason for this is because they regard some plants as belonging to the beneficent god and others to the evil dæmon; some animals, such as dogs, birds and hedgehogs, pertain, they hold, to the former, but wateranimals to the latter and for this reason they account him fortunate who has killed most. 47. None the less they too tell many mythological tales about the gods, such as the following. Horomazes and Arimanius, the one begotten of the purest light, the other of nether darkness, are at war with each other. The first created six gods, the first of good-will, the second of truth, the third of good laws, and of the rest one as maker of wisdom, one of wealth and one of pleasure in fine things. And Arimanius created a similar number, to be, as it were, the rivals of these. Then Horomazes having increased himself threefold moved as far away from the sun as the sun is away from the earth, and decorated the heaven with stars. He set up among them one star, Sirius, before the rest, to be as it were a sentinel and scout. He also created twenty-four other gods and placed them in an egg. But the gods who were created by Arimanius, who were equal in number, bored a hole in the egg. . . . \* whence evil has become mingled with good. But the destined time will come, when Areimanius will bring a plague and famine and inevitably perish by them utterly and disappear; when the earth will become level and flat, and when all men will be happy and speak one tongue and live one life under one form of government. Theopompus says that according to the Magians for three thousand years each of the two gods is alternately supreme and in subjection, and that during another period of three thousand years they fight and are at war, each upsetting the work of the

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\* MSS. defective.

other ; but that in the end Hades is left behind, and mankind will be happy, neither needing food nor casting shadows ; and that the god who brought this to pass is quiet and at rest for a time, on the whole not a long one for a god, but a reasonably long one for a man asleep. Of this kind, then, is the mythology of the Magians.

De Defectu Oraculorum 10, 415 A (G. 235 ; C. 49) : In my opinion more and greater difficulties are removed by those who rank the race of dæmons midway between gods and men, having discovered as it were the bond that unites and associates us together. It is uncertain whether this belief originated among the Zoroastrian Magians, or in Thrace with Orpheus, or in Egypt, or in Phrygia, as may be inferred from the mystic initiations practised in both countries, when we observe there is a mixture of elements suggestive of mortality and mourning in their orgiastic and sacrificial rites.

De Invidia et Odio, 3, 537 B. (C. 49) : The . . . . . Persian Magians used to kill mice since they hated the animal themselves and believed the god objected to it.

Quæstiones Conviviales IV, 1, 1 (G. 235) : I have not remembered hearing, said Philo, that Philinus was secretly rearing for us a Sosastrus who, as tradition has it, lived his whole life without using any other drink or food than milk.

*ib.* 2, 670 D. (G. 236 ; C. 49) : And why would anyone accuse the Egyptians of such nonsense, when it is upon record that even the Pythagoreans revere a white cock and abstain particularly from the mullet and the sea-nettle among marine animals, while the Magians, who originated with Zoroaster, hold the hedgehog in very high regard but abhor water-rats, believing that the person who kills the greatest number of them is blest with the divine favour.

Ad Principem Ineruditum 3, 780 C (C. 49) : The . . . . . king of the Persians had among his chamberlains one whose duty was to enter his chamber at dawn and say to him : ' Rise, O King, and take thought for those things for which the great Oromasdes desireth that thou shouldst take thought.'

De Vitando Aere Alieno, 5, 829 C (C. 50) : The Persians . . . . . consider lying the second greatest of the sins, and indebtedness the greatest, on the ground that it often leads men who are guilty of it to tell lies also.

Men who borrow are the more apt to tell lies and to make false entries in their books to the effect that they are paying a particular individual more than they actually are doing.

De Animæ Procreatione in Timæo, II, 1012 E (G. 236; C. 50): Zaratas, the teacher of Pythagoras used to call this (*i.e.* duality) the mother of number, and unity the father; hence he believed that all those numbers that resemble unity are superior to the others, but that this number (unity) was not Soul.

*ib.* XXVII (G. 236): Necessity is the name most men give to Destiny. Empedocles, however, calls it love and strife; Heraclitus, the harmony of the universe produced by opposing strains, as in a lyre or a bow; Parmenides, light and darkness; Anaxagoras, mind and the infinite; Zoroaster, God and Dæmon, designating one Oromasdes, the other Arimanius.

Adversus Coloten, 14, 1115 A (G. 236; C. 50): Where, pray, in the uninhabited world did you set about writing this book, trying while compiling these accusations, to avoid access to their works, nor take up Aristotle, On the Heavens and On the Soul, nor Theophrastus' tractate against the Naturalists, nor Heraclides On Zoroaster, On Hades and On Problems of Natural Philosophy, nor Dicaearchus On the Soul, books in which these men consistently oppose and combat Plato in respect of the most important and greatest point of natural philosophy?

Parallel Lives (ed. Sintensis), Numa, 4 (G. 235; C. 50): Is it right, then, if we concede these points in regard to the personages we have mentioned, to disbelieve that Zaleucus, Minos, Zoroaster, Numa and Lyeurgus, men who governed kingdoms and framed political constitutions, had frequent converse with divinity?

Lucullus, 24 (C. 50): He received a favourable sign at the moment of crossing. The barbarians across the Euphrates revere the Persians Artemis above all other deities and keep cows which are sacred to her, and which they use only for the purpose of sacrifice. They are branded with the torch of the goddess and range at large over the country, so that it is a matter of considerable trouble and difficulty to catch any of them when required. One of these, when the army had crossed the river, came up to a certain rock which was held to be sacred to the goddess, and stood upon it. Then lowering its head, like an animal held down by a halter, it offered itself to Lucullus for sacrifice.

Themistocles, 27 (C. 50-51): Thucydides.....and Charon of Lampsacus say that Xerxes was dead and that it was his son with whom Themistocles had dealings. Ephorus, Dino, Clitar-chus, Heraclides, and many others aver that he met Xerxes himself.....Themistocles, however this may be, having reached this extremity first came upon the chiliarch Artabanus and said that he was a Greek and that he desired an interview with the king for the discussion of very important matters relating to the chief objects of the latter's policy. Artabanus replied: 'Stranger, the customs of men differ and diverse views are held as to what is honourable. And it is to the honour of all to elaborate and preserve their own customs. It is reasonable that your people should value freedom and equality above all things. Among ourselves, of many good customs the finest is this, that we honour the king and do obeisance to him as an image of the god who maintains all things. If then you will acquiesce in our customs, and do obeisance, you may behold the king and address him. But if you are otherwise minded, you must find another to take your message to him, for it is contrary to ancestral custom that the king should listen to one who has not done obeisance.' Themistocles, having heard this, answered him: 'Why, I have come here, Artabanus, to augment the fame and power of the king, and I will myself yield to your customs, since such is the pleasure of the god, who has made the Persians great, and I will bring it about that more men than do so now shall do obeisance to the king. So do not let this be an obstacle to the proposal which I desire to address to him.' 'And whom,' said Artabanus, 'shall we report as having arrived? For you appear to be a man of no ordinary intelligence.' Themistocles answered: 'No man may learn this, Artabanus, before the king does.' This is the account given by Phantias.

*ib.* 28 (C. 51): The Persian.....is said to have prayed that Arimanius would always make his enemies minded to drive their own best men into exile, and then to have sacrificed to the gods, after which he straightway began drinking and in the night thrice called out for joy while fast asleep: 'I have Themistocles the Athenian.'

Alexander, 30 (C. 51-52): Soon however, he repented, when the wife of Darius died in childbirth. It was plain that he regretted having lost an opportunity of displaying his kindness, and for this reason he spared no expense in the elaborate funeral which he provided for the queen. One of the Eunuchs of the bedchamber, by name Tireus, who had been captured with the royal ladies, escaped from the camp, and making his way to



Darius on horseback, reported to him the death of his wife. When he heard of it he smote his head and burst into tears, exclaiming "Alas for the fate of the Persians, that the wife and sister of the king should not only be taken prisoner alive, but should also lie dead without the honour of a royal funeral!" The chamberlain replied, "O King, you have no ground to complain of the evil fate of the Persians in regard to her funeral and all the marks of honour and ceremony that were her due. When alive your queen Stateira and your mother and your children enjoyed all their former position and honour save only the light of your countenance, which the lord Oromasdes will cause once more to shine brightly. And in death she received all honour and was lamented even by the enemy. For Alexander is as humane a conqueror as he is terrible as a fighter." When he heard this, Darius, distracted by his grief, conceived extraordinary suspicions. He led the Eunuch further into his tent and said "If I, Darius, am still your master, if you have not, like the Persian fortunes, turned Macedonian, remember the honour due to the great light of Mithras and your king's right hand, and tell me, am I lamenting the least of the misfortunes of Stateira? Was my fate more wretched while she was alive? Would my misfortune have brought me less dishonour if I had met a sullen and brutal foe? For what can one reasonably conclude of a young man's conduct towards the wife of his enemy, especially when he has paid her such honours?" While he was still speaking Tireus threw himself at his feet and begged him to cease and not to wrong Alexander nor bring shame upon his own dead sister and wife, nor to deprive himself of the best consolation for his reverses, namely the conviction that his conqueror was superhuman in power; he ought rather, he said, to respect Alexander for having shown a greater continence in his relations with the wives of the Persians than bravery in fighting their husbands.

*ib.* 69 (C. 52): When he visited the tomb of Cyrus, he discovered that it had been forcibly entered. He put to death the offender, Polymachus, in spite of the fact that he belonged to a distinguished family of Pella. When he had read the inscription on the tomb, he gave orders for a Greek translation to be engraved beneath it. It was as follows: 'Stranger, whoever thou art and whencesoever thou comest, know that I am Cyrus who gained the empire for the Persians. Do not then grudge me this small extent of earth which surrounds my body.'

Artaxerxes 3 (C. 52): Shortly.....after the death of Darius the king proceeded to Pasargadæ to be initiated into his

royal status by the Persian priests. Pasargadæ is sacred to a warlike goddess who may be compared to Athene. The candidate for initiation, as soon as he enters, must remove his own clothing and put on that which was worn in old time by Cyrus before he became king. Then he has to chew a preserved fig, gnaw a piece of the turpentine-tree, and quaff a cup of sour milk. It is not known to people in general whether other rites are carried out in addition to these.

*ib.* 4 (C. 52-53): No proffered gift was so small that he would not accept it willingly. Indeed, when a certain Omisus brought him a single pomegranate of extraordinary size he exclaimed: "By Mithras, this man, if entrusted with a small city would soon turn it into a large one."

*ib.* 6 (C. 53): Among other boasts about himself he said that his heart was heavier than his brother's and that he was a deeper thinker and a better Magian than he; moreover, that he could drink more wine, and carry it better; and that his brother was so cowardly and so effeminate that he could not keep his seat on his horse when at the chase, nor on his throne in time of war.

*ib.* 10 (C. 53): Cyrus.....was killed, according to some authorities, by a blow from the king. Others relate that the man who dealt the blow was a Carian, and that as a reward for this exploit the king gave him a golden cock to carry on his spear in front of his battalion whenever he took part in a campaign. The fact is that the Persians called the Carians cocks, on account of the crests which adorn their helmets.

*ib.* 14 (C. 52): Having observed that Arbaces, a Mede, had displayed cowardice and lack of spirit, though not treachery or evil intent, in the battle with Cyrus, he having run away and then, after Cyrus had been killed, returned to the ranks, the king ordered him to pick up a naked harlot, place her legs round his neck, and carry her round the market-place for a whole day. Another man, in addition to running away had falsely claimed to have cut down two of the enemy: him he ordered to have his tongue pierced by three needles.

*ib.* 15 (C. 53): The.....others, foreseeing already the wretched fate of Mithridates, bent their heads. The host, however, said, 'My good Mithridates, let us for the present eat and drink, revering the fortune of the king. Let us abandon subjects that are too deep for us.'

*ib.* 23 (C. 53-54): After this.....she did everything she could to please the king and as she offered no objections to anything he did, she exercised great influence with him and obtained everything she wanted. She observed that he was deeply enamoured of one of his daughters, Atossa, though trying to conceal the fact and to restrain his passion, chiefly for fear of arousing her jealousy, according to some writers, in spite of the fact that he had already had secret intercourse with the girl. Parysatis, suspecting this, showed her greater favour than before, and praised her beauty and her character, telling Artaxerxes that it was distinguished and worthy of a princess. Finally she persuaded him to marry the girl and to declare her to be his lawful wife, disregarding the opinions and customs of the Greeks and declaring that he had been appointed by the god to be a law to the Persians and the judge of right and wrong. It is said, however, by some authorities including Heraclides of Cumæ, that Artaxerxes married, not one only of his daughters, but also a second, Amestris, of whom I shall shortly have occasion to say something. Atossa, however, now living with him as his wife, he cherished so warmly that when she fell a victim to leprosy he gave no sign of disgust, but prayed for her to Hera. To this goddess alone he bowed himself down, touching the earth with his hands; and ordered his satraps and friends to send gifts to the goddess until the whole space, sixteen stades wide, between the temple and the palace, was crowded with objects of gold and silver, with purple fabrics, and with horses.

*ib.* 26 (C. 54): Ochus....paid court to her (Atossa), promising that she should become his wife and share his power after her father's death. There was also a rumour to the effect that even during Artaxerxes' lifetime Ochus had secret intercourse with her.

*ib.* 27 (C. 54): He made her (Aspasia) priestess of Artemis at Ecbatana, whom they call Anaitis, in order that she should live in purity for the rest of her life.

*ib.* 28 (C. 54): A man who for love of a Greek mistress violated the Persian custom of telling the truth can assuredly not be trusted to maintain the most important agreements.

*ib.* 29 (C. 54): Some authorities....relate that when he entered the court he did obeisance to the Sun and said: 'Depart and be happy, O Persians; and tell the others, that the great Oromasdes has inflicted punishment upon those who plotted a lawless and impious crime.'

Quæstiones Romanæ 26 (tr. Rose). Why do the women, when in mourning, wear white dresses and white kerchiefs? Do they, as the Magi are said to do, take sides against death and darkness by this action, and assimilate themselves to light and brightness?

#### PSEUDO-PLUTARCH.

(wrote after the beginning of the second century A. D.)

Greek and Roman Parallels (Plutarchi Moralia ed. Bernardakis) 2 (=Stobæus, Florilegium VII, 63, (C. 54-55): Xerxes, with an armament of five million men anchored off Artemisium and declared war on the inhabitants. The Athenians, distracted by fear, sent Agesilaus, brother of Themistocles, to survey the situation, in spite of the fact that his father Neocles had had a dream in which he saw him with the loss of both his hands. Dressed as a Persian, he reached the barbarians' camp, and there slew Mardonius, one of the royal bodyguard, mistaking him for Xerxes. He was seized by the bystanders and led in chains to the king. The latter happened to be on the point of sacrificing an ox upon the altar of the sun. Agesilaus placed his right hand upon the altar, and when he bore without groaning the rigour of the test, was set free from his bonds. Then he said, "The Athenians are all such as I am; if you do not believe me, I will lay my left hand also upon the altar." Xerxes, in a panic, gave orders for him to be kept under guard. Such is the account given by Agatharchides of Samos in the second book of his history of Persia.

#### JUVENAL.

(lived about 47-127 A. D.)

Satires (ed. Housman) X, 176 ff. (C. 55): We believe the tales which Sostratus recites in a perspiring frenzy. Still, in what guise did he (Xerxes) return after leaving Salamis, he who had been wont to vent his insane rage with lashes upon the north wind and the east wind, which Aeolus had never so maltreated in their prison; he who had bound with chains Poseidon himself (though in truth he showed some clemency, in not holding him to deserve the brand as well.) Would any one of the gods have been content to serve such a master?

#### ÆLIUS THEO.

(lived about 100 A. D.)

Progymnasmata 9, 234 f. (Spengel, Rhetores Græci, II, 114 f.) (G. 237; C. 55): Now not even if Tomyris the

Massogete queen, or Sparedra the consort of Amogus the king of the Sacians is stronger than Cyrus, or, by Heaven, if even Semiramis is stronger than Zoroaster the Bactrian, aye, not even then must one admit that the female is more courageous than the male, for whereas one or two women are courageous in a high degree, vast is the number of men who are.

TACITUS.

(died in the reign of Hadrian)

Annals (ed. Holm-Andresen) III. 62 (C. 55): The people of Hierocæsarea put forward an argument based upon a more ancient tradition, alleging that they possessed a shrine, dedicated in the reign of Cyrus, to the Persian Diana.

*ib.* VI, 37 (C. 55): Vitellius...urged Tiridates to carry out his design, and led the main body of the legions and allied troops to the bank of the Euphrates. There they offered sacrifice, Vitellius, in Roman fashion, with boar, sheep, and bull, Tiridates with a richly-caparisoned horse, to propitiate the river. While they were thus engaged news was brought by the inhabitants of the neighbourhood that the Euphrates.. was rising, etc.

*ib.* XV, 24 (C. 56): Envoys from Parthia brought a message from King Vologeses and a letter to the same effect.... saying that Tiridates would not have refused to come to Rome to receive the diadem, were it not that he was prevented by the religious ban which lay upon members of his priesthood.

PHILO OF BYBLOS.

(wrote in the reign of Hadrian).

Quoted by Eusebius, *Præparatio Evangelica* (ed. Gaisford) I, 10, 42 a b. (G. 243; C. 56): Zoroaster.....the Magian in the sacred writings of the Persians writes thus: "God has the head of a hawk. He is the First, imperishable, everlasting, unbegotten, indivisible, inimitable, controller of all that is beautiful, not subject to bribes, supreme among the good, most prudent of the prudent; moreover, He is the father of righteousness and justice, self-instructed, uncreated, perfect, wise and the sole discoverer of divine nature." The same statement is made by Ostanès in his work, the *Octateuch*.

## CEPHALIUS.

(wrote in the same period as Tacitus)

See under Clement of Alexandria.

## ZENOBIUS.

(flourished under Hadrian)

Selection from the Maxims of Tarraeus and Didymus (*Parœmiographici Græci*, ed. Leutach and Schneidewin I) V, 78 (C. 56) :

Evandrus said that there were eight gods who controlled everything: Fire, Water, Earth, Sky, Moon, Sun, Mithras, Night.

## MINUCIUS FELIX.

(wrote under Hadrian or Antoninus Pius)

Octavius (ed. Schœne) 26, 10 f. (C. 56) : The Magians... are not only aware of the existence of dæmons, but use them as instruments for the performance of their various miraculous tricks : it is by their inspiration and under their influence that they practise their deceptions, 11. in which they cause that which is not to appear to be or that which is to appear not to be. Of these Magians Hostanes was the most distinguished for eloquence and assiduity. He accords to the true god the honour he deserves, and knows that angels, *i.e.* servants and messengers, keep watch over the seat of the god and attend him out of reverence for him, which causes them to tremble with fear even at his nod or when they behold his face. The same Hostanes also asserted the existence of terrestrial dæmons, which he described as wanderers and enemies of humanity.

*ib.* 31, 3. (C. 56) : It is considered lawful in Persia to have intercourse with one's mother.

## ARRIAN.

(lived about 95-175 A. D.)

Anabasis (ed. Roos) VI, 29, 1, 4ff. (C. 57) : He himself (Alexander).....took the route to Pasargadæ in Persis....4. He was grieved at the lawless treatment to which the tomb of Cyrus the son of Cambyses had been subjected : for, according

to Aristobulus' account he arrived at the tomb to find that it had been forcibly entered and plundered.....5. The tomb itself in its lower part had been made square in shape, of cubical blocks of stone; above it was a covered chamber of stone, with a narrow door giving inwards, wide enough to enable a small man, with great trouble and difficulty, to get through. In this chamber was a golden bath, in which the body of Cyrus had been buried; and beside the bath was a bed, the legs of which were of beaten gold. The bedding was of purple cloth and upon it was a quilt of Babylonian workmanship, 6. and on top of this, coats and garments besides of the same style. Aristobulus adds that there were in addition Median trousers and robes dyed some the colour of hyacinth, others purple, others in various different shades, and also necklaces and scimitars and ear-rings firmly fashioned of gold and precious stones. There was also a table. The bath, which contained the body of Cyrus, was in the middle of the bed. 7. Within the enclosure and close to the approach to the tomb was a small building which had been made by the Magians who, ever since the time of Cambyses the son of Cyrus, had kept watch over the tomb, the duty passing from father to son throughout that period. They received from the king a sheep and fixed quantities of wheat-flour and wine every day, and every month a horse to be sacrificed to Cyrus. Upon the tomb was an inscription in Persian characters, to the following effect: 'O stranger, I am Cyrus, son of Cambyses, who acquired the empire for the Persians and became ruler of Asia. Do not therefore grudge me my tomb.'

#### PTOLEMY.

(lived about 100-178 A. D.)

Tetrabiblon (ed. Norimberg) II, p. 17 (C. 57-58): The regions which include India, Ariane, Gedrosia, Parthia, Media, Persis, Babylonia, Mesopotamia and Assyria.....are autocratically governed . . . in the eastern manner by the priests of Aphrodite and of Cronus. In consequence the character of the inhabitants will be found to bear the impress of the policy always adopted by men who have acquired despotic rule of this kind. For they revere the priest of Aphrodite, whom they call Isis, and the priest of Cronus' (\*) and Mithras as the sun. Most of them also practise divination as to the future.

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\* MS apparently defective.

## LUCIAN.

(lived about 120-180 A. D.)

(ed. Sommerbrodt) Menippus, 6 f. 463 (G. 237; C. 58): Once as I was lying awake because of these things it seemed to me that Menippus went to Babylon and made a request of one of the Magians, the disciples and successors of Zoroaster; and I observed them using certain incantations and rites to open the portals of Hades and to conduct down thither unharmed whomsoever they would and to bring them up again.

*ib.* 65, 463ff: (C. 58, 59; continuation of passage quoted in (G. 237); I therefore thought it best to obtain from one of them (sc. Magians) permission to make the descent, and to go and learn from Teiresias the Bœotian, he being a prophet and a man of wisdom, what was the best life, which a sensible man would elect to live? So I jumped up and with all speed made straight for Babylon, where I met a certain wise man of Chaldaea, a great master of his art, who had grey hair and a right fine beard covering his chest. His name was Mithrobarzanes, and by prayers and entreaties, and by promising him whatever reward he chose to demand, I at last persuaded him to show me the way down. 7. He took me along and first, for twenty-nine days, starting with the new moon, he led me down to the Euphrates at dawn and gave me a bath, while he addressed the rising sun in a long speech, which I did not hear too well, as he mouthed it out in a voluble and unintelligible fashion, just like an inferior herald at the games. He did seem, however, to be invoking certain dæmons. Anyhow, after this incantation he would spit in my face three times and then go back, looking at none of the passers-by. The food we had was fruit, and we drank milk, or milk and honey, and the water of the Choaspes. We slept out of doors on the grass. When he had had enough of this initiation by dieting, he took me about midnight to the Tigris river and cleansed and wiped and purified me all over with a pine-torch and a squill and a great many other things, muttering the incantation all the time. Next, when he had made a complete magian of me, he walked round me, to prevent my getting any harm from the phantoms, and then led me back home as I was, asking him questions all the way. For the rest of the time we were engaged on a voyage. 8. Now Mithrobarzanes put on some kind of magian robe, and very Median it looked; he carried these things, the cap and the lion-skin and in addition the lyre, and fitted me out with them, telling me not to answer 'Menippus,' but to say that I was Heracles or Odysseus or Orpheus, if any one asked my name.



De Luctu 21, 932 (C. 59) : As far as lamentations go, all peoples are equally foolish, and in the same way. But the next step, that of the disposal of the dead, they perform in different ways. The Greeks cremate the dead, the Persians bury them, the Indians cover them with glass, the Scythians eat them up and the Egyptians embalm them.

Navigium seu Vota 30, 267 (C. 59) : Lucinus : ' O King, for the honour you have given me I am grateful and I bow down in the Persian fashion and do obeisance to you, dragging my hands behind me, paying honour to your diadem and the tiara which sits so straight upon your head.'

Juppiter Tragoedus 42, 690 (C. 59) : Different peoples have different beliefs: the Scythians sacrifice to a scimitar, the Thracians to Zalmoxis, a runaway slave who came to them from Samos, the Phrygians to Menes, the Ethiopians to Day, the Cyllenians to Phales, the Assyrians to the pigeon, the Persians to fire, and the Egyptians to water.

#### DIOSCORIDES.

(lived in the second century A. D.)

Materia Medica II, 144 (GM, p. 312.) : Cultivated mallow : (called by the Romans, *malva hortensis* ; by Pythagoras, *anthema* ; by Zoroaster, *diadesma* ; by the Egyptians, *chocorte* ; by professional interpreters of oracles, goatspleen, and by others mousetail), more suitable for eating than the uncultivated.

*ib.* V, 175 (GM, p. 312.) : *Colocynthis* (pumpkin) : which some call goat's gourd ; some, bitter *sicya* : some, Alexandrian gourd ; (Zoroaster, *thymbra* ; Osthanes, selfborn ; the Romans, *cucurbita silvatica* ; the Dacians, *tutastra*) ; spreads its branches and leaves over the ground.

#### APULEIUS OF MADAURA.

(lived from about 124 to about 170 A. D.)

Apologia (ed. Helm) 25 (C. 59) : For if, as I read in the works of many writers, the Persian word ' Magian ' means the same as our word ' priest,' what crime is there in being a priest and having a proper knowledge and understanding and experience of the laws as to religious observances, the proper way to conduct sacrifices, and the legitimate methods of dealing with holy things — assuming, that is, that the magic art is what Plato

interprets it to be in his account of the training given by the Persians to youthful candidates for the throne.....

*ib.* 26 (G. 237-238 ; C. 59) : Do you—you who accuse magic thoughtlessly—hear it said that magic is an art approved by the immortal gods, an art that supplies abundant knowledge of how to worship and revere them, an art obviously religious and imbued with ideas of the divine, an art which from the days of its founders, Zoroaster and Oromazus, was famous as a cult of the heavenly gods ? Famous, I say, because it is taught as being one of the first duties of royal princes and because no Persian is permitted to become a Magian without giving proper thought thereto any more than to become a king. Plato himself has left us the same idea in another discourse on a certain Zalmoxis, who though a Thracian practised the same art : “ Good sir ”, said he, “ the soul must be healed by means of certain incantations, and these are merely words that are good.” Now if this is true, why may I not know either the good words of Zalmoxis or the priestly acts of Zoroaster ?

*ib.* 31 (G. 238) : Most authorities have thought that Pythagoras, a disciple of Zoroaster, was likewise skilled in magic.

*ib.* 90 (G. 238 ; C. 59-60) : If you approve a reward however modest, I would be Carinondas, or, if you like, Damigeron, or Jannes, or Apollonius, or even Dardanus himself or anyone else who became renowned among the Magians since Zoroaster and Hostanes.

Florida (ed. Helm) 15 (G. 237 ; C. 60) : There are those who state that Pythagoras was among the captives taken by Cambyses the King at the time of his invasion of Egypt and that he had as teachers Persian Magians, and, especially, Zoroaster, the high priest of all that is divine ; afterward, he was brought back from captivity by Gillus, the ruler of Croton.

#### ARISTIDES.

(wrote in the reign of Antoninus Pius)

Apologia (ed. Goodspeed) 3, 2 (C. 60) : The.....Chaldeans (who derive their descent from Beel (Cronus), Rhea, and the rest of their gods), since they did not know God, made haphazard attempts to discover something more ultimate than the elements and began to revere the creation as the equivalent of him who had created them. Of the elements they made certain

representations, which they called models respectively of the heaven, the earth, the sea, the sun, the moon and the other elements. These they enclose in temples, where they do obeisance to them and call them gods.....

*ib.* 4, 1, ff. (C. 60-61): Let us then, O King, come to the elements themselves, and show that they are not gods but perishable and changeable things..... 2. Those who believe the heaven is a god are astray..... 3. Those who believe the earth is a goddess are astray, for we observe it to suffer outrage and to submit to dominion at the hands of mankind..... It is trodden by men and the other animals, it is polluted by the blood of men who are slain, it is dug up, it is crowded with corpses, and serves as tomb for bodies. 4. (And it is impossible that the divine nature, which is hallowed and bright and sacred and unchangeable, should undergo any such treatment)..... 5. Those who believe water to be a god are astray. For water also is turned to the uses of men and they have dominion over it. It is polluted and its nature is changed and destroyed when it is boiled or stained with colours or congealed by frost (and it is commingled and combined with the ordure of men and cattle and the blood of the slain)..... 3. Those who believe fire to be a god are astray, for fire was produced for the uses of men and they have dominion over it. They carry it about from place to place for boiling and roasting all kinds of meat..... and also for burning..... dead bodies. 4. Those who believe the breath of the winds to be a goddess are astray..... 6, 1: Those who believe the sun to be a god are astray..... 3. Those who believe the moon to be a goddess are astray..... 7, 1: Those who believe man to be a god are astray..... 4. The Chaldeans therefore, contrary to their wishes, are very far astray, for they revere the perishable elements and lifeless statues, and are unconscious of the fact that they are inventing gods out of them.

PAUSANIAS.

(wrote 143-176 A. D.)

Description of Greece (ed. Hitzig and Bluemner) III, 16 (6.), 8 (C. 61): The Tauric goddess preserves this title even to this day, with the result that the Cappadocians who border upon the Euxine claim that they possess her statue, as do also the Lydian who have a temple to Artemis Anaitis.

*ib.* 20, (5), 4 (C. 61): This (sc. the summit of Taÿgetus) they call sacred to the Sun, and upon it they sacrifice to the Sun horses along with other animals. I am aware that this belief is held also by the Persians.

*ib.* V, 27, 1 ff. (C. 61-62-63): Here also are the offerings dedicated by Phormis of Mænalus, who departed from Mænalus and crossed over to Sicily and went to the court of Gelo the son of Dinomenes; for him and later for Hiero, the brother of Gelo, he performed many feats of valour on the field of battle and in consequence prospered so well that he made these dedications at Olympia and others to Apollo at Delphi. 2. Those at Olympia were two horses with two riders, one of the latter standing beside each of the horses. The first horse and rider were the work of Dionysius of Argos, the other pair were by Simon of Aegina. On the flank of the first horse is an inscription, the first lines of which are not metrical: they run: "Phormis, by birth an Arcadian from Mænalus, but now of Syracuse, made this dedication." (2) 3. This is the horse upon which, according to the Eleans, the hippomanes lies. Among other evidences of the work of a wise Magian, the things that happened to this horse are not the least. It is far inferior in size and beauty to the other horses which stand in the Altis. In addition its tail has been lopped off, which makes it all the more unsightly. Male horses are roused by it to sexual excitement not only in the spring but at all times of year. 4. When they break their halters or escape from their grooms they rush into the Altis and mount the horse with a greater display of passionate excitement than they would show in the presence of a live mare, even if she were very beautiful and accustomed to be covered. Their hoofs slip off its sides, but still they continue, neighing the more loudly and leaping upon it with increasing effort, until they are dragged off by the stern compulsion of the whip; unless this is applied there is no means of getting them to leave the bronze animal. (3) 5. I know also of another marvel, in Lydia, which I have seen myself, and which, while it is different from this one of the horse of Phormis, like it is due to the wisdom of the Magians. Those of the Lydians who are popularly called Persians have temples, at the city called Hierocæsarea and at Hypæpa. In each of these temples there is an inner chamber, and in this an altar upon which are some ashes of a colour unlike that of ordinary ashes. 6. A Magian enters the chamber, bringing dry wood which he places on the altar. After this he first puts a tiara upon his head and next intones an invocation to some god or other. The invocation is in a barbarian tongue, and quite unintelligible to Greeks. While intoning he peruses a

book. This, without the application of a light, inevitably causes the wood to catch fire and break out into a bright flame. I need not go into further details.

*ib.* VII, 6 (4), 6 (C. 63): The Lydians dedicated a bronze statue of this Adrastus in front of the temple of the Persian Artemis, etc.

#### NICOMACHUS OF GERASA.

(flourished about 150 A.D.)

Theologumena Arithmetica (ed. Ast) 7 (G. 256; C. 63): From the second book of the Arithmetic by Nicomachus of Gerasa.....To the most eminent of the Babylonians as well as to Ostanes and Zoroaster the stellar spheres are principally known as "flocks," at least so far as the individual spheres, apart from their material dimensions, have complete motions around their respective centres. Or it may be that, influenced by their very writings on Nature and judging from the bond which somehow exists among the spheres and from their community of motion, they call "angels" through the incorrect insertion of a gamma, those bodies which on these same grounds they designate in their sacred books as "flocks." Wherefore the stars and dæmons that have their origin in each case in these "angels" are in like manner termed "angels" and "archangels," which are seven in number; hence the number seven is, by this token, most truly termed the "gospel."

#### APPIAN.

(wrote about 160 A.D.)

Mithridatic War (ed. Mendelssohn) 66 (C. 63-64): (Mithridates) offered the traditional sacrifice to Zeus, lord of armies, upon a high mountain the summit of which he made higher by piling wood upon it. The kings place the first logs upon it, and when they have surrounded it with another and smaller pile, they place upon the upper one milk, honey, wine, olive-oil, and all kinds of incense, and when they have set on the lower one cereals and meats as a meal for those present, they set fire to the wood. (One may compare the kind of sacrifice which is performed by the Persian kings at Pasargadæ.) Its great size causes it to be visible, when alight, a thousand stades away, and it is said to be impossible to approach the spot for several days, as the air is so hot.

*ib.* 70 (C. 64): At the beginning of.....spring, having made an attack upon the fleet, he offered the customary sacrifice to Zeus, lord of armies, and let down into the sea a chariot drawn by white horses, as an offering to Poseidon: then he proceeded by forced marches in the direction of Paphlagonia.

# JUNIANUS JUSTINUS.

(wrote between 160 and 300 A.D.)

Epitome of the *Historia Philippica* of Pomponius Trogus (ed. Rühl) I, 1, 9 (G. 237; C. 64): His last war was the one that he fought with Zoroaster, King of the Bactrians, who is said to have been the first discoverer of the magic arts and a most studious observer of the origin of the world as well as of the movements of the constellations. After Zoroaster was slain, (Ninus) himself departed this life, leaving a youthful son, Ninyas, and a wife, Semiramis.

*ib.* I, 9, 11 (C. 64): In Persia the person of the sovereign is withheld from the public gaze, a tribute to his supposed exalted majesty.

*ib.* 10, 5 (C. 64): The Persians hold the sun to be the only god and they say that horses are consecrated to the same deity.

*ib.* VI, 2, 12f. (C. 64): Conon, after repeatedly importuning the king by letter, and without any result, proceeded in person to court, but was not allowed to enter the presence of or to address the monarch, because he refused to do obeisance to him in the Persian fashion.

*ib.* XI, 15, 10 (C. 64): (Darius): He tendered to Alexander the only gratitude possible to a dying man and prayed the heavenly and earthly powers and the royal gods to grant victory and empire over the whole world.

*ib.* 15 (C. 64): (Alexander) gave orders that the body should be given a royal funeral and that his remains should be conveyed to the tombs of his ancestors.

*ib.* XII, 7, 1 (C. 64): (Alexander) next adopted a custom of the arrogant Persian kings and gave orders that all his subjects should not salute but should do obeisance to him. He had at first hesitated to make this rule, for fear that it would cause all his other measures also to meet with more opposition.

*ib.* XIX, 1, 10 ff (C. 64-65): Meanwhile an embassy from Darius, the King of Persia, arrived at Carthage with an edict which forbade the inhabitants to sacrifice human victims and to eat the flesh of dogs, 11. and gave them the king's orders to cremate the bodies of their dead instead of burying them.

*ib.* XLI, 3, 1 (C. 65): Each man has several wives, for they like having more than one object for their passion. There is no crime which they visit with heavier penalties than adultery.

*ib.* 3, 5f. (C. 65): The common method of disposing of the dead is to leave their bodies to be torn by birds or dogs; when the bones have been stripped of flesh they are buried. 6. All are studiously pious in the performance of their rites and in their attention to the cult of their gods.

*ib.* 3, 10 (C. 65): They give free rein to their lusts, but are moderate in the use of food. Neither their statements nor their promises can be relied upon except in so far as they consider it expedient to tell the truth or honour their engagements.

#### POLYÆNUS.

(wrote 162 A.D.)

Strategemata (ed. Melher) VII, 11, 7 (C. 65): When the Egyptians refused to tolerate the brutal government of the satrap Aryandes and revolted because of it, Darius in person made the journey through the desert of Arabia and reached Memphis. It happened that just then the Egyptians were lamenting the disappearance of Apis. Darius proclaimed a reward of a hundred talents of gold for the man who should recover Apis, and the populace, in admiration of his piety, seceded from the insurgents and surrendered themselves to Darius.

#### TATIAN.

(wrote about 170 A. D.)

\* Oration to the Greeks (ed. Goodspeed) 1, 1 (C. 65): The people of Telmessus invented the art of divination by means of dreams.....the Persians discovered magic.

*ib.* 28 (C. 65): The Greeks disapprove of the practice of having intercourse with one's mother, but the Magians in Persia consider it perfectly honourable.

## MAXIMUS OF TYRE.

(wrote under Commodus)

Philosophy (ed. Hobein) II, 4 (C. 66): The.....barbarians, while all alike wise about god, differ in the representations of him which they have made. The Persians consider him to be fire, the glory of which is transient, and which is gluttonous and insatiable. They sacrifice to fire, with offerings of the things that nourish it, and praying 'Lord Fire, eat.'

## CELSUS.

(wrote about 178 A.D.)

Quotation in Origen: Against Celsus (ed. Kœtschau) V, 41, 609 (C. 66): (Celsus).....says.....that not even the doctrine of heaven.....held by the Jews is peculiar to them, but—not to mention the details—was maintained long ago by the Persians also, as Herodotus, among other authorities, points out.

*ib.* VII, 62, 738 (C. 66): They cannot endure the sight of temples and altars and statues.....that.....the Persians object to them is recorded by Herodotus in the following passage (see Herod. I, 131, p. 3 *supra*).....perhaps.....because we are to deny even that there are images of god, on the ground that god has a different shape, as is held also by the Persians. They do not observe that they confute themselves when they say that "the god made man" in his own "image," the fact being that there is only a resemblance in form.

See also under Origen.

## ATHENÆUS.

(wrote after 193 A.D.)

Dipnosophists (ed. Kaibel) V, 63, 220 C (C. 66): Antis-thenes.....in the second book of his history of the Cyruses, reviles Alcibiades, saying that as well in his relations with women as in his general manner of living he flouted all the restraints of law. He alleges, indeed, that, like the Persians, he had intercourse with his mother, his sister, and his daughter.

*ib.* X, 45, 434d (C. 66): Darius....., who put down the Magians, had inscribed on his tomb: 'I was able to drink



great quantities of wine, and carried it well.' Ctesias says that among the Indians the king is not allowed to drink to excess. In Persia the king may do this on a single day only, namely, the day of their sacrifice to Mithras.

*ib.* XII, 9, 515a (C. 66-67): Agathocles....in the third book of his work on Cyzicus says that the so-called golden water exists in Persia, and that it consists of seventy pools, from which only the king and his eldest son may drink, the penalty being death for any one else who does so.

*ib.* XIII, 3, 556b (C. 67): In Persia.....the queen tolerates the king's numerous concubines because the king rules his wife as a master does his slave, and further because, according to Dino's History of Persia, the concubines worship her. At any rate they do obeisance to her.

*ib.* XIV, 44, 639c (C. 67): Berosus.....in the third book of his History of Babylon says that the festival called Sacæa is celebrated in that city for five days in the month Loos, beginning with the sixteenth; and that during this period it is customary for masters to be ruled by their slaves, one of them, who is called 'zoganes,' taking charge of the house and wearing a robe similar to that of the king. Ctesias also, in the second book of his Persian History, mentions this festival.

#### CLEMENT OF ALEXANDRIA.

(lived from about 150 A.D. to after 211 A.D.)

Protrepticus (ed. Stählin) 4, 52, 6 (C. 67): If it is true that some, Cambyzes or Darius or other madman, made such attempts, and that some one killed the Egyptian Apis, I feel amusement at his having killed their god, but indignation if he did so for the sake of gain.

*ib.* 5, 65, 1 (C. 67): The Magians.....in Persia pay honour to fire, as do many of the other inhabitants of Asia, and also the Macedonians, according to Diogenes in the first book of his History of Persia. Why should I instance the Sauromatæ, whom Nymphodorus in his 'Customs of the Barbarians' records as revering fire, or the Persians and the Medes and the Magians? Dino says that they sacrifice in the open air, believing that the gods are revealed only in fire and water.

*ib.* 3 (C. 67): Berosus shows, however, in the third volume of his work on Chaldea, that after a long period of time they

began to adore anthropomorphic statues, this practice having been introduced by Artaxerxes the son of Darius and grandson of Ochus, who was the first to set up statues of Aphrodite Anaitis, which he did at Babylon, Susa, the two Ecbatanas (in Persia and Bactria), Damascus, and Sardis, thus suggesting to those communities the duty of worshipping them.

*Pædagogus* 1, 7, 55, 1 (C. 68): We have not failed to give consideration to the Persian institution of the royal tutors, as they are called, who are four in number and chosen by the Persian kings out of the whole Persian people according to merit and given charge of their sons. But their sons learn only to use the bow, and as soon as they have reached maturity have sexual relations with their sisters, mothers, and wives, not to mention innumerable concubines, exercising their sexual functions with the assiduity of the wild boar.

*Stromata* (Ed. Stählin) I, 15, 69, 6 (G. 240; C. 68): Now (Democritus) visited Babylon, Persia and Egypt to study under the Magians and the priests. Pythagoras was an ardent pupil of Zoroaster, the Persian Magian. Adherents of the school of Prodicus boast that they possess this man's apocryphal writings.

*ib.* 70, 1 (C. 68): Alexander in his work on Pythagorean symbols relates that Pythagoras studied with Zaratas, the Assyrian.

*ib.* 21, 133, 2 (G. 240; C. 68): The great Pythagoras always acted on the basis of foreknowledge; likewise Abaris the Hyperborean, Aristæas of Proconnesus, Epimenides of Crete who went to Sparta, Zoroaster the Median, Empedocles of Acragas, and Phormio, the Laconian.

*ib.* III, 6, 48, 3 (C. 68): Why, even the Magians are careful to abstain from wine, the flesh of animals, and sexual intercourse, when they are worshipping angels or dæmons.

*ib.* V, 14, 103, 2-5 (G. 240; C. 68): This same author (Plato), in the tenth book of his Republic, mentions Er, the son of Armenius, a Pamphylian by birth, who was identical with Zoroaster. Indeed, Zoroaster himself records: "Zoroaster, the son of Armenius, a native of Pamphylia, who was killed in war, wrote this account of what he learned from the gods when he was in Hades." Now Plato asserts that this Zoroaster, after lying for twelve days on the pyre, came back to life. Plato is alluding partly to his resurrection, partly to the fact that the road by which the souls ascend lies through the twelve signs of

the Zodiac. He himself says that the same road leads downward again to birth.

#### BARDESANES.

(lived about 154—223 A. D.)

Quoted by Eusebius: *Præparatio Evangelica* (ed. Gaisford) VI, 10, 16, 275 CD. (C. 69): Among the Persians it was customary for men to marry their daughters, sisters, and mothers. It was not only in that country and in that region that the Persians formed these unholy unions; even those who lived out of Persia, who are called Magousai practise the same abomination and pass on the same customs and habits to their children. Their descendants are numerous to the present day in Media, Egypt, Phrygia, and Galatia.

#### DIO CASSIUS.

(lived about 155-235 A. D.)

History of Rome (ed. Melber) XXXVI, 48, 1 f. (C. 69): Mithridates, when....certain of his generals had subdued the land of Anaitis which belonged to Armenia and was sacred to some deity, after whom it was named, 2.....feared, etc.

*ib.* 53, 5 (C. 69): The.....old man took over the treasures, and, having divided his army into three divisions, he passed the winter in person in the land of Anaitis, on the banks of the river Cyrenus.

*ib.* (ed. Dindorf) LXIII, 5, 1 f (C. 69): Tiridates....spoke .....as follows: '.....I came to you, my god, to do obeisance to you even as I do unto Mithras; and I will be whatever you decree; for you are my fortune and my fate.'

*ib.* 7, 2 (C. 69): Vologeses, although repeatedly summoned refused to go to Nero, and finally, annoyed by his importunity, sent back a message, in which he said: "It is much easier for you than for me to make this long sea-voyage."

#### TERTULLIAN.

(flourished under Septimius Severus and Caracalla)

*Apologia* (ed. Oehler) 9 (C. 69): Ctesias says that the Persians have intimate relations with their mothers.

*ib.* 16 (C. 69-70): We may perhaps be thought of like the Persians, though we do not adore a picture of the sun painted on canvas, but the real sun; for we have the sun itself in its disk everywhere with us.

Ad Nationes (ed. Reifferscheid and Wissowa) I, 16 (C. 70): Ctesias affirms, without qualification, that the Persians indulge freely in intercourse with their mothers, as conscious of what they are doing as they are strange to any feeling of horror at it.

Adversus Marcionem (ed. Kroymann) I, 13 (C. 70): To.... say something also of that blot upon this world.....the same teachers of philosophy, whose subtleties are the source of all heresies, have proclaimed as gods certain substances which are entirely unworthy of the title,.....for, like the majority of physicists they feared.....that the substances in the universe, which are worshipped by the Magians in Persia, the hierophants in Egypt and the gymnosophists in India, and which, forsooth, are so very august, would to some extent cease to be regarded as gods.

#### MELITO OF SARDIS.

In the Corpus Apologetarum IX, p. 425: Now his (*i.e.*, Hercules') lust was intense, like that of his friend, Zoradus\* the Persian.....Moreover, what shall I record concerning Nebo in Mabug? *ib.*: All the priests in Mabug know that he is the image of Orpheus, the Thrasian magian, just as Hadran is the image of Zaradusht, the Persian magian. These two magians practised the art of magic at a well that was in a forest in Mabug and in which dwelt an unclean spirit. This spirit used to work harm and sought to prevent the passage of anyone who was endeavouring to cross that district in which the citadel of Mabug is now situated. Moreover, these same magians in accordance with the secret potency inherent in their magic art, laid upon Simis, the daughter of Hadad, the task of drawing water from the sea and pouring it into the well that the spirit might not come forth and do its evil work.

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\* This may be a reference to Zoroaster, although Melito seems to regard him as a different person from Zaradusht mentioned in the next passage.

## SEXTUS EMPIRICUS.

(flourished at the end of the second century A. D.)

Pyrrhonis Hypotyposes (ed. Mutschmann) I, 152 (C. 70) : This habit.....we oppose to the others, first as a law, when we say that among us sexual intercourse with one's mother is forbidden, while in Persia this form of marriage is a custom.

*ib.* III, 205 (C. 70) : The Persians....., and among them especially the Magians, who are reputed to practise the philosophic life, marry their mothers.

*ib.* 228 (C. 70) : They say.....that the Persians impale their dead and embalm them in carbonate of soda, after which they wrap them tightly in linen bandages.

## NUMENIUS.

(flourished at the same time)

Quoted by Eusebius : *Præparatio Evangelica* (ed. Gaisford). IX, 7, 1, 411 bc. (C. 70-71) : I will lay before you the following statements of the Pythagorean philosopher himself, I mean Numenius, in the first book of his treatise, *On the Good* : "For this purpose it will be necessary to go back, with explanations and indications of the evidence adducible from Plato, and relate what is said to the sayings of Pythagoras, and also to invoke the most important peoples and cite their cults and doctrines and also their foundations, as Plato does. I speak of those instituted by the Brahmans, the Jews, the Magians, and the Egyptians."

## PSEUDO-CALLISTHENES.

(wrote about 200 A. D.)

Arrian's 'Anabasis' and 'Indian War.' (ed. Mueller, in Deubner, *Arriani anabasis et Indica*) I, 36 (C. 71) : I myself, the divine Darius, King of Kings, kinsman of the gods, who share the throne of Mithras and the rising of the sun, order and command you, Alexander, my slave, as follows.

*ib.* 38 (C. 71) : From Alexander the king, son of Philip the king and of Olympias, to the great king of Persia, King of Kings, who shares the throne of the gods and the rising of the sun, greeting. It is disgraceful for Darius, the mighty king of Persia, who boasts such mighty power and who shares the throne of the gods and the rising of the sun, to fall to the mean condition of a slave to a mere mortal such as Alexander.

*ib.* 39 (C. 71): To the great god, King Darius, greeting.... Darius, the great god, King of Kings, to all his satraps and generals, greeting.

*ib.* II, 14 (C. 71): Alexander.....when the foreign delegates were all assembled, came within a little of doing obeisance to the person of Darius, believing him to be a god who had come down from Olympus and adorned himself in the robes of the barbarians.

*ib.* 18 (C. 71): Similarly.....he saw also the tomb of Cyrus, which was under the open sky, a tower of twelve stories, in the topmost of which Cyrus lay in a golden bath. He was covered with glass, through which his hair and indeed his whole body was visible.

*ib.* III, 34 (C. 71): The.....Persians fought the Macedonians with the object of recovering Alexander and proclaimed him to be Mithras.† The Macedonians made a counter-claim, wishing to take him back to Macedonia.

#### ÆLIAN.

(lived about 175-235 A. D.)

*Varia Historia* (ed. Hercher) I, 22 (C. 72): These were the gifts regularly presented by the king (of Persia) to ambassadors who came to his court, whether they came from Greek or from barbarian states.

*ib.* 31 (C. 72): This custom of the Persians is observed by them with as much care as any. When the king proceeds to Persia, all the Persians bring presents to him, each according to his own ability. As they are engaged in agriculture, being yeoman—farmers whose labour is on the land—they do not offer him very expensive gifts, while avoiding objects of no value at all. Some bring him cattle or sheep, others corn or wine. When he passes with his train each man lays his gifts before him, for so they are called, and as such they are regarded by the king. Men in even more humble circumstances bring milk, dates, cheese, fruits in season, or first fruits of the other products of the country.

*ib.* 32 (C. 72): Artaxerxes.....said.....‘water is the best thing of all.’

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† reading ἀννηρόρευσαν

*ib.* 33 (C. 72): Omises brought a very large mulberry in a basket to Artaxerxes, the King, when he was travelling through the land of Persia. Wherefore the king, lost in amazement at its size. . . . sent him princely gifts, adding the remark: "By Mithras, this man by industrious care such as this will be able, in my judgment, to make a great city out of a small one."

*ib.* II, 14 (C. 72): This Xerxes made himself ridiculous by the contempt he showed for the sea and the land, the works of Zeus, and by making a road over the water and a channel through a mountain, and further by the slavish veneration which he paid to a plane-tree. At least, the story runs that in Lydia he saw an immense plane-tree, to which on that day he paid no attention whatever, using the vacant space about it as a place wherein to rest his animals. But later he affixed to it expensive ornaments, honouring its branches with necklaces and bracelets, and left behind a man to look after it, as though to guard and protect a loved object.

*ib.* 17 (C. 72-73): The wise Magians in Persia know the art of divination as well as all the other subjects which it is right for them to know. They actually predicted, by means of certain mystic signs, the barbarous treatment which Ochus meted out to his subjects and the bloodthirstiness of his character. For when, on the death of his father Artaxerxes, Ochus succeeded to the throne of Persia, the Magians instructed one of the eunuchs who were standing by to be careful to notice what food Ochus tried first from the table that was set before him. The eunuch standing at his side and watching for this, Ochus stretched out his hands and with the right took up one of the knives that were set before him, while with the left hand he drew towards him the largest loaf on the table, and then putting some meat on it, cut it up and ate ravenously. The Magians, when they heard this, made the two predictions that follow: that during his reign there would be good crops and many murders.

*ib.* IV, 8 (C. 73): The Egyptians called Ochus, in their native tongue Onos (ass) mocking his dull wit by comparing him to the animal which showed the same weakness. In revenge for this Ochus seized Apis (the bull) by force and sacrificed it to Onos (the ass).

*ib.* VI, 8 (C. 73): He also (sc. Ochus), when in Egypt, slew Apis, as Cambyses had done before him.

*ib.* IX, 3 (C. 73): First in order.....were five-hundred Persians, the so-called Apple-Bearers, standing within the gates round it (sc. the tent of Alexander).

*ib.* 39 (C. 73): Who would not agree that these lovers were ridiculous and eccentric? First Xerxes, for falling in love with a plane-tree, etc.

*ib.* XII, 1 (C. 73): (Cyrus) was about to drink according to the Persian fashion. For the Persians, after taking their fill of food, relax themselves freely with wine and in drinking healths, getting ready for their drink as though to meet an adversary.

The Nature of Animals VI, 39 (C. 73): The fathers..... kill most of their male offspring when young, to prevent their covering their mothers, as they would if allowed to reach the age of puberty. Such a relation appears, indeed, to be a pollution and an abomination even as between irrational creatures. Yet, O Persians, Cyrus and Parysatis thought it honourable and lawful, and Cyrus loved his mother evilly, and was loved by her in like manner.

*ib.* X, 28 (C. 73-74): The Busiritæ and Egyptian Abydos and the city of the Lycus loathe the sound of the trumpet as having some resemblance to the braying of an ass. Besides, all who are devoted to the worship of Sarapis, hate the ass. Ochus the Persian knew this, as is shown by the fact that he put Apis to death and deified the ass; for he wanted to wound the feelings of the Egyptians as deeply as he could. But in the end the sacred bull was avenged, when Ochus met with a fate which he thoroughly deserved and which was not less terrible than that suffered by Cambyeses, the first to commit this impious act.

*ib.* XII, 23 (C. 74): In the land of Elam there is a temple to Anaitis, where tame lions welcome and fawn upon those who pass into the temple.

Fragments (ed. Hercher) 35 (C. 74): He (Ochus) sacrificed the he-goat at Mende, which was sacred to Pan, and, misguided man that he was, had an elaborate meal of its flesh served up to him, and ate his fill of it.

*ib.* 37 (C. 74): Ochus, having put Apis to death, desired to hand it over to the cooks to be cut up and served to him for dinner.



## PSEUDO-LUCIAN.

(wrote in 212 or 213 A. D.)

Works of Lucian (ed. Jacobitz), *Makrobioi* 4 (C. 74): It is recorded that certain classes of men are long-lived in consequence of the kind of life they lead, as for example.....the so-called Magians, an order of seers who are dedicated to the service of the gods, and who are found among the Persians, the Parthians, the Bactrians, the Chorasmians, the Areians, the Sacæ, the Medes and many other barbarian peoples. They have strong constitutions and live to a great age, for their profession as Magians makes it incumbent upon them to observe strict rules of life.

## DIOGENES OF LAERTE.

(wrote under Alexander Severus and his successors)

Lives of the Philosophers (ed. Huebner) Introduction 1, 1 (C. 74): Some authorities hold that philosophical speculation, was derived from the barbarians, on the ground of the rise of the Magians among.....the Persians.

*ib.* 2, 2 (G. 241; C. 74): Hermodorus, of the Platonic school, states in his treatise on mathematics that the period from the Magians, over whom Zoroaster the Persian ruled, to the capture of Troy was five (two MSS read six) thousand years. Xanthus, the Lydian, counts six thousand years between Zoroaster and the Greek expedition of Xerxes, claiming that a large number of Magians followed him in succession—the several Ostanes, Astrampsychi, Gobryæ and Pazatæ, down to the subjugation of the Persians by Alexander.

*ib.* 5f. 6f. (C. 74-5): ....saying that philosophy originated with the barbarians. And they describe its character among the several peoples. And they say that....the Magians are engaged in the service of the gods and in sacrifices and prayers, it being believed that their prayers alone are heard; and that they give an account of the substance and origin of the gods, whom they declare to be fire and earth and water, condemning wooden images and above all those who say that there are male and female gods. 7. They are also said to hold discourse on justice, and to regard cremation as impious, but not to think intercourse with one's mother or sister as illegitimate. This is the account given by Sotio in his twenty-third book. It is said, further, that they practise divination and prediction, and that the gods appear to them and speak, and also that the air is full of forms which rise in exhalations of vapour and are visible

to the eyes of the sharp-sighted. They forbid ornaments and the wearing of gold. They dress in white, sleep on straw, and feed on vegetables, cheese and inferior bread. They carry a reed-staff, which, it is said, they used to stick into the cheese, which they lifted up and ate.

*ib.* 8-9 (G. 241-242; C. 75): According to Aristotle in his treatise on Magic, and to Dino in the fifth book of his histories, (the Magians) were not acquainted with sorcery. Dino also says that "Zoroaster" means "one who sacrifices to the stars," a statement in which Hermodorus agrees. Aristotle holds in his first book on philosophy that the Magians were older than the Egyptians; that there are two independent powers, a good dæmon and a bad one, the former named Zeus and Oromasdes, the latter Hades and Arimanius. The same assertion is likewise made by Hermippus in his first book on the Magians, by Eudoxus in his *Periodus*, and by Theopompus in the eighth chapter of his *Philippics*, 9, this last writer stating that according to the Magians men will come to life again and be immortal and that existing things will continue to exist under their present names. This assertion is supported by Eudemus of Rhodes. Hecataeus records besides that according to the Magians the gods had been created. Clearchus of Soli in his book on education holds the gymnosophists to be descendants of the Magians, while some claim that the Jews are also. In addition, those who have written the history of the Magians blame Herodotus, insisting that Xerxes would never have shot arrows at the sun or sunk fetters into the sea, when he had learnt from the Magians that these were gods; they allow on the other hand that it was quite natural that he should throw down the statues.

*ib.* II, 5, 24, 54 (C. 75): Aristotle.....says that a certain Magian came to Athens from Syria, and, in addition to passing other severe judgments upon Socrates, actually foretold that he would die a violent death.

*ib.* IX, 11, 1 f., 61 (C. 76): Pyrrho.....was a pupil of Bryso, son of Stilpo, as we are told by Alexander in his *Chronicles*; later following Anaxarchus everywhere, and associating with the gymnosophists in India and also with the Magians.

#### HIPPOLYTUS.

(died 236 or 237 A. D.)

. Refutation of all Heresies (Ed. Wendland) I, 2, 12-14, (G. 240-241, under Origen; C. 76): Diodorus.....the Eretrian

and Aristoxenus the musician state that Pythagoras visited Zaratas, the Chaldaean, who taught him the doctrine that for all things there are two primal causes, Father and Mother. The Father is light and the Mother darkness, the parts of light being warmth, dryness, lightness, and quick movement, whereas those of darkness are cold, moisture, weight and slowness. Of these the whole world is made, that is, of male and female. 13. They say that the world is constituted according to the laws of musical harmony, because the sun's full period is harmonic. Concerning the things that are derived from earth and from the universe these authors claim that Zaratas sets forth the following doctrine : there are two dæmons, one celestial, the other chthonic ; the chthonic, which is water, brought about the creation of things on the earth ; the celestial, which is fire, partakes of the air and is hot and cold. Hence it is maintained that none of these destroys or defiles the soul, for these dæmons constitute the essential nature of all things. 14. It is said that the eating of beans is forbidden because Zaratas declared the bean was already in existence when at the very beginning of the universe the earth was still in the process of being compounded and formed.

*ib.* IV, 43, 3 (C. 76) : Those . . . . . Persians who thi<sup>pl</sup>at they have attained to a close insight into the truth maintained that god was shining, a light suspended in the air.

*ib.* V, 14, 8 (G. 241, under Origen ; C. 76) : The right hand power exercises authority over fruits ; ignorance called this *Men* in whose image were created Bumegas, Ostanes, Hermes Trismegistus, Curites, Petosirus, Zodarium, Berosus, Astrampsychus, Zoroastris.

*ib.* VI, 23, 2 (G. 241, under Origen ; C. 76) : Zaratas, the teacher of Pythagoras, called unity Father, and the number two, Mother.

#### ORIGEN.

(lived about 184—250 A. D.)

Against Celsus (ed. Koetschan) I, 5, 324 (C. 77) : He (Celsus) reports . . . . . that the Persians also hold this opinion (sc. that they do not believe in gods that are fashioned by the hand of man), and he quotes Herodotus to this effect.

*ib.* 16, 335 (G. 240 ; C. 77) : Consider then if (Celsus) in his mischief-making did not promptly exclude Moses also

from the list of wise men, claiming that Linus, Musæus, Orpheus, Pherecydes, Zoroaster the Persian, and Pythagoras had made distinction among men of this class and had introduced into books their own teachings which have been preserved to this day.

*ib.* 24, 342 (C. 77) : If . . . . . we can . . . . . establish the nature of real names, some of which are used by the wise men of Egypt, or the more erudite of the Magians in Persia or the Brahmins or Samanæans among the Indian philosophers . . . . . then we shall say that the word Sabaoth . . . . . denotes, not anything ordinary or created, but something of mystic and divine import.

*ib.* V, 27, 597 (C. 77) : Let any one who will . . . . . tell . . . . . us . . . . . if the Scythian laws—come, speak!—about the burial of their fathers are right, or the laws of the Persians, when they do not prevent mothers from marrying their own sons or fathers their own daughters.

*ib.* 44, 611 (C. 77-78) : Celsus . . . . . considers . . . . . that the doctrine of heaven is identical with the doctrine of god and says that the Persians perform sacrifices to Zeus in a manner similar to that of the Jews, both peoples ascending the highest mountains for the purpose. He does not observe that the Jews, just as they knew one god, in like manner knew one holy house of prayer, one altar for the sacrifice of burnt-offerings, one censer for the burning of incense and one high-priest of God. So that there was no resemblance between the rites of the Jews and the Persians, when the latter ascended the highest mountains, which are numerous enough, and there performed sacrifices which were entirely unlike those ordained by the law of Moses. For in obedience to that law the Jewish priests worshipped "the heavenly powers by tokens and in secret," setting out in secret the intention of the law with regard to the sacrifices and the objects of which these sacrifices were tokens. The Persians therefore are free to call the whole circle of the heaven Zeus ; but we maintain that the heaven is neither Zeus nor God, for we know that even one of those who are inferior to God ascended into regions above the heavens and all sensible nature.

*ib.* VI, 80, 693 (C. 78) : Celsus classes the Magians as one of the most inspired peoples. It was their "magic"—a word derived from their name—which has gained a footing among the other peoples also, to the ruin and destruction of all who practise it . . . . The Persians, who marry their mothers and have intercourse with their sisters, are regarded by Celsus as an inspired race of men.

*ib.* VII, 63, 739 (C. 78) : The Persians cannot endure the sight of temples, altars, or statues.

*ib.* 64, 739 (C. 78) : Just as....this one thing, abstinence from adultery, though it has the appearance of being one thing, is in reality found to take numerous forms, according to the doctrines and purposes of those who observe it, so also, among those who abjure the worship of the divine at altars or statues, or in temples, the Scythians or the Libyan Nomades or the unbelieving Seres or the Persians do this for reasons different from those which actuate the Christians or Jews in their intolerance of this alleged form of worshipping the divine.

*ib.* 65, 740 (C. 78) : I have dealt above with the refusal of the Persians to build temples and with their worship of the sun and of the works of God — all of which is forbidden to us..... This then, added to what was said before, will suffice as a criticism of the Persian people, who abjure altars and statues, but worship “ the creation in the form of the creator.”

CYPRIAN.

(died 258 A.D.)

Idols are not Gods (ed. Hartel) 6 (C 78) : Ostanēs both denies that the form of the true God can be seen, and affirms that real angels attend his throne.

PHILOSTRATUS.

(wrote under Philip the Arab)

Life of Apollonius (ed. Kayser) I, 18 (C.78) : He....had a high opinion of the Magians, who inhabit Babylon and Susa.

*ib.* 31 (C. 79) : When he (Apollonius) approached....and saluted him, the king (of Persia) addressed him in Greek, bidding him join him in performing a sacrifice ; for he was on the point of sacrificing a white horse of the best Nisæan breed to the Sun, and had decked out the animal with trappings as though for a procession. Apollonius, however, said in reply : “ O king, do you make sacrifice after your fashion, and allow me to do so in mine.”

Lives of the Sophists (ed. Kayser) A' i' 209 (C 79) : Protagoras....the sophist of Abdera was a pupil of Democritus in that city, and associated with the Magians from Persia at the

time of Xerxes' expedition against Greece. For his father Maeander, one of the richest men in Thrace, entertained Xerxes at his home and by his favour was able to put his son in contact with the Magians, for the latter, unless with the king's permission, do not give instruction except to men of the Persian race. I consider the heterodoxy of Protagoras, which led him to profess agnosticism with regard to the existence of gods, to be due to this Persian education. For the Magians, though they invoke the gods before practising their secret rites, undermine the open profession of belief in the divine through their disinclination to appear to owe their power to it.

CAIUS JULIUS SOLINUS POLYHISTOR.

(lived about 250 A.D.)

(G 244) : The first cry of the newly born is a wail, for the reason that the sensation of pleasure does not come until the fortieth day. Thus we have heard it said that only one human being laughed in the first hour after birth, namely, Zoroaster who was afterwards very highly skilled in the noblest arts.

Collectanea Rerum Memorabilium (ed. Mommsen) 55, 2 (C 79) : Next, this region extends as far as the stronghold off Fidasarcida, which is occupied by the Magians ; in it is the tomb of Cyrus.

PORPHYRY.

(born 233 A.D. ; died about 304 A.D.)

Vita Pythagoræ (ed. Nauck) 6 (C 79) : It is said that he heard the teaching of the Magians and adopted their opinions as to the worship of the gods and the rest of their doctrines as to the conduct of life.

*ib.* 6 (G 242; C 79-80) : At Babylon Pythagoras associated with the Chaldeans and visited Zaratus by whom he was cleansed of the pollutions of his earlier life and received instruction as to the source whence zealots might obtain sanctification ; he also learned from him his theory of nature and how the universe had its beginning. Indeed, through his travels among these nations, Pythagoras came into contact with the greater part of knowledge.

*ib.* 41 (C. 80) : He gave the following advice : that men should, above all, observe the truth, as this was the only thing in which men could imitate god. For, as he learnt from the

Magians, the god, whom they call Horomasdes, in his bodily form resembled light, in his soul, truth.

De Antro Nympharum (ed. Nauck). 6 (G. 242—243 ; C. 80) : In this manner the Persians also initiate a novice by conducting him down the road by which souls descend and back again up the returning road ; they call the place a cave. At first, Eubulus tells us, Zoroaster dedicated to the worship of Mithras, the maker and father of all things, a natural cave among the mountains hard by Persia, a recess embellished with flowers and containing springs of water : for the cave suggested to him the form of the world that Mithras created, while its contents, in respect of their relative situation, symbolized the component parts and climates of the world. After Zoroaster the practice of conducting the holy rites in caves and grottoes whether natural or artificial became general among the other peoples also.

De Abstinencia (ed. Nauck) IV. 16 ( C.80) : In... Persia those who are expert in the love of the divine, and who attend to its worship, are called Magians ; for this, in the native tongue is what is denoted by the word "Magian". This class is so important, and so highly esteemed, among the Persians, that even Darius, the son of Hystaspes, had inscribed on his tomb, in addition to everything else, a mention of the fact that he had taught the magic art. According to Eubulus, who wrote an account of Mithras in many volumes, the Magians are divided into three orders—the first of which, comprising the most erudite, will not eat or kill any living thing, but cling to the early practice of abstaining from living beings : the second partake of animal flesh but will not kill any domesticated animal ; even the third order, so far like the other two, will not touch any and every animal. For all three orders believe that metempsychosis is true in the case of primordial existences, which belief they seem to illustrate in the mysteries of Mithras.

De Vita Plotini (Plotini Enneades, ed. Volkmann) 16 (G 243 ; C 80-81) : In his time (*i.e.*, of Plotinus) there were many Christians as well as other sectaries, such as followers of Adelphius and Aquilinus, who had been won over from the ancient philosophy ; these acquired vast numbers of the works of Alexander the Libyan, of Philocomus, of Demostratus, and of Lydus, and by professing to give revelations of Zoroaster, Zostrianus, Nicotheas, Allogenes, Mesus and others of that order deceived many persons and were themselves deceived, since even Plato did not come near to probing fully the depths of intelligible

being. Hence in his discussions Plotinus put forth many refutations of these views, but in a book which we in our writings have employed against the Gnostics left it to us to come to our own conclusions as to all other matters. Amelius in attacking Zostrianus' treatise composed as many as forty books. I, Porphyry, also have confuted Zoroaster's work, essaying to show that it is spurious, of recent origin, and invented by the founders of the sect so as to make it appear that the doctrines which they chose to revere were those of the ancient Zoroaster.

#### ARNOBIUS.

(wrote under Diocletian)

*Adversus Nationes* (ed. Reifferscheid, I, 5 (G. 2-42; C 81): Did this unpopularity of ours arise from the fact that the Assyrians and Bactrians, under the leadership respectively of Ninus and Zoroaster, fought not only with weapons, and armies, but also with the aid of the Magians and the occult teachings of the Chaldeans?

*ib.* 52 (G 242; C 81): Come, then, and let Zoroaster, the Magus of Bactria, come through the zone of fire from the inner circle that we may agree with the author Hermippus; may there also come with him Armenius the Pamphylian, the grandson of Zostrianus and close associate of Cyrus, whose achievements Otesias sets forth in the first book of his histories.

*ib.* IV, 12 (C. 81): The Magians... relate that, after their invocations, anti-gods quite often steal up, instead of the gods they have summoned; and that the former are spirits of a grosser substance, which pass themselves off as gods and deceive the ignorant with their lies and pretences.

#### GREEK PAPYRUS.

(Probably between third and fourth centuries, A.D. (G.M. 312): The name "Zoroaster, the Persian", appears without further qualification in a Greek magic papyrus published by Leemans, *Papyri Graeci Musei Antiquarii Publici Lugduni Batavorum*, Leiden, 1883-1885, vol. ii, pp. 154-155.

#### FLAVIUS VOPISCUS.

(wrote about 305 A.D.)

(Peter: *Scriptores Historiae Augustae*) Aurelianus, 5, 5 (C 81): Moreover, when he went as ambassador to Persia he



was given a bowl of the type which is usually presented to the emperors by the Persian king. On it was an engraved representation of the Sun in the form in which it was worshipped in the temple in which his mother had been priestess.

#### EUSEBIUS OF CAESAREA.

(lived about 262 to 340 A.D.)

*Praeparatio Evangelica* (ed. Gaisford) X, 9, 10, 484 d (G 243 ; C 81) : The city known as Nineveh among the Hebrews was named after Ninus in whose time Zoroaster the Magian was king of the Bactrians. Semiramis was the consort of Ninus and succeeded him on the throne. Hence Abraham was contemporary with them.

*Chronica* (ed. Aucher) (to year 9 of Abraham) II, 35 (G 243) : Zoroaster, the Magian, is held to be a famous king of the Bactrians ; Ninus fought a successful war against him.

#### LACTANTIUS.

(died about 340 A.D.)

*Divinae Institutiones* (ed. Brandt) VII, 18, 2 (C. 82) : Hystaspes. . . after his account of the vices of the last years of this century, says that the good and the faithful will be separated from the malefactors and will stretch out their hands to heaven with tears and lamentations and will implore the help of Jupiter ; and that Jupiter will look down upon the earth and listen to the prayers of men, and will destroy the wicked.

#### LACTANTIUS PLACIDUS.

ed. Jahnke, *Commentary on Book IV*, pp. 228-9 : " The complete system of the threefold universe " resembles that old painting in which are depicted the torments of the damned and the ascent to God. Now he calls God the " demiurge," it being wrong to know his name. Innumerable philosophers and Magians, and also the Persians, affirm that in reality there is, in addition to the gods whom all know, and who are worshipped in temples, another god who is superior to them and lord in the highest degree : he assigns their functions and positions to the other divinities ; and of this stock the Sun and the Moon are the sole representatives. The other gods, who are said to be carried around by the globe, owe their brightness to exhalations from the supreme god ; the chief authorities for this view being

Pythagoras, Plato, and even Tages. But it is outrageous to believe, as some do, that this supreme god has anything to do with wicked arts or the practices of magic. Now the poet in his verses spoke of "him" in a way which implied that he knew his name, and referred to it later in such a way as to disclose it. But his main object in speaking thus of "him" was to inspire fear, and the belief that he knew the name. If, however, it is wrong for the name to be known, it could not be learnt by the poet. Even though the Magians possess gems which they believe to be inscribed with names of God, the fact is that the name of God cannot be known by any man. I will now explain the truth of the whole matter. Can we know the name of this god who with a mere nod governs and holds together all that is, whose will everything obeys, whose universe transcends thought and has no limits? But the Magians, wishing to understand, as they thought, the several names of the divine virtue, quite wrongly applied names more or less in accordance with the natural function of each, and attempted to give to God a name by attaching to him the laudable attributes of a multiplicity of divinites, using words derived, more or less, from the effect produced by each virtue thus attributed to him.

#### FIRMICUS MATERNUS.

(wrote in 346 or 347 A.D.)

*De Errore Profanarum Religionum* (ed. Ziegler) 5 (C. 82): All the Persians and Magians who inhabit the Region of Persia honour fire before everything else and hold that it should have first place among all the elements. And so they distinguish its powers as two in number, applying its nature to that of the two sexes and allotting the substance of male and female each to a form of fire. And woman that determine as having three faces, and connect her with hideous serpents. This they do to avoid disagreeing in any way with their master the devil, and to secure that their goddess, in bringing forth serpents, be adorned with the foul insignia of the devil.

#### PSEUDO-CLEMENT.

(wrote 350-400 A.D.)

*Homilies* (Lagarde, Clementina) VI, 10 (C. 82): Observe please, that all such things, without distinction, embody the same allegory: You must consider that the sun which traverses the heavens is Appollo, who is son of Zeus, and is also called Mithras, as he fulfils the revolution of the year.

*ib.* IX, 4ff. (G. 239 ; C. 82-83) : In his turn in the succession a certain man of this family (*i.e.* of Cham), called Nebrod, received the magic art as though he were a giant who chose to think thoughts in opposition to God ; he it is whom the Greeks knew as Zoroaster. After the flood he became covetous of the kingship, and, being a great Magian, with his magic devices he constrained the star presiding over the destiny of the evil king then on the throne to yield the kingship. The latter, however, inasmuch as he was the ruler and had authority over the one who was attempting the violence, brought down the royal fire upon him that he might honour his oath and punish him who had first resorted to constraint .5. Now when Nebrod the Magian had been slain by the lightning that had fallen from heaven to earth, his name was changed to Zoroaster, for the reason that the stream of living fire from the star had descended upon him. But the foolish people of those days believing that because of his friendship with God his soul had been summoned by the lightning bolt, buried the remains of his body, honoured his tomb by the erection of a shrine in that place in Persia where the fire had come down, and revered him as a god. Following this example their successors mark by means of shrines their veneration of those who are killed by lightning, on the theory that they are friends of God, and erect lifelike images of them. 6. Since the Persians were the first to collect and to preserve with special care the embers of a fallen lightning-bolt as well as to revere celestial fire as a god and to do homage to it, they were honoured by this very fire in being given the first kingship. After this the Babylonians stole the coals of this fire, conveyed it to their own shrines, worshipped it and themselves succeeded to the royal power.

Recognitiones (Migne, Patrologia Graeca I) I, 30 (C. 83) : In the seventeenth generation Nemrod was the first to hold the kingship in Babylonia and there built a city ; removing thence to Persia he taught the Persians to worship fire.

*ib.* IV, 27 ff. (G. 238-239 ; C. 83-84) : One of these, named Cham, transmitted to a certain one of his sons, who was known as Mesraim and from whom the Egyptians, Babylonians and Persians are descended, the doctrine of magic which was then only imperfectly understood. This man the people of that time called Zoroaster, honouring him as the originator of magic ; indeed, numerous books on this subject bear his name. By making many careful observations of the stars and through a desire to appear to men as a god he began to draw out sparklike emanations from the stars and to show them to his fellowmen.

so that these untutored and ignorant people might be led to stand aghast before them as before a miracle; but in his intense ambition to enhance his reputation in this way he attempted this task so often that he was set on fire by the very *dæmon* with whom he associated to excess and was entirely consumed. 28. But the foolish people of that day when they ought assuredly to have abandoned the opinion they held concerning him (for, of course, they had seen it refuted by the penalty of death), exalted him all the more. For example, they erected a sepulchre in his honour, and, as though he were a favorite of the god and had been borne aloft to heaven on a bolt of lightning, they made so bold as to worship him and to revere him as a living star. Hence, after his decease the name of Zoroaster, that is to say, "living star," was given him by those who, a single generation later, had come under the influence of the Greek tongue. In a word, even today, following this precedent, many people venerate as friends of God those who have been killed by lightning and whom they have honoured with imposing sepulchres. Thus, he began his ministry in the fourteenth generation and died in the fifteenth, in which the tower was built, and the languages of men were greatly multiplied. 29. The first of these men to gain the title of king (and this in spite of his magic art, on the theory that a flash of fire had descended upon him) was Nemrod, the same man who is called Ninus by the Greeks, from him the city of Nineveh gets its name. In this way, then, the various erroneous superstitions had their origin in magic.

The very people who had originally been deceived collected the ashes of the man that had been burned by the anger of the god to whom he had been excessively offensive, on the ground that the ashes were relics of the lightning-bolt, gave them to the Persians, in order that the fire, as a divine flame that had fallen from heaven, might be preserved by a perpetual succession of watchers and be worshipped as a god from above.

*ib.* IX, 20 (C. 84): It is the custom in Persia to take both sisters and daughters to wife, and in the whole of that region the Persians practise incestuous marriages.

*ib.* 21 (C. 84); Some of the same Persian people emigrated to foreign parts, and were known as Magusæi. Descendants of these are found even now in Media and Parthia, and a certain number even in Egypt; more, however, inhabit Galatia and Phrygia. They all, even when they have settled in foreign countries, preserve unchanged the incestuous feature of this tradition and pass it on to their posterity.

## AMMIANUS MARCELLINUS.

(Wrote about 360 A.D.)

History (ed. Clark) XVII, 5, 1 ff. (C. 84): The king of Persia ....2. sent a letter to Constantius...., the tenor of which I have learnt was as follows: 3. "Sapor, king of kings, partner of the stars, brother of the sun and moon, to Constantius Caesar my brother greeting, etc."

*ib.* XXI, 13, 4 (C. 84): The Persians, ...also worship the spirit of silence.

*ib.* XXIII, 6, 4 f. (C. 84): With the chief men rivalling the populace in expressing their approbation, he (Arsaces) was, as they believe, the first through the dedication pronounced in this ceremony he had instituted, to be made one with the stars. 5. In consequence, until this day the arrogant kings of this same people allow themselves to be addressed as the brothers of the sun and moon.

*ib.* 32 (C. 84): In these parts are the fertile territories of the Magians; and now that I have come to them, it will not be out of place to give a short account of this sect and their activities.

*ib.* 32-34 (G 244-245; C. 84-85): Plato, the most eminent authority on notable views and beliefs, asserts that in mystic language "magia" is "hagistia," an exceedingly pure form of the cult of the divine. To the lore of this cult many additions derived from the occult teachings of the Chaldeans were made in primitive times by Zoroaster, the Bactrian, and later by Hystaspes, the wise king and the father of Darius. 33. The latter while boldly exploring the hidden solitudes of upper India came to a certain lonely wood of whose peace and stillness the Brahmans, pronouncedly inclined to contemplation as they were, were taking advantage. By them he was tutored in the laws governing the movements of the universe and the constellations as well as in the pure and undefiled ceremonies of divine worship so far as he could comprehend them, and some of the things he learned he combined with the doctrine of the Magians, namely, those things which, along with instruction in prophecy, each Brahman transmits to posterity through his own immediate offspring. A vast number of his descendants in continuous succession from the remote past to the present day have been consecrated to the worship of the gods. Moreover,

it is said (if it is fair to believe it) that they preserve perpetually on their hearths fire that has fallen from heaven, a small measure of which, according to report, was in olden times carried before the kings of Asia as an omen of good fortune.

*ib.* 35 f. (C. 85): Originally the number of these Magians was small, and their services were regularly employed by the Persian governments for the conduct of divine worship. It was considered to be a crime demanding expiation if any one approached the altars or touched the victim before a Magian said prayers and poured the preliminary libations. In time, however, the Magians increased in number and acquired the status as they received the name, of a real individual people. They lived in large houses in the country, which were entirely without the protection of strong walls, and were allowed to observe their own laws, while the general respect for their piety caused them to be held in honour. 36. It is recorded in the books of the ancients that, after the death of Cambyses, seven representatives of this Magian stock ascended the throne of Persia, from which they were ousted by the party of Darius, whom the chance of a horse's neigh raised to the supreme power.

*ib.* 76 f. (C. 85): Most of them give a very free rein to their desire for sexual pleasures, and as they abstain from pœderasty, and are not easily satisfied even with numerous concubines, each man marries more or fewer wives according to his means. And so the diffusion of their interest among the various objects of their passion results in the atrophy of feelings of genuine affection. They avoid elegant and luxurious banquets, and especially any excessive eagerness for drink, which they consider an abomination. 77. Moreover, apart from the royal banquets, no regular hours for meals are observed among them; each man's hunger tells him the time for eating; and, when so prompted, they eat whatever is at hand, no one even indulging himself beyond satiety.

*ib.* 79 (C. 85): In addition, it is not easy to find a Persian relieving himself in the open or openly withdrawing for the purpose of satisfying the demands of nature; thus they avoid with great care these and other disgraceful actions.

*ib.* 80 (C. 85): A servant attending upon them, or serving at table, may not open his mouth or speak or spit: and so the mouths of all of them are bound with strips of skin drawn across them.

## BASIL.

(lived about 330—379 A.D.)

Letters (Migne, P.G. XXXII) 258 to Epiphanius 4 (C. 86) : The Magusæi . . . live in great numbers among us, scattered almost all over the country. They are the descendants of colonists originally transplanted to this country from the region of Babylonia. They observe customs peculiar to themselves, and do not mingle with other people. Inasmuch as the devil has enslaved them to his will it is quite impossible to appeal to their reason ; for they have no books and no teachers of doctrine ; instead they are brought up in irrational habits, and pass on their impieties to their children. Apart from these characteristics, which all may observe, they object to sacrificing living things, regarding it as an abomination, and in consequence they procure others to slay the animals which are needed for the purpose. They indulge in lawless forms of marriage and believe fire and other similar things to be gods.

*ib.* 258 (G. 244 ; C. 86) : Nobody has recorded for us the genealogies of the Magians from Abraham to the present time, but their tradition has it that a certain Zarouas was the founder of their line.

## GREGORY OF NAZIANZUS.

(died 390 A.D.).

Orations (Migne, P.G. XXXVI) 39, 5 (C. 96) : What . . . will you think of the meat with which Pelops feasted the hungry gods with malignant and inhuman hospitality ? or of the obscure and dreadful portents of Hecate and the sport and divination of Trophonius beneath the earth ? or of the drivellings of the oak of Dodona ? or of the sophisms of the Delphic tripod ? or of the prophetic spring of Castalia ? This alone they did not predict, that they would all become silent ; neither did the sacrifices nor the prophetic victims of the Magians, nor the astronomy nor the astrology of the Chaldeans, etc.

## MARIUS VICTORINUS AFER.

(about 350 A.D.)

Against Justin the Manichæan (ed. Migne) 1003 (G. 245) : Have you already observed, then, how many people Manis, Zoradis, or the Buddha have led astray by these teachings ?

## AMBROSIUS.

(died 397 A.D.)

Letters (Migne, P.L. VI) 1,18 30 (C. 86): Why....did the Romans always abhor the gods of treacherous Carthage? whom the Afri worship as Coelestes, the Persians as Mithras, and most peoples as Venus, the names being different but the deity signified the same.

## EPIPHANIUS OF CONSTANTIA.

(died 403 A.D.)

Panarium contra Hæreses (ed. Holl) 3, 2 f. (G. 244; C. 86-87): Now there ascended the throne Nebrod, the son of Chus, the Ethiopian, the progenitor of Assur. His rule extended over Orech, Arphal and Chalanne. He founded also the kingdom of Thiras, of Thobel and of Lobus in the territory of the Assyrians. This man, according to the Greeks, was the same as Zoroaster, who migrated to the East and founded the kingdom of the Bactrians, from which region his lawless teachings spread over the (earth). Lawless, I say, for this Nebrod was the inventor of the evil doctrine of astrology and magic, just as certain authorities relate concerning Zoroaster; at all events, it is quite true that this was the time in which Nebrod the giant lived, and that Nebrod and Zoroaster did not<sup>1</sup> live many years apart<sup>2</sup>.

*ib.* (Migne, P.G. XLI) 42 (C. 87): For his (sc. Paul's) character shows him to have received a thorough preliminary education, since the Epicureans and Stoics were unable to maintain their views against him and were confounded by the inscription to the unknown god which he appositely quoted to them ..... and again when he said: 'One of their prophets uttered these words: "The Cretans were ever liars, evil beasts, slothful and gluttonous."' He alluded, as they knew, to Epimenides, a philosopher of early times, Mithras also being the idol of the Cretans.

Expositio Fidai (Migne, P. G. XLII) 12 (C. 87): There being, moreover, many other. . .mystic doctrines, and heresiarchs and schismatics, the leaders of whom in Persia are the Magusaci.

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<sup>1</sup> The negative is omitted in some MSS.

<sup>2</sup> In one MS this sentence reads: N. and Z. lived long before the Greeks.



*ib.* 13 (C. 87) : . . . . in Persia the so-called Magusaei abhor idols, but nevertheless adore fire and the moon and the sun, which are idols.

OROSIUS.

(died after 418 A.D.)

Historics against the Pagans (rec. Zangemeister) I, 4, 1 (C. 87) : Thirteen hundred years before the foundation of the city, Ninus, king of Assyria, in the desire to enlarge his empire, marched abroad, the first to do so, according to the historians of his country.

*ib.* (G. 246 ; C. 87) : Finally, Ninus defeated and killed in battle Zoroaster, the king of the Bactrians, the same man who, according to tradition, was the inventor of magic.

S. JOHN CHRYSOSTOM.

(born about 347 A. D. ; died 407 A. D.)

De Babyla, contra Julianum et Gentiles (Migne, P.G. 49-50) col. 536 (most of the passage is in G. 245) : For tell me, why is it that most men, or rather all do not even know the name of the famous Zoroastres, or of Zalmoxis ? At least the number who do is quite small. Is it not because everything that is said about them is pure invention ? Yet both those teachers themselves, and those who have compiled their doctrines, are said to have been clever men, the former in discovering and practising sorcery, the latter in masking falsehood with persuasive words. Yet all doctrines are vain and purposeless when their premises are unsound and false, just as, on the contrary, in the case of premises that are sound and true, all the devices of the enemy for one's undoing turn out to be unavailing and ineffective ; for truth requires no adventitious aid to strengthen it. Our doctrine, which you say is pure invention, despots and kings and sophists irresistible in argument, yea, and philosophers also and sorcerers and Magians and daemons, have been eager to destroy.

Anonymous Author. Opus Imperfectum in Matthaeum Homil. (Migne P.G. LVI. col. 636ff) : " Behold, Magians came to Jerusalem from the east, saying : ' Where is he that is born king of the Jews ? ' " " Behold "—that is, as soon as he was born they knew the mighty God in the humble human body, as they showed by their words, their actions, and by the very gifts that they brought. By their words, since they said,

'Where is he that is born king of the Jews? For we saw his star in the east, and are come to adore him.' By their actions, for when they had seen him, they adored him. Faith in them was found to be keener than sight, for they saw only what was humble, but realised in it what was exalted. By their gifts, again, for they offered to him gold, and frankincense, and myrrh. . . . (col. 637) O blessed Magians, who, out of all the peoples, have deserved to become the first fruits of the faithful! . . . . Who are the Magians? Men of the east, who came from Persia. And by the Persians the word "Magian" is understood to mean, not a worker of evil, but a man of wisdom. It is for that reason that they are called "the virtue of Damascus" (Isaiah, 8. 4: Before the boy shall know his father and mother, he shall know the virtue of Damascus, in the sight of the king of the Assyrians), for the virtue of each region is the wise men thereof. But the king of the Assyrians is the devil, the prince of demons. . . . 'For we saw his star in the east, and are come to adore him.' Were they unaware that Herod was reigning in Jerusalem? Did they not understand the justice of that law, by which a man who during the lifetime of one king, proclaims another as king and adores him, is punished with death as the servant of a usurper? But while thinking of the king who was to be, they did not fear the king who was then reigning. Did they not have before their eyes the risk of death, venturing as they were upon a deed so strictly forbidden? But they recked not of death. Had they recked of death, they would not have had the courage to do this. As yet they had not seen the Christ, and already they were prepared to die for him. O blessed Magians, who in the sight of a cruel tyrant, and before they had seen the Christ, became the confessors of Christ! I have read somewhere that those Magians had received the knowledge, that that star would appear, from the works of Balaam the soothsayer. The prediction of this star is made also in the Old Testament: "A star shall arise from out of Jacob, and a man shall be born in Israel, and he shall bear sway over all nations."

Liber apocryphus nomine Seth. Mons Victorialis (col. 637): I have heard people referring to a certain book, which although of uncertain provenance, was edifying rather than destructive of the faith. It told of a people who dwelt near the sea on the fringe of the eastern world. They had in their possession a work which bore the name of Seth and described this star that was going to appear, and said that these gifts of gold, frankincense and myrrh should be offered to it. This work was kept and handed down from father to son through many generations

of zealots. And certain of the more zealous among them, being devoted to the heavenly mysteries, set themselves apart, to the number of twelve, and took it upon themselves to wait for the star. When one of them died, his son, or one of his relations, who was found to share the same purpose, was elected to take the place of the deceased. They were called, in their own language, Magians, because they glorified God in silence and with whispered speech. These then every year, after the threshing-harvest, went up into a certain mountain in those regions, that was called in their language the Mount of Victory. Upon it was a cave in the rock; and the mountain with its fountains and plantations of trees was very beautiful. Having made the ascent they washed themselves and prayed and praised God (col. 638) in silence for three days, and thus they did during each generation, each ever on the watch, in case that star of blessedness should rise in his own generation, until it appeared to them, descending upon that Mount of Victory, having a form as of a small boy; and above it was a likeness of a cross. And it spoke to them, and taught them, and charged them to set forth and go to Judaea. When they set forth the star went before them for two years, and wallets they carried were never empty of food and drink. The rest of their deeds are briefly recorded in the Gospel. But when they returned, they continued to worship and glorify God, even more than at first, and preached to all their people and gave instruction to many. Finally, when, after the resurrection of the Lord, the apostle Thomas went into their province, they joined him, and were baptized by him, and assisted him in his ministry. The words of Scripture, "We have seen his star in the East," seem, however, to have given rise among unbelievers to an interest in astrology, which leads them to think that every man is born and lives by the action of his star. . . .

*ib.* col. 638, lower down: The Persians have intercourse with their mothers and daughters.

AURELIUS PRUDENTIUS CLEMENS.

(from 348 to about 410 A.D.)

Apotheosis, 492 ff. (G. 246): Would any neophyte who with a look had rendered void the mutterings of the Zoroastrians bind an inscribed wooden tablet upon his brow?

ST. JEROME.

(lived about 348-420 A.D.)

Commentary on Amos (Migne, P. L. XXV) III, 9 f. (C. 87-88): Basilides, who gives Almighty God the portentous name of

Abrahas, and that in Greek letters, also says that the number of the annual revolution is contained in the circle of the sun, which the nations call Meithras, a word containing the same number of letters of another language.

*Adversus Jovinianum* (Migne, P. L. XXIII) II, 7 (C. 88) : The Persians, Medians, Indians, and Ethiopians, powerful peoples and equals of the Romans, have intercourse with their mothers, grandmothers, daughters and grand-daughters.

*ib.* 14 (C. 88) : Eubulus... , who described the history of Mithras in a work of many volumes, says that in Persia there are three orders of Magians, the first of which, comprising the most learned and eloquent, take no food but meal and vegetables.

*Epistles* (Migne, P.L. XXII, col. 1153) ch. 1032. (G. 245) : In Spain Agape, a certain blind woman, led Elpidius her blind husband into a pit. His heir was a certain Priscillianus, a zealous follower of the Magian, Zoroaster, but who though once a Magian became a bishop. The latter's wife Galla (that is, Gallic not by race but in name only) left her sister in a state of religious uncertainty and as the inheritor, so to speak, of the other faith with which she was familiar.

#### AUGUSTINE.

(lived 354-430 A.D.)

*The City of God* (ed. Dombart) XXI, 14 (G. 246 ; C. 88) : It is reported that Zoroaster alone laughed as soon as he was born and yet that portentous laugh was no happy omen for him ; because, although he is accounted to have been the originator of the arts of magic, he could not profitably employ them against his enemies to gain for himself even the delusive happiness of this life, as one may judge from the fact that as king of the Bactrians he was defeated in war by Ninus, king of the Assyrians.

#### CLAUDIAN.

(lived about 370-404 A.D.)

*The Consulship of Stilicho* (*Monumenta Germanicæ Historiæ, auctorum Antiquorum X*) I, 58ff. (C. 88) : The altars, heaped with fragrant incense and Sabæan fruits, perform the propitiation for peace. The Magians have brought the sacred fire with speed

from the inmost shrine and have laid low the bullocks with Chaldean ritual. The king himself inclines with his right hand the glittering bowl and the mystic relics of Belus, and calls upon Mithras who speeds the errant stars.

#### NONNUS OF PANOPOLIS.

(lived between 381-390 A.D. and Agathias)

Dionysiaca (ed. Köchly) XXI, 246f. (C. 89): Turn, if thou wilt, thy step toward the neighbouring land of the Medes . . . I will show thee the soil of Babylon, where the god Mithres was wont to dwell, an Assyrian Phæthon in the land of Persis. For Deriades has not learned of the race of the blessed immortals, and does not honour the Sun and Zeus and the chorus of bright stars . . . I do not heed the blessed offspring of Zeus.

*ib.* XI, 369ff. (C. 89): O Heracles, girt with stars, lord of fire, ruler of the universe . . . whether thou art Cronus, or Phaethon, or Mithras the many-named sun of Babylon.

#### HESYCHIUS.

(lived in the 5th cent. A.D.)

Lexicon (ed. Schmidt) (C 89): Magian: quack, sorcerer, a pious man, theologian, priest, a Persian word. Mithras: the sun, called by the Persians Mithres; the chief god of the Persians.

#### CYRIL OF ALEXANDRIA.

(died 444 A.D.)

Against Julian (Migne, P. G. LXXVI) III, (G. 246): Now, that the Magians were Persians will be generally admitted, I presume. As for Zoroaster, however, no account concerning him could avoid mentioning that he was involved in the arts of magic. His most successful disciple, they say, was Pythagoras, and it is added that Pythagoras himself made this claim in some mystical book which he compiled.

*ib.* 87 (C 89): Even the most wise Clement in his Stromata makes mention of this man (*i.e.*, Zoroaster) in the following words: Zoroaster, etc., (see *supra*, Clement of Alexandria, p. 42.).

*ib.* IV, 133: See *supra*, Cornelius Alexander Polyhistor, p. 28.

## SOCRATES.

(finished his work between 439 and 450 A.D.)

Ecclesiastical History (ed. Hussey) VII 8, 3 ff. (C. 89-90) :  
 'Circumstances . . . necessitated the despatch of Maruthas, the bishop of Mesopotamia, . . . as an envoy from the Roman emperor to the king of Persia. 4. The latter, finding Maruthas to be circumspect and devout, held him in honour and regarded him as one who was truly favoured by God. 5. This circumstance somewhat annoyed the Magians, who have much influence at the Persian court : they feared that he would convert the king to Christianity. 6. For the prayers of Maruthas had cured a head-ache to which the king had been subject for a long time ; and this the Magians had been unable to do. 7. The Magians therefore resorted to underhand means. The Persians worship fire and it is the habit of the king to adore the ever-burning fire which they keep in a certain shrine. The Magians concealed a man underground at the usual time of the king's devotions, and suborned him to proclaim that the king should be outlawed, for that he had been guilty of impiety, in thinking that the priest of the Christians was favoured of God. 8. When Isdigerdes (this was the king's name) heard this, he felt a desire to send Maruthas away, notwithstanding the reverence with which he regarded him. 9. Maruthas, who was in truth a man favoured of God, made prayer unceasingly, and by this means discovered the trap which the Magians had set for the king. 10. So he said to the king : ' O king, let them not make mock of you. Enter the shrine, and when you hear the voice, dig, and you will uncover the trap. It is not the fire which speaks : the voice is produced by the contrivance of men.' 11. The Persian king did as Maruthas suggested, and went again into the shrine which contained the ever-burning fire. 12. And when he again heard the same voice, he gave orders for the place to be dug up. And the man who was emitting the words, which had been supposed to proceed from a god, was exposed. 13. This greatly angered the king, who reduced the order of the Magians to a tenth of their number, and, when he had done this, told Maruthas that he could build churches wherever he wished. This circumstance led to the spread of Christianity among the Persians. 14. At this point, therefore, Maruthas departed from Persia and returned to Constantinople ; but was again, after a short interval, sent back as an envoy. 15. Once more the Magians devised schemes to prevent the king from receiving him. It occurred to them to cause an evil smell to proceed from the

place from which the king usually advanced ; and they alleged that this was caused by the Christians. 16. The king, however, having for some time regarded the Magians with suspicion, investigated the source of the odour with particular care, and it was again certain members of that order to whom the crime was traced. 17. In consequence the king again punished many of the Magians.

### SOZOMENUS.

(wrote at the same time)

Ecclesiastical History (ed. Hussey) II, 9, 1 ff. (C. 90-92) : In time . . . (the Persian Christians) became very numerous and formed churches and had priests and deacons. This gave great offence to the Magians, a sort of priestly caste, who from ancient times have had hereditary superintendence of the Persian worship. It also offended the Jews, whose practice of misrepresenting the Christian doctrines has made them appear to be its natural and hereditary enemies. They went to the then king, Sobares, and accused Simeon, who, at that time, was archbishop of Seleucia and Ctesiphon . . . of favouring the Roman emperor and of reporting to him the progress of events in Persia. 2. Persuaded of the truth of these charges, Sobares . . . ordered . . . the arrest of Simeon as a traitor to the Persian monarchy and religion. 3. This led to the speedy destruction of the churches by the Magians, acting in concert with the Jews. Simeon, after his arrest, was led in chains to the king ; and there he proved himself a brave and good man. For when Sobares, intending to examine him under torture, ordered him to be brought in, he gave no sign of fear, and refused to do obeisance. 4. This greatly angered the king, who asked : " Why, after having always done obeisance before, did you not do so this time ? " Simeon replied : " Because on no previous occasion was I led in as a prisoner and expected to betray the true God ; and, there being no reason why I should not do so, I observed the customary marks of respect to the person of the king. This it is no longer right for me to do ; for I am come to do battle for religion and for our doctrine." 5. When he had finished, the king commanded him to adore the sun, and promised to give him many gifts, and to hold him in honour, if he obeyed ; if he did not, he threatened to destroy him and the whole body of the Christians. When these threats failed to break the resolve of Simeon, and the promises failed to mollify him, and he persisted in his intrepid refusal ever to adore the sun, or to prove a traitor to his religion, the king ordered him to be held in prison for a time, believing,

naturally enough, that he would change his mind. 6. While being led off to prison he was seen by Ousthazanes, an elderly eunuch who had looked after Sobares in his youth and enjoyed more influence than the king's relations. Ousthazanes happened to be sitting outside the gates of the palace: he got up and did obeisance to him. Simeon roughly rebuked him, and in great anger shouted aloud, and turned away and passed him by; for, being a Christian, not even a great show of force prevailed upon him to adore the sun. 7. The eunuch straightway burst into tears and lamentations and took off the rich garments which he was wearing, exchanging them for the black clothes of one who was mourning, and sat in front of the palace, weeping and groaning, and exclaiming "Alas for me, what treatment can I expect from the God whom I denied? when because of this Simeon, long my friend, found not a word to address to me, but thus avoided and ran past me." Sobares, when he learned this, summoned him to his presence and asked the reason of his grief and whether he had been bereaved of any of his family. 8. Ousthazanes in reply said, "O king, no misfortune has happened to my earthly home. I would that, instead of what has befallen me, other misfortunes of all kinds had come upon me; they would be easier to bear. I grieve now, for that I am alive. I, who ought to have died long ago, behold the sun, which to please you, but not from personal conviction, I adored, because I thought, etc..."

*ib.* 10, 1ff. (C. 92): Simeon... taken again from the prison to the palace, talked to Sobares about the doctrine, showing a lofty independence, and refusing to do obeisance either to him or to the sun. 2. On the same day orders were given for the simultaneous execution of a hundred other prisoners; Simeon was to be put to death last, after he had witnessed the death of all the others... 3. When they were being led out to execution, the great archmagian appeared on the scene and asked them if they desired to live and worship the king in the national manner and revere the sun. None of them choosing to live on these terms they were led to the place appointed for the execution, and the executioners... proceeded with their task.

*ib.* 12, 1ff. (C. 92-93): At this point the queen was attacked by a disease, and the sister of bishop Simeon was arrested. By name Tarbula, she was a maiden devoted to the service of God. With her were arrested a servant-maid of hers who followed the same life, and her sister, who after the death of her husband had foresworn married life and occupied herself in the same way as Tarbula. This action was due to charges preferred by the Jews,



who alleged that in anger at the execution of Simeon they had plotted to poison the queen. 2....The women were handed over to the Magians and condemned by them to death. Their bodies were sawn in two and impaled; and the Magians, by way of driving off the disease, caused the queen to pass between the pales. 3. It is said that this Tarbula was fair and very beautiful to look upon, and that one of the Magians fell in love with her and sent her a secret message, promising that the lives of herself and her companions should be spared, if she would accept him as her lover; and that Tarbula, not deigning to listen to the shameful proposal, abused and reviled them for their lustfulness, saying that, rather than yield to it or surrender her virginity, she would very cheerfully prefer death. 4. As I have said above, it had been decided, in accordance with the king's instructions, to arrest the priests and the teachers of the doctrine, but to leave alone all the others. Accordingly Magians and archmagians scoured the land of Persia, and diligently maltreated the bishops and elders, especially in Adiabene.

#### THEODORETUS.

(lived about 393-457 A.D.)

Ecclesiastical History (ed. Parmentier) V, 39, 1 (C. 93): About this time Isdigerdes, the king of Persia, started to make war upon the churches, giving as his reason that a certain bishop named Abdas...had destroyed a pyreum. Pyrea is the name they give to the temples to fire: for they regard fire as a god.

*ib.* 5 (C. 93): The Persians call Magians those who make out the elements to be gods. I have described their stories in a previous work, in which I refuted these false views.

Treatment of Greek Influences (ed. Reader), Sermo 9, 33 (G 247; C 93): When long ago the Persians lived under the laws of Zaradas they consorted freely with their mothers, sisters and even with their daughters, regarding the unlawful as lawful; but after they submitted themselves to the doctrine of the fishermen (*i.e.* the apostles) they trampled the laws of Zaradas underfoot as unlawful and affectionately embraced the self-control taught by the Gospel. Though they have learned from him (Zaradas) to expose their dead to dogs and birds, yet now they do not tolerate this practice but bury their dead in the earth, disregarding the laws that forbid interment, and show no fear of the cruelty of those who punish them.

## PRISCUS.

(lived 408-450 A.D.)

History of Byzantium (Dindorf, *Historici Graeci Minores*), fr. 31 (C. 93-94): (An embassy) arrived...from the king of Persia, making complaints in regard to the harbouring of refugees from his kingdom and to the treatment of the Magians who had dwelt from early times in the territory of the Romans. The envoys alleged that the Romans, in their desire to seduce them from their national customs and beliefs and to prevent their worshipping their own gods, were a continual source of annoyance to them and would not consent to their lighting, in accordance with the ordinances of their faith, the fire which they call unquenchable.

## PROCLUS.

(lived 412-485 A.D.)

Paraphrase of Ptolemy, Bk. IV *De Siderum Effectibus* (ed. Allatius) II, 3 (C. 94): The regions...which comprise India Arriane, Gedrosia, Parthia, Media, Persis, Babylonia, Mesopotamia, and Assyria, as they lie towards the south-east of the whole world, naturally resemble the south-eastern triangle... because the inhabitants not only easily submit to the rule of despots, but also worship the priest of Aphrodite, whom they call Isis, and the priest of Cronus, whom they call 'Mithranelios' (*i. e.* Mithras-Sun).

On the Republic of Plato (ed. Kroll, ii, p. 59) (GM 313-314), Zoroaster and the Egyptian disciples of Petosiris maintain, and Ptolemy agrees, that the season for sowing occurs when the moon is in the position that favors parturition, whereas the moon of sowing comes at the season of child-bearing.

\* *ib.* p. 34 (GM 315): Zoroaster also presents evidences regarding causes of seven-month births, telling how to predict when one will occur. This is what he says: Conceptions that take place at conjunctions of the sun and the moon result in child births at full moon, whereas those that take place at full moon are consummated at conjunction. Childbirths occur at the mean position between the two extreme phases of the moon, the moon waxing in the same sign of the zodiac from the beginning of the conjunctive conception, but, conversely, waning from the beginning of a conception at full moon (by this mean position he implies that the progressive changes of the moon are divided into

two equal parts). Again, conceptions that happen at this mean position progress to the point of birth by an alternating process of increasing at full moon and by decreasing at the time of conjunction. . . . . (Text here is incomplete and obscure) . . . . . At the time at which the moon fully overtakes the sun, one must observe carefully when the moon passes through two configurations, for example, two conjunctions in one month in the same sign of the zodiac ; for then is it that seven-month births occur. Seven months, I say, because only at the end of this period does the fetus appear to be completely formed ; and what it was gaining in time by the addition of the sun's course, it was losing in the womb.

*ib.* pp. 109-110 (GM. 314-315 ; C 94) : One might well be amazed at the vast variety of different and distorted interpretations of this passage put forth by our predecessors. Some claim that not Er was the author of this whole myth, but Zoroaster, and have actually produced the book which purports to bear his name, as did Colotes, the Epicurean, whom we have mentioned before. And I have myself read Zoroaster's four books "On Nature," the preface to which is as follows : "Zoroaster, the son of Armenius, a Pamphylian, is authority for what is herein contained, both what he learned from the gods after his death in battle and what is derived from the rest of his account." In the mention he makes of Cyrus in the very heart of these books, he evidently alludes to the king, but to what Cyrus he does not make clear. Of the beings spoken of here he refers to none by name, except Ananke, and he states that she is the air. The volumes are filled with astrological observations ; as everybody knows, he even seems to deny the complete cycle of motion set forth in the *Politicus*. Consequently, it is uncertain whether this myth is derived from these sources and whether the name Zoroaster, rather than Er, was written in the copies of the text. . . . . Other authorities agree that Er was the name that was actually written and that Zoroaster was Er's teacher, thus following Cronius in associating the Pamphylian Zoroaster in some way with the great Zoroaster, unless, of course, they may mean not the Persian but the Pamphylian whose writings on nature, as has been said, we have read. Some, again, write these words : "Eumaeon, the narrator, son of Er," but they are unable to justify the position of this word [Eumaeon] without the addition of the article inasmuch as the ancients were not in the habit of indicating paternity without the article in the genitive case. Still others declare that Armenius was not Zoroaster's father, but, through the substitution of another short vowel, Armonius, which is only a small

error in regard to the name; in fact, we have found this written in the books of the Zoroaster we have mentioned, to wit, "Armenius, his father." I am personally aware that certain authors accept Armenius as Er, and of these we must inquire why they call Armenius a Pamphylian. Of the highly esteemed authors who have come to this conclusion, I mention Theodorus of Asine.

CLAUDIANUS MAMERTUS.

(wrote about 470 A.D.)

On the Condition of the Soul (Migne, III, col. 750) II, 8: (G. 247): Why should I summon to the defence of the Truth the opinions of Zoroaster, of the Brahmans of India, of Anarcharsis of Scythia, moreover, of the two Catos, of Marcus Cicero, of Chrysippus who almost from the very beginning of his treatise attributes to the soul the right of command and to the body the law of subservience?

DAMASCIUS.

(lived about 453 A.D.—after 533 A.D.)

'Problems and Solutions' (ed. Ruelle, 125 bis (C. 95): The Magians . . . and all the stronger peoples—a fact which is also recorded by Eudemus—call the whole realm of the intelligible and the unified in some cases Time, in others Place. This results in a distinction either between a good god and an evil dæmon, or between light and darkness, according to some authorities. And the same theorists, after thus dividing the indivisible substance, make a twofold classification of the more important elements, and set Oromasdes over the one, and Arimanius over the other.

ZOSIMUS.

(fifth century A.D.)

Notable comments on tools and ovens: on the letter  $\Omega$  (Bertholet et Ruelle, *Collections des anciens alchimistes grecs*, Paris, 1887, vol. ii, p. 229) (GM. 315-316): Hermes and Zoroaster said that philosophers rise superior to Fate by refraining from exultation over the prosperity she grants (for they exercise control over pleasures), by not being cast down by her blows (for never do they move away from home), and by declining her charming gifts, since they keep before their eyes the result of evil-doing.

Zoroaster, in his boastful pride in magic and in his knowledge of things celestial, makes the statement that all the evil decrees of Fate, both particular and universal, are not susceptible of expression in corporeal form.

#### PROCOPIUS OF GAZA.

(lived from about 465 to before 528 A.D.)

Commentary on Genesis (Migne, P.G. xxxvii, 1) c. 11 (G. 248 ; C. 95) : The Greeks say that Assur was identical with Zoroaster, who migrated to the East and took up his abode among Bactrians. He was, they state, the discoverer of astrology. At all events, according to what is definitely known concerning Nebrod the giant, Nebrod was the same person as Cronus, and Nebrod and Zoroaster lived not many years apart. Others maintain that Arphaxad discovered astrology.

#### JOANNES LAURENTIUS LYDUS.

(born about 490 A.D.)

De Mensibus (ed. Wuensch) II, 3 (G. 247 ; C. 95) : Zoroaster and Hystaspes and their Chaldean and Egyptian followers counted the days by sevens from the number of the planets ; like the Pythagoreans, they name the first day, one, basing it upon the idea of unity, since it is single and has no share in the nature of the other days.

*ib.* 6 (G. 247) : So much, then, concerning the "one" which, as I was saying, most people call "first" and which, also, among things perceived they assign to the sun, the giver of all perceived light, by means of which it warms and gently dries material bodies—to the sun, I say, which is one of the planets, according to the Greeks, even if Zoroaster ranks it before the fixed luminaries.

De Ostentis (ed. Wachsmuth), prooemium, 2, 4 B (G. 247-248 ; C 95) : I think it fitting for one who wishes to write concerning such topics to state at what point matters of this kind began to be understood, what the source of this understanding was, and how it advanced so far as even to surpass, if one may rightly say it, even that of the Egyptians themselves. For example, since the great Zoroaster, Petosiris,

an Egyptian, having involved generic notions with specific, is forced by his own method to make many concessions, yet not to everybody, but only to those who have to do with himself or, in other words, to those of them who are the more ready in making conjectures.

#### AENEAS OF GAZA.

(lived at the beginning of the sixth century, A.D.)

Theophrastus (ed. Boissonade) p. 72 (G. 248 ; C. 95) : And yet even Plato brings back Armenius<sup>1</sup> (*i.e.* Er.) in bodily form from Hades to the land of the living. And Zoroaster prophesies that some day there will be a resurrection of all the dead. Theopompus knows of this and is himself the source of information concerning it for the other writers.

#### SCHOLIA ON PLATO.

(collected soon after 529 A.D.)

On Alcibiades I (ed. Hermann), 1, 211 E; *Seven years* (G. 231 ; C 96) : Either because the faculty of reason is at that period just beginning to mature or because Zoroaster upon reaching the age of seven became silent and only after his thirtieth year instructed the king in his whole system of doctrine ; or because the number seven is peculiarly associated with Mithras whom the Persians especially revere.

*ib.* 122 A (G 231 ; C 96) : Zoroaster is said to have lived six thousand years earlier than Plato. Some authorities call him a Greek while others claim that he belonged to those people who migrated from the mainland above the Great Sea and that he learned all wisdom from the Good Dæmon, that is to say, effective mind ; indeed, his name translated into Greek means, 'he who sacrifices to the stars.' They say that he set a high value upon a course of life passed apart from the common herd of men, especially upon abstention from animal food ; furthermore, that he left behind him various literary works, on the basis of which they describe him as having divided philosophy into the three departments of natural science, economics and politics.

On the Republic X, 600 B : (G. 231 ; C. 96) : Pythagoras, the son of Mnesarchus, an engraver of seal-rings, a Tyrrhenian

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<sup>1</sup> Perhaps the original text reads "the son of Armenius".

(Italian). While yet a young man he went to Samos, studied under Pherecydes the Syrian, next under Hermodamas, both of these in Samos, then under Abaris the Hyperborean and Zaras the Magian. Afterwards he received training from Egyptians and Chaldeans.

PROCOPIUS OF CAESAREA.

(died after 562 A.D.)

'The Persian War' (ed. Hanry) I, 3, 19 f. (C. 96):  
The . . . Magians replied. . . . 20. that it was. . . . their  
custom to adore the rising sun every day.

*ib.* 7, 18f. (C. 96): Certain courtesans very immodestly pulled up their clothes and showed Cabades, who was standing quite close, those parts of the body of a woman which it is not right for a man to see. 19. The Magians, observing this, went into the presence of the king and urged him not to withdraw, maintaining that in consequence of what had happened they would bring it about that before long the Amidani should reveal all the hidden secrets to Cabades.

*ib.* 11, 34f. (C. 96): The accusers. . . said. . . 35. that he (Seoses) was. . . worshipping new gods and that he had buried his wife, who had recently died; it being forbidden by the Persian customs ever to bury in the earth the bodies of the dead.

*ib.* 12, 4 (C. 96-97): Cabades desired to compel them (sc. the Iberians living in Asia) by force to adopt the rules of his faith. He wrote to their king Gurgenes demanding a general adoption of Persian customs and forbidding his people ever to bury their dead in the earth, ordering them instead to throw them to the birds and dogs.

*ib.* 17, 28 (C. 97): Here (sc. in Persia) . . . it is forbidden to wear gold rings, girdles, brooches or anything else, unless with the permission of the king.

*ib.* II, 5, 9 (C. 97): Here (sc. in the city of Sura) . . . . . it happened that the horse on which Chosroes was riding neighed and kicked the ground with its hoof. The Magians interpreted the sign and announced that the place would be captured.

*ib.* 13, 9f. (C. 97): Having advanced to the neighbourhood . . . . . of Edessa, Chosroes, pointing to the city with his right hand, enquired of the Magians whether it would fall to him. 10. They replied that no measures would suffice to bring about its capture, inferring this from the fact that, in stretching out his right hand towards it, he was offering it a pledge, not of capture or any other hard fate, but of its preservation.

*ib.* 24, 1f. (C. 97): It happened . . . . . that Chosroës had come in a northerly direction from Assyria to the place called Adarbigana . . . . . 2. It is here that is situated the great pyreum, containing the fire which the Persians worship above all other gods. Here the unquenchable fire is guarded by Magians, who punctiliously perform the sacred rites and practise divination in regard to the most important matters.

JOANNES MALALAS.

(wrote in the time of Justinian)

Chronographia (ed. Dindorf) II, 37f. (C. 97-98): In the course of a winter storm when the river that flows near the city of the Ionitae (the name of the river then being Draco, but now Orontes) was in high flood, Perseus asked the people of the city to make a vow. While they were making their vow and engaged in the mysteries, a ball of fire, as of a thunderbolt, fell from the sky and caused the storm to cease and the flow of water to abate. Filled with wonder at this occurrence, Perseus immediately kindled a fire from this flame and had it kept carefully near him, taking it to his own palace in Persia. He taught the Persians to revere this fire which he maintained he had seen descend from heaven; this they hold in honour to this day as something divine. The same Perseus built a temple for the Ionitae which he called "the temple of deathless fire." Likewise he built a temple of fire in Persia, appointing as attendants discreet men to whom he gave the name of Magians. This the very scholarly chronographer Pausanias has recorded in his works.

*ib.* VII, p. 173: And Romulus instituted, for the first time in the territory of Rome, chariot-races in honour, as he said, of the Sun and of the four elements which were subordinate to it, namely the earth, the sea, fire, and air. For he reasoned that the consistent success of the Persian kings in their wars was due to the honour which they paid to these four elements.



## CASSIODORUS.

(died about 570 A.D.)

*Historia Tripartita* (Migne, P. L. LXIX) XI, 8 (C. 98-99). Circumstances brought it about that Maruthas, bishop of Mesopotamia, was sent as an envoy from the Roman emperor to the King of Persia. The latter, finding him to be very devout, held him in honour and regarded him as a man divine. This circumstance annoyed the Magians, who feared that he would convert the King to Christianity. For Maruthas by prayers had cured the King of a headache to which he had been subject for a long time; and this the Magians had been unable to do. The Magians therefore resorted to underhand means. As the Persians worship fire and it is the habit of the king to adore as a suppliant the fire which burns without ceasing in a certain shrine, the Magians concealed a man underground at the usual time of the King's devotions, and caused him to proclaim as follows: "Banish the King, for he has acted impiously, in that he accounts the Christian priest worthy of respect." Isdigerdes, the Persian King, when he heard this, planned to send Maruthas away in spite of the reverence he felt for him. Then Maruthas, who was in truth a man pleasing to God, applied himself to prayer, and by this means discovered the trap which the Magians had set for the King. Coming to the King, he said "O King, do not be made mock of. Enter the shrine and when you hear the voice, order the ground to be dug up, and you will discover the cause of the plot. For fire does not speak; contrivances of this kind are recognizable as the work of men." The Persian King was prevailed upon by these words; he again went into the shrine where the ever-burning fire was kept, and when he heard the voice, ordered the place to be dug up. Then the man who was producing the voice, which was supposed to be divine, was discovered and shown up. In consequence the King was angered, and commanded that the order of the Magians should be reduced to a tenth of its numbers. Having done this, he told Maruthas to build what churches he wished. This circumstance led to the spread of Christianity among the Persians. At this point, therefore, Maruthas returned from Persia to Constantinople; but was again, after a short interval, sent back as an envoy. Once more the Magians devised schemes to prevent the King from receiving him. They caused a certain smell to rise in the place from which the King usually crossed, and insinuated that it was caused by the Christians. The King, however, now holding the Magians in suspicion, investigated the matter with care, and once more realized that it had been

arranged by them. In consequence he punished many of the Magians. Maruthas, however, he held in greater honour, and highly esteemed the Romans, and willingly made peace with them.

#### AGATHIAS.

(born 536 A.D.)

(ed. Niebuhr) II, 23 f: (C. 99-100): Such are the Persian customs with regard to the disposal of the dead; and in this way, while the flesh is being removed, the bones, cast at random over the ground, lie naked and rotting. There is an absolute ban upon placing the dead in any kind of tomb or coffin, as also against burying them in the earth. If the birds do not quickly pounce upon a body, or the dogs do not at once approach and tear it to pieces, they consider the person in question to have been of evil character, and that his soul was wicked and abandoned and dedicated to the evil daemon. In such a case the relatives mourn the dead man all the more, for they believe that he is absolutely dead and that he has no part in the happier lot. Similarly they rejoice in the happy fate of him whose body is most quickly devoured and are lost in admiration of his soul, which they believe to be perfect and godlike, and sure to ascend to the place of the good. As for the ordinary obscure person, if he is, while on military service, laid low by any very malignant disease, they carry him out while still breathing and conscious. In this case a piece of bread, some water, and a staff are laid beside him. As long as he is able to partake of the food, and some strength remains in him, he keeps off approaching animals with the stick and scares away the would-be feasters. Before complete extinction, a stage is reached when the conquering malady prevents him any longer from moving his hands, and then the wretched man, half-alive, but already on the point of giving up the ghost, is devoured. Thus they deprive him of the hope that he might perhaps have recovered. Many, indeed, have recovered their strength and returned to their homes, just as on the tragic stage men appear from the gates of darkness, lean and pale and fit to frighten any one they meet. When a man returns in this way, everybody shuns and avoids him as under a curse and still a subject of the chthonic powers. He is not allowed to resume his ordinary way of life until he has been purified by the Magians of the pollution of the death which they, forsooth, had expected would overtake him, and until he has, as it were, established in return a claim to live again. Clearly, the races of men, whenever they severally live according to customs

which have prevailed for a very long period, regard any violation of them as a thing which they must avoid, as contemptible, and indeed as the sort of thing in which no faith should be placed. Nevertheless men have discovered explanations of and reasons for their own customs. These differ in different places, and may be true or merely deliberate fabrications of a plausible nature. Nor do I see anything remarkable in the fact that the Persians also investigate the sources of their own customs and attempt to show that they are superior to those observed everywhere else. But I am very surprised to find that the original inhabitants of the country, who must have been Assyrians, Chaldeans, and Medes, did not have the same beliefs that are held there to-day. In the neighbourhood of the city of Ninus and in Babylonia, tombs and graves were made for the dead of old time, and preserve the memory of a custom in no way different from our own. Whether their contents were bodies or ashes (which would involve the assumption that these people were cremated according to the usage which prevails in Greece), the difference between the ancient and the present practice was complete. 24. The ancients then did not hold the opinions which now prevail as to the proper disposal of the dead; much less did they practise the lawless freedom of sexual intercourse which brands their degenerate successors, who associate freely with their daughters, not to mention their sisters and nieces and even, the most shocking sin of all, in the name of all the laws of nature—with their mothers! That even this abomination was introduced by them can be clearly seen from the tradition that Semiramis, who popularised this disgraceful license in Assyria, desired, in old time, to have relations with her son Ninyas, and actually made advances to him; and that Ninyas repelled her in anger, and in the end, seeing her eagerness and impatience, killed his mother as the only alternative to incurring the guilt of incest. Now, if such relations were sanctioned by custom it is impossible to believe that Ninyas would have adopted such brutal methods. But why should I quote very early cases? Coming to the period just before the rise of Macedon and the downfall of the Persian Empire, it is said that Parysatis, wife of Darius and mother of Artaxerxes, conceived the same incestuous passion as Semiramis, and that Artaxerxes, when she made advances to him, was far, indeed, from putting her to death, but avoided her and pushed her away; which shows that he regarded such a relation as unholy, as a violation of national custom, and as no element in normal and natural life.

*ib.* II, 24 (G. 248-249; C. 100-101): The Persians of today ignore and have abandoned almost all their earlier

customs and instead observe certain practices of a different nature and much corrupted, in obedience to the doctrines of Zoroaster the son of Hormasdeus. Just when this Zoroaster or Zarades—for he is known by the two names—was at the height of his power and enacted his laws, one cannot state with certainty. The modern Persians say that he lived in the time of Hystaspes, limiting themselves to this general statement, since it is exceedingly doubtful and it is impossible to ascertain definitely whether this Hystaspes was the father of Darius or was another man of the same name. At all events, at whatever period he flourished, he was a leader amongst the Persians and a pathfinder in the field of magic ritual; moreover, he even altered the earlier rites and added to them a number of elaborate doctrines of a heterogeneous character. For example, in primitive times they venerated Zeus and Cronus and all the divinities commonly mentioned among the Greeks, though, of course, they did not know them by the same names. As it happened, they called Zeus Belus, Heracles Sandes, Aphrodite Anaitis and the others this or that as the case might be, as we are told by Berossus the Babylonian, as well as by Athenocles and Simacus, writers who have recorded the history of the Assyrians and Medes from its very beginnings. Nowadays, however, they agree in most points of doctrine with the sect called Manichaeans, so far as they believe there are two primary principles, one that is good and at the same time has generated the things of highest worth, the other the exact opposite in both respects. To these principles they apply strange names in their own language. For instance, the good divinity, or, perhaps, demiurge, they know as Ormisdates, the evil and baneful one as Arimanes. The greatest of all the religious festivals they celebrate is the one that is called the slaying of evil things, in which they kill a vast number of reptiles and such other beasts as are wild and inhabit the wilderness and offer them to the Magi as though to demonstrate their piety; for they fancy that in this way they achieve deeds that gratify the good divinity and cause distress and harm to Arimanes. They reverence water more than anything else, even to the extent of not washing their faces in it and of refraining from touching it except to drink it and use it on their plants.

*ib.* 25 (C. 101–102) They invoke by name and labour to propitiate many other gods, a practice in which they resemble the Greeks, as they do also in having sacrifices, purifications and divination. They hold fire in honour and regard it as very holy, in consequence of which fact the Magians guard it in certain small and supposedly sacred buildings

and never let it go out ; and it is by reference to it that they perform their secret rites and carry on their enquiries into the future. This last-mentioned art I consider them to have received from the Chaldeans or some other people, since it is not found among the rest. Such then, or nearly so, is the nature of their beliefs, which make a very composite body of doctrine, in forming which they have laid a great many peoples under contribution.

*ib.* 26 (C. 102): A certain . . . Persian named Artaxares, of very humble and obscure origin, but a man of action, full of energy and with the ability to modify existing conditions, collecting some associates attacked and overthrew the king, Artabanus, and, assuming the tiara himself, restored the Persians to their imperial position once more, having brought to an end the Parthian dominion. He was a firm adherent of the religion of the Magians and himself performed its secret rites. In consequence of his support the Magian order became powerful and arrogant. This indeed was nothing new ; they had been under this imputation from early times ; but they had never reached such a pinnacle of honour and independence, and at times could be ignored by the government. For example, when, long ago, on the death of Cambyses the son of Cyrus, the Magian Smerdis stole the throne for himself, the party of Darius would not have objected nor put to death Smerdis himself and many of his associates, unless they had held, as they did, that the Magians were not entitled to the distinction of sitting upon the royal throne. So far indeed were they from regarding this slaughter as abominable, and not rather as meriting the interest of posterity, that they actually made the anniversary of the revolution a festival, with the title of the "Slaughter of the Magians," at which they perform sacrifices of thanksgiving. At present, however, they are the objects of universal favour and esteem ; the government is carried on in accordance with their wishes and instructions ; they superintend details of civil life, such as the making of contracts or the institution of a suit at law, examining the conduct of the business and giving a decision upon it. The Persians would not regard any action whatever as legal or just, unless it were ratified by a Magian.

*ib.* 31 (C. 102-103): When they (sc. the ambassadors to Chosroes). . . went back they had, it is said, a very extraordinary and memorable adventure. Having stopped to rest in a certain part of the Persian territory they saw the body of a man only recently dead, which had been cast forth carelessly and

without burial. Saddened by the wickedness of the barbarian custom, and thinking it only right to give what attention they could to the person so wronged, they made their servants lay out the corpse as best they could and then dig a grave and bury it. While they were all asleep that night one of them (not knowing his name, I cannot say who it was) had a dream in which he seemed to see an elderly man so entirely unknown to him that he could not even guess who he was. He was noble and venerable and the nature of his clothes and his very long flowing beard made him look like a philosopher. He was shouting out two lines of poetry to the man who was dreaming, as though in the attempt to urge and advise him: "Do not bury the unburied but suffer him to become the prey of dogs. Earth, the mother of all, welcomes not a man who destroys her." Thoroughly awakened by his fright, he recounted his dream to the others, who were for the time unable to guess in what it would result. But about dawn, when they got up and went on their way, they passed, as the nature of the ground compelled them to do, the spot where they had so rashly buried the corpse; and there they found it, naked once more, and lying on the surface, as though the earth had in some way spontaneously cast it up into the light of day, refusing to harbour the uneaten flesh. Dismayed by this extraordinary spectacle, they continued their journey, without giving the body any more attention of the kind to which they were accustomed. They remembered the dream, and came to the conclusion that it was the penalty and punishment of the Persians for their licentious intercourse with their mothers, that they should lie unburied and be torn to pieces by dogs, as they so richly deserved.

#### GREGORY OF TOURS.

(lived about 538-593 A.D.)

History of the Franks (Migne, P. L. LXXI) 164 f. (G. 250; C. 103): Now the firstborn son of Cham was Chus. Under the tutelage of the devil he was the inventor of the whole art of magic and of idolatry. Prompted by the devil he was the first to institute the worship of an image and by deceitful means to show to men stars and fire falling from the sky. He went to live among the Persians who called him Zoroaster, that is, living star. From him they learned also to worship fire, and because he was consumed by fire sent down from heaven they now reverence him as a god.

GREEK INSCRIPTION AT CYRENE.<sup>1</sup>

Gesenius, *De inscriptione Phoenicio-Graeca in Cyrenaica*, Halle, 1825, pp. 13-14 (GM 313): The community of goods and wives is the fountain of divine justice and brings perfect peace to those good men who have been called from the blind vulgar herd, a class whom Zarades and Pythagoras, the most excellent of religious teachers, agreed should practise the communistic form of life.

## SIMON (MAGIC SYMBOL OF CYRENE.)

Thoth, Cronus, Zoroaster, Pythagoras, Epicurus, Masdaces, John, Christ, as well as our Cyrenaic teachers are in harmony in enjoining not to acquire private property, but to maintain the laws and war against their violation; for the practice of living blessedly the communistic life is the very fountain of justice.

## EUAGRIUS SCHOLASTICUS.

(died after 594 A.D.)

*Ecclesiastical History* (Migne, P.G. LXXXVI, 2) V, 14 (C. 104): He (sc. Cours) . . . having, along with his associates, acquired a large sum of money and valuable booty, and taking with him the baggage-animals with their loads, including the sacred fire of Chosroes, which was regarded as a god, rode round . . . the Persian camp, singing songs of triumph.

## MENANDER PROTECTOR.

(born about 550 A.D.)

*Essay on Laws* (ed. de Boor) p. 176, 11 f (C. 104): The (treaty) . . . with the king of Persia was written in Persian characters, but the words of course have the same validity when translated into Greek: "Chosroes, the divine, the good, the child of peace, the ancient, king of kings, happy, pious, the doer of good, to whom the gods have given great good fortune and a mighty empire, giant of giants, who bear the impress of the gods, to Justinian Caesar, our brother."

*ib.* 182, 21 f. (C 104): . . . the position of the Christians in Persia was regularised as follows: they were to be able freely to build churches and worship God, and to celebrate without hindrance their hymns of thanksgiving; they were not to be

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<sup>1</sup> Wrongly dated in the 83rd Olympiad; according to internal evidence the inscription is at least as late as the 6th Century A.D.

compelled to adopt the worship of the Magians, nor to invoke, against their will, the gods believed in by the Medes ; on the other hand, the Christians for their part were to refrain entirely from converting any Magians to our faith. It was also ruled that all adherents of the Christian religion should be entitled to bury their dead in tombs, in the manner customary among ourselves.

#### ISIDORE OF HISPALA.

(lived about 560—636 A.D.)

*Etymologicum* (ed. Lindsay) V, 39 (G. 251) : Thara at the age of seventy begat Abraham. Zoroaster invented magic.

*ib.* VIII, 9, 1 (G. 251 ; C. 104) : The first of the Magians was Zoroaster, the king of Bactria, whom Ninus, the king of Assyria, slew in battle and of whom Aristotle writes that two million lines of verse are indicated in the indices of his books as having been composed by him.

*Chronicum* (Migne, P. L. LXXXIII) 12 (G. 251 : C. 105) : During this same time Ninus, king of Assyria, sat on the throne. . . . In this period the art of magic was invented in Persia by Zoroaster, king of Bactria, who was killed by Ninus.

#### THEOPHYLACTUS SIMOCATTA.

(wrote about 610—640 A.D.)

*History* (ed. de Boor) IV, 8, 5, 175 (C. 105) : Chosroes, king of kings, lord of lords, ruler of the peoples, the fountain of peace, saviour of men, regarded by the gods as a man good and immortal, by men as a manifest deity, the glorious conqueror, who shares the rising of the sun and lends his eyes to night, . . . to Baram, general of the Persians, our friend.

*ib.* 10, 2, 178 (C. 105) : Looking up to the heavens and having become conscious of the existence of the creator, despising the man-made images of gods and attributing no whit of his hopes to Mithras, he naturally ignored the swift chances of danger and, having changed his faith, he changed also his fortune for righteousness.

*ib.* 16, 5, 196 (C. 105) : For lions are tamed, serpents are suffocated, and Bel and Mithras are enslaved.



## CHRONICON PASCHALE.

(written after 629 A.D.).

(Migne, P.G. XC11) p. 148 (C. 105) : It is the custom in Persia for men to marry their own mothers and sisters.

*ib.* 148 (G. 251) : And Cronus died. Ninus, securing control of Assyria, founded the city of Nineveh for the Assyrians and was the first to hold the kingship there ; Semiramis also called Rhea, who was associated with him in the sovereignty, was his own mother as well as his consort.

*ib.* 149 (G. 251 ; C. 105) : Now from this very family sprang Zoroaster, the famous Persian astrologer, who, when at the point of death, prayed to be consumed by fire from heaven, saying to his fellow-countrymen : " If the fire burns me, take up my charred bones and preserve them, and so long as you do so the kingship will not depart from your land." After offering a prayer to Orion he was consumed by a fire from above. The Persians did as he had instructed them and continue to guard his ashes to this day.

## NENNIUS.

(wrote at the close of the Eighth Century, A.D.)

History of Britain (Mommsen, *Chronica Minora*, of the fourth, fifth, sixth and seventh centuries) vol. III, p. 151 (C. 105-106) : Britus . . . . . son of Silvius, son of Ascanius, son of Aeneas, son of Anchises, son of Capen, son of Assaracus, son of Tros, son of Erechthonius, son of Dardanus, son of Jupiter, son of Saturn, son of Coelum (*i.e.* Heaven), son of Tellus (*i.e.* Earth), son of Zoroaster, son of Mesram, son of Cham (the accursed son who mocked his father), son of Noah.

## FLACCUS ALBINUS ALCUINUS.

(lived 735—804 A.D.)

On the Ritual of Divination (spurious) (ed. Migne P.L. C.I.) Col. 1178 (G. 252) : Now the first of these Magians was Zoroaster, the king, with whom they are said to have originated.

## ECLOGE HISTORIARUM.

(written in the ninth century A.D.)

Anecdota Græca of Paris (ed. Cramer II, p. 175, 4-11) (G.M. 316 ; C. 106) : About that time also Ninus, king of the Assyrians

built the city of Ninus, naming it after himself, that is, the city known to the ancients as Nineveh and in which Assur formerly lived. Though damaged by time it was inhabited in the period now under consideration, the period in which Zoroaster, the Magian, gained renown as king of the Bactrians; he it is whom he attacked in war. A short time afterward Semiramis became the consort of Ninus and built the walls of the city on a magnificent scale.

GEORGIUS SYNCELLUS.

(died after 810 A.D.)

Chronographia (ed. Dindorf), 147 f. (G. 252; C 106): Alexander Polyhistor attempts to date back the beginning of the postdiluvian kingdom of the Chaldeans to this two thousand four hundred and fifth cosmic year, calculating by means of *sari*, *neri* and *sossi* that eighty-six kings of the Chaldeans and Medes had reigned during thirty thousand and forty-nine years, that is, in nine *sari*, two *neri* and eight *sossi*; this number certain of our church historians have improperly reduced to ninety-four sun-years and eight months, thus making, the date as they claim, coincide with the two thousand four hundred and ninety-ninth cosmic year. At the close of this period of the eighty-six kings, (two of them, Evechius and Chomasbelus, being Chaldeans, and eighty-four of them Medes) this same Polyhistor introduces Zoroastres and the seven kings of the Chaldeans who succeeded him, who reigned in all for one hundred and ninety sun-years, no longer computing by *sari*, *neri*, and *sossi* and all the other irrational mythico-historical devices, but rather by sun-years. Through wrongly regarding the earlier kings as gods or demigods, the legendary historians, believing contrary to the inspired scriptures that the world is eternal, make out that the successors of these kings actually reigned for an unlimited period. As for the later kings whose reigns are known to everybody in terms of sun-years, these historians consider them mortals, in opposition to the view of Panodorus and certain others, because of the fact that after Zoroaster's calculations had ultimately determined the number of sun-years since the time of Enoch, the reigns of the kings were thenceforward reckoned in sun-years.

*ib.* 315 (G. 252; C. 106-107): Because the writings of the Greek historians are not in agreement regarding these kings and dates, permit a really distinguished author, not one of the ordinary everyday kind, thus to present his testimony:

“ My narrative begins at the point at which, among others, Hellanicus of Lesbos, Ctesias of Cnidus, and, later, Herodotus of Halicarnassus, began their histories. In ancient times Asia was ruled by Assyrian kings, among whom was Ninus, the son of Belus.” He then records the birth of Semiramis, and of Zoroaster the Magian, in the fifty-second year of the reign of Ninus.

#### ANATHEMAS AGAINST MANICHÆISM.

(about 835 A.D.).

Cited by Cotelierius, Works of the Holy Fathers who flourished in Apostolic times (Paris, 1672, coll. 368-376) (G. 253) :

These ‘Anathemas’ were to be recited by converts from Manichæism to Christianity. In this long and valuable document, Zarades (probably Zoroaster) and his prayers (the Avesta?) are declared accursed as being connected with the Manichæan faith. (Gray)

Cursed be Zarades who, according to Manes, was a god who appeared prior to his time in India and Persia, and whom Manes identified as the sun; and with Zarades cursed be also the prayers known as the prayers of Zarades.

Cursed be they who assert that Zarades, Buddha, the Christ, Manichæus, and the sun are one and the same person.

Anathema be Patecius, the father of Manes, as a liar and the parent of falsehood; likewise his mother Carossa, as well as Hierax, Heraclides and Athonius, the recorders and expositors of their writings, and all his other disciples—Sesinnius, his successor in his mad doctrine, Thomas who compiled the so-called gospel attributed to Manes, Buddha, Hermas, Adan, Adimantus, Zaruas, Gabriabius, etc. etc.

Similarly Goarius, Euchologium, or Ritual of the Greeks, Paris 1647, p. 885 (G. 253) : Utterly cursed be Sarades, Bodda and Scythianus, the predecessors of the Manichæans. . . . . Furthermore, cursed be all writings prior to the Manichæans and Hierax, Heraclides and Athonius the expositors and historians of this same impious and profane Manes; likewise Thomas, Zaruas and Gabriabius.

## GEORGE THE MONK.

(wrote after 842 A.D.)

*Chronicum* (ed. de Boor) I, 4 (C. 107) : After.....Cronus, Ninus his son reigned fifty-two years. Inasmuch as he took his own mother Semiramis to wife, the Persians acquired the custom of marrying their own mothers and sisters, for even Zeus wedded his own sister Hera.....By Ninus was begotten also Zoroaster, the famous Persian astronomer, who when about to die prayed that he be consumed by fire from heaven : to the Persians he said : " If the fire consume me, gather together my burnt bones and preserve them, and the royal power will abide in your country in like manner as my bones are preserved." After he had offered a prayer to Orion he was consumed by a fire from above. The Persians gathering up his charred bones have kept them until this day.

*Chronicon* I, ch. 6, §§ 8-9 (Migne, P.G. CX, col 117) : (G. 254) : Sacrifice to divinities was first instituted by the Chaldeans or by the Cyprians, for tradition has it that these people were Persian by nationality. As for astronomy, this was invented by the Babylonians through Oroaster and was adopted from them by the Egyptians. Men first learned geometry from dividing up immense tracts of land and when they had thus reduced it to diagrams other people appropriated the art.

The Medes and Persians invented magic, sorcery, and the casting of spells by means of potions, practices that are quite distinct from one another. That is, magic is an appeal to divinities presumed to be beneficent, just as the oracles of Apollonius of Tyana were the work of good beings ; sorcery, on the other hand, is an appeal made in the neighbourhood of graves to maleficent divinities for the accomplishment of some evil effect, and for this reason the word, sorcery, is derived from the wailing and lamentations that occur in the vicinity of tombs.

## RABANUS THE MOOR.

(died in 856 A.D.)

On the Universe (Migne, P.L. CXI) 15, 4 (GM. 316 ; C. 107) : The first of the Magians, Zoroaster, king of the Bactrians was slain in battle by Ninus, king of the Assyrians. Of him Aristotle wrote that it is said that two million lines of verse are indicated in the indices of his books as having been composed by him.

## HINCMARUS OF RHEIMS.

(lived about 806-882 A.D.)

Interrogations concerning the divorce of Lotharius and Tetberga (Migne, P.L. CXXV) 15 (GM. 316-317 ; C. 107) : Moreover, this vain doctrine of magic, derived from the traditional belief in the existence of evil spirits throughout the world, had a strong following for very many centuries, a doctrine devised by Zoroaster, king of Bactria (whom Ninus, king of Assyria, slew in battle), and fostered by Democritus.

## PHOTIUS.

(Patriarch of Constantinople 856-867 and 878-886 A.D.)

Bibliotheca (Migne, P.G. CIII) 72, 1 (C. 107) : A work of Ctésias of Cnidus was read, a history of Persia in twenty-three books.

*ib.* 9 (C. 108) : He (Cambyses), when he succeeded to the throne, sent his father's corpse, under the care of the eunuch Bagapates, to Persia for disposal.

*ib.* 15 (C. 108) : Darius . . . became king of the seven, as had been agreed between them, when his horse, as the result of an ingenious contrivance, gave the first neigh on the rising of the sun. The Persians celebrate a festival called the Slaughter of the Magians, commemorating the murder of the Magian Sphen-dadates. Darius ordered a tomb to be built for him upon the twin mountains, and it was built.

*ib.* 17 (C. 108) : Darius . . . having crossed the bridge burned the dwelling-houses and the temples of Chalcedon, because the inhabitants had laboured to destroy the bridges near the city, and had raised to the ground the altar which Darius, when he crossed, had dedicated to Zeus, lord of crossings.

*ib.* 21 (C. 108) : Xerxes . . . marched against the Greeks, because the people of Chalcedon had attempted, as I have already said, to break the bridge, and because they had destroyed the altar set up by Darius.

*ib.* 54 (C. 108) : He (Terituchmes) had. . . a sister, by the same father, named Roxane, who was fair to look upon and skilled in archery and in hurling the javelin. Terituchmes, being in love with her, cohabitated with her and was estranged from Amestris, etc.

*ib.* 57 (C. 108): Concerning the man who disposed of the body of the father (sc. of Artaxerxes) by burning it with fire, in contravention of custom, which proves that Hellanicus and Herodotus are not telling the truth.

*ib.* 59 (C. 108): That Parysatis came to Babylon, mourning the fate of Cyrus, and that with difficulty she recovered his head and one of his hands to which she paid the last dues, and sent them to Susa.

*ib.* 81 (G. 254; C. 108): A volume in three books by Theodorus has been read, a volume entitled, "Concerning Magic in Persia" and "What is the Superior Advantage of Piety." These books he dedicates to Mastubius, who happened to be a local bishop of Armenia, as he was setting out from that country. In the first book he propounds the pernicious Persian doctrine that was introduced by Zarades, or, in other words, the doctrine concerning Zaruañ whom he represents as the author of all things and also calls Chance. He records that Chance when offering a libation that he might bring Hormisdas into the world he begat both him and Satan; furthermore, he discusses the blood relationship of these gods. In short, after describing this impious and utterly abominable doctrine in detail, he proceeds to demolish it, all in his first book. In the remaining two books, however, taking the creation of the world as his starting-point, he first fluently discusses divine Grace itself and then gives a full account of the true faith.

This Theodorus is apparently Theodorus of Mopsuestia, for he boldly proclaims the Nestorian heresy, especially in the third book, but also prates fantastically of the complete restoration of sinners.

#### MENOLOGIUM GRAECORUM.

(written 867-888 A.D.)

(ed. Albani) III, p. 44 (C. 109): Pherbuthe, the witness to Christ, after the agony and death of her husband, the bishop Simeon, stayed at home with her sister and the latter's maid, and taught those who came to her the faith of Christ. But the Jews hated them, and found a pretext to compass their death in the following way. The wife of Saborius, the king of Persia, favoured the Jews. When, about this time, she fell ill, they came to her and brought charges against this saintly woman,

saying : " Because your husband put to death the bishop Simeon, his sisters have brought you low through the practice of magic, so that you may die. Now if you wish to recover, give orders that their bodies be severed in two and that the halves be impaled, and then pass between them, and you will recover." This was done, and the saintly women gained the kingdom of Heaven ; but the queen, so far from recovering, received Gehenna for her portion.

### SUIDAS.

(wrote in the tenth century A.D.)

Lexicon (ed. Bekker) (G. 255) : Antisthenes of Athens : ..... wrote ten volumes, the first on magic. Discusses Zoroaster, a Magian who invented the doctrine. Certain writers attribute this to Aristotle, others to Rhodo.

Astronomy : The arrangement of the stars. Through Zoroaster, the Babylonians were the first to discover it ; after Zoroaster, Hostanes also. By means of the celestial movements obtaining at a man's birth they would predict what would later happen to him.

*ib.* (G. 255 ; C. 109) : Zoroaster : Medo-Persian. A great authority among astronomers. Introduced the title, Magians, as they were commonly known among themselves. Lived five hundred years before the Trojan War. Tradition attributed to him four books on nature, one on precious stones, works on observations of the stars, five books on eschatology.

Zoroaster : Astronomer. Lived in the time of Ninus, king of Assyria. Prayed to be killed by celestial fire, enjoining the Assyrians to preserve his ashes, for in this way, said he, their kingdom would continue for all time. To this day his command has been observed.

Zoromasdes. A Chaldean wise man. Wrote on mathematics and natural science.

Magians were the philosophers and the theologians of the Persians, the first of whom was Zoroaster ; after him, in order, came the Hostanæ and the Astrampsychi.

Pythagoras : Next (Pythagoras studied) under Abaris the Hyperborean and Zares the Magian.

## GEOPONICA.

(written in the tenth century A.D.)

(rec. Beckh) preface to Book I (G. 249) : I have produced this book by bringing together the statements of various ancient authors concerning agriculture, the cultivation of plants, seeding and many other useful activities. They have been gathered from the works of Florentius, Vindanionius, Anatholius, Verutius, Diophanes, Leontinus, Tarantinus, Democritus, from the Marvels of Africanus, from Pamphilus, Apuleius, Varro, Zoroaster, Fronto, Paxamus, Damegeron, Didymus, Sotio and the Quintilians.

Rubrics of Zoroaster (G. 250 ; C. 110). I, 7 : That one ought to know when the moon is above the earth and when below Zoroaster.

*ib.* 8 : Concerning the rising of the Dog and foretelling events that result from it. The same.

*ib.* 10 : Indication of the results of the first thunder every year after the rising of the Dog. Zoroaster.

*ib.* 12 : The twelve-year period of Zeus and all that it brings to pass as it makes the circuit of the twelve divisions of the zodiac. Zoroaster.

*ib.* II, 15 : A prognostic, that one may know what kinds of seeds will grow and flourish. Zoroaster.

*ib.* V, 46 : In what sign of the zodiac the moon is at the time when crops should be garnered ; harvesting should occur while the moon is waning and is beneath the earth. Zoroaster.

*ib.* VII, 5 : Concerning the opening of wine-jars and why one ought to observe carefully the proper time for this.

*ib.* 6 : Concerning pouring wine from one vessel into another ; when wine should be so transferred as well as why wine that is stored in the same jar has a distinctive quality. The same.

*ib.* 11 : So that wines may not be turned by thunder and lightning. Zoroaster.

*ib.* X, 83 : To make an unfruitful tree bear fruit. Zoroaster.



*ib.* XI, 18, 11 (G. 249 ; C. 110) : Zoroaster says that for a year the eyes of him will not be sore who is the first to have seen the closed calyces of the flowers on the plant, who has wiped his eyes with three of them and who has left the rose blossoms themselves upon the plant.

*ib.* XIII, 9, 10 : Zoroaster says that the seed of lettuce moistened with wine heals those who have been bitten by scorpions.

*ib.* 16 : Concerning Spanish flies. Zoroaster.

*ib.* XV, 1 : Concerning natural sympathies and antipathies. Zoroaster.

#### CONSTANTINE CEPHALAS.

(Senior Chaplain of the royal palace in 917 A.D.)

Palatine Anthology (ed. Stadtmüller) VII, 162 (C. 111) : Do not burn Euphrates, Philonymus, neither defile fire with my corpse. I am a Persian ; yea, master, by descent from my sires, a native Persian am I. In our eyes, to defile fire is more hateful than dread death. Nay, enshroud my body and yield me to the earth, neither pour any libation upon the corpse.

For water also, O master, do I worship.

#### EUTYCHIUS.

(died in 940 A.D.)

Annales (Migne, P. G. CXI, 261-263) (C. 111) : Samardius was surnamed Magus, because there flourished at the very same time a Persian known as Zorodasht, who founded the religion of the Magi, their temples being dedicated to fire.

#### HUGO OF SAINT VICTOR.

(lived about 1097-1141.)

Commentary on the Pentateuch (Migne, P. L. CLXXV), on Genesis 11 (G. 255-256 ; C. 111) : Moreover, Assur having withdrawn into the country which later was named Assyria after himself was followed by successors down to Ninus, a descendant in the direct line. Ninus founded a city and conquered Cham who had survived until that time. Zoroaster, Ninus's royal neighbour who was called the discoverer and author of the maleficent doctrine of numbers, became king of Bactria ; he also wrote the seven liberal arts on fourteen columns, seven of bronze and seven of bricks, his purpose

in each case being to preserve them for posterity against destruction by both floods. Ninus, defeating Zoroaster in battle, burned his mathematical writings. After this, becoming bolder, he attacked Nemroth, that is, the Chaldeans, and took possession of Babylonia, transferring thither the capital of his kingdom.

## EUSTATHIUS.

(lived in the 12th century)

Commentary on the Iliad (ed. Lipsiensis) 14, 731 (C. 111) : He may mean...the popular form of dancing, such as the Persian; for it is recorded that the Persians learnt dancing as well as riding, believing that it was an exercise conducive to bodily strength. It is also said that at the banquets of the king Antiochus, surnamed the Great, the king himself, not to mention his friends, used to dance.

Commentary on the Odyssey (ed. Lipsiensis) 18, 3 (C. 111-112): In...Persia, according to Duris, the king is allowed to get intoxicated upon a single day in the year, namely that upon which they sacrificed, on which day also the Persians used to dance. If the Persian Darius, the man who overthrew the Magians, had inscribed on his tomb the words "I was able both to drink great quantities of wine and to carry it well", this must mean that he drank heavily, but did not get drunk.

## GEORGIUS CEDRENU.

(lived in the twelfth century)

Campendium of History (ed. Bekker) I, pp. 29 f. (C. 112) : From his family (*i.e.* of Ninus) was descended Zoroaster, the famous Persian astronomer, who prayed to be smitten by a flaming thunderbolt from on high and to be consumed, and who charged the Persians to collect his bones after he had been burnt and to preserve and honour them. "As long as you keep them," he said, "the sovereignty will not depart from your land." So when he had been burnt by the fire from heaven, the Persians held his bones in high honour until, through their neglect of the man, they were deprived of their sovereignty.

## JOANNES TZETZES.

(lived at the same time)

Historia Varia (Chiliades) (ed. Kiessling) 66, 39 f. (C. 112) : Chosroes was ruler of Persia in the time of Heraclius; and in

his palace in Persia he had a model of heaven upon the roof, which, while the elders were feasting, would burst forth with thunder and lightning and storms of rain, a thing to marvel at. Seven times was Heraclius at war with the Persians, and ravaged the whole of Persia and wasted it with fire and flame. And he burnt that fiery model of heaven, along with the whole palace of Chosroes of which I spake. Nay, he quenched the Persians' fire, which they revered, the fire which having been kindled in old time by a bolt from Perseus was tended without ceasing, until that time, with a never-ending succession of firebrands for lighting it, and of torches, large and fiercely blazing. Yet was it extinguished by Heraclius, to the great grief of the Persians, etc.

#### SCHOLIA ON THE 'THERIACA' OF NICANDER.

(written in the same period)

(Schneider, Nicandrea) 613 (C. 112, 113): Magians. . . and Scythians use a branch of tamarisk in divination. Dino, in the first book of his third treatise adds that the Median soothsayers practise divination by means of wands . . . and Metrodorus in his work on Habit says that the tamarisk is a very ancient plant, and that the Egyptians use it for head-wreaths in the procession in honour of Zeus, while in Media this is also done by the Magians.

#### JOANNES OF ANTIOCH.

(lived in the middle of the 12th century)

Excerpta Salmasii (Mueller, Fragments of the Greek Historians IV p. 541, *frag.* 3) 386 (C. 113): Ninus. . . . married Rhea, also called Semiramis, his own mother; from him the Persians got their custom of marrying their mothers. Then also was born Zoroaster, the astronomer, who prayed to be slain by a fire from heaven and bade the Assyrians preserve his ashes, for only thus would they retain the royal power.

#### PETRUS COMESTOR.

(wrote about 1170 A.D.)

Historia Scholastica (Migne, P. L. CXCVIII), on Genesis, 39 (G. 256-257; C. 113): Ninus conquered Cham who was still living at that time and proceeded to reign over Bractia (al. Thracia); he was said to be the same person as Zoroaster, the discoverer of magic, who inscribed the seven

liberal arts on fourteen columns, seven of bronze, seven of brick to preserve them against destruction by both floods. Ninus, however, burned his books. Idols, then, were first devised by these same men.

*ib.* 47 (GM. 317 ; C. 113) : Abram, skilled in knowledge of the stars (in which, according to certain authorities, he trained Zoroaster, the discoverer of magic), knew that inclement weather conditions which occur at the rising or the setting of planets always change back to normal in fifty years ; what he saw happen among the stars, he desired to reproduce on earth.

MICHAEL GLYCAS.

(wrote at the close of the twelfth century)

*Annales* (ed. Bekker) 2, 43f. (G. 256 ; C. 113-114) : After Cronus Ninus reigned for fifty-two years ; by taking his own mother Semiramis to wife he established the custom whereby the Persians marry their mothers and sisters. From his line sprang Zoroaster, the famous Persian astronomer, who said to his people : " If fire from heaven consume me (for this was his prayer) take the remains of my bones and keep them in order to maintain your kingdom." This they did, and in the histories which the great theologian Gregory wrote against Julian he states : " The Babylonians, through Zoroaster, are said to have discovered astronomy and the Egyptians to have been the first to receive it from them ; magic was invented first by the Medes and then by the Persians. Magic differs from sorcery ; whereas magic is popularly reputed to be an appeal to beneficent dæmons for the accomplishment of some good object, sorcery is concerned with maleficent dæmons that hover about tombs and is designed to accomplish evil. The name sorcery is derived from the wailings and lamentations that are heard among the tombs ; the word Magic, from *Magusæi*, or Persians, with whom it originated. In their own country the Persians are known as Magians.

THE APOSTOLIC HISTORY OF ABDIAS.

Book VI, 7 ; Passion of Saints Simon and Jude (G. 257) : And this is recorded concerning James. His elder brothers, Simon, who is surnamed Chananæus, and Judas, who is also called Thaddæus and the Zealot, themselves apostles of our Lord Jesus Christ, when through the revelation of the Holy Spirit they had by faith entered upon the religious life, found in their midst as soon as they had begun to preach two Magians,

Zaroës and Arfaxat, who had fled out of Ethiopia from before the face of Saint Matthew the Apostle. Now the doctrine of these Magians was so debased that, blaspheming the God of Abraham, of Isaac and of Jacob, they affirmed God to be a being of darkness and declared that Moses was a worker of evil as well as that all the prophets of God had been sent out by the divinity of darkness. Withal, they maintained that the soul of man possessed a portion of God, that the material of the body was fashioned by an evil god, in fact consisted of substances of contrary nature, one kind being those in which the flesh delighteth and the soul is cast down, the other those in which the soul rejoiceth and the flesh is made sad. Furthermore, they preached that the Son of God, our Lord Jesus Christ, was a mere phantom, not a real man, not born of a true virgin, not really tempted, never suffered indeed, was not actually buried, nor rose again from the dead on the third day. Persia, being degraded by this preaching, was in such state as to need to find, after Zaroës and Arfaxat, through the blessed apostles Simon and Judas, the Great Teacher, to wit, the Lord Jesus Christ.

*ib.* 13 (G. 257—258) : When the Leader had discoursed upon these and other matters before Xerxes, the king, Zaroës and Arfaxat, the Magians who had been with the king, were roused to jealousy and in great indignation scattered false tales abroad, saying that these men were of evil spirit and were such as craftily to devise harm against the gods of the people and against the power of the king's rule. "For, O King," said they, "if thou wishest to know that what we say is true, we shall not suffer them to speak until they shall have adored thy gods." Then spake the Leader : "Wilt you venture upon a contest with these men on the understanding that, if you conquer them, they will then at length be banished from the court?" The Magians said : "It is but just that these men adore our gods in like manner as do we." The Leader replied : "Naturally, your contention with us will reveal this very thing." To which the Magians said a second time : "Thou desirest to behold our power that thou mayest prove that they will not be able to speak in our presence. Bid those take their stand here who are eloquent in speech, of great keenness in argument and loud of voice. If then they shall be so bold as to speak in our presence, thou shalt judge us to be men of little skill. Thereupon at the command of the King and of the Leader all the pleaders made themselves ready and were counselled by the Leader that as consistently as they could they were to carry on the debate and that through the force of their principal argument they were to keep their opponents from establishing their contention. After the Magians had spoken before the

King, the Leader and all the other men of high estate, all the opposing band of pleaders became so inarticulate that they could not indicate even by means of motions that they were unable to make any speech. When almost an hour had passed, the Magians said to the King: "That thou mayest know we belong to the divine company of the gods, we suffer them to speak indeed, but not to be able to walk." When they had so done, they added: "Behold, we restore to them the power of walking, but we shall cause them to see nothing even with their eyes wide open." After they had done this also, the King and the Leader became exceedingly fearful, when their friends said that these Magians ought not to be regarded with disrespect, lest they cast a weakness upon the limbs of the King and of the Leader. Now this spectacle lasted from the beginning of the day until the sixth hour and the pleaders were overcome with grief and returned each man to his own house wearied through the exertions of his mind.

*ib.* 17 (G. 258): When the apostles had said these things, the Magians were taken to the guest-chambers and for the space of three days were unable to take any food or any drink at all, and among whom there was a ceaseless crying out occasioned by the pains they suffered. Afterwards when matters came to such a state that both of the Magians alike, Zaroos and Arfaxat, were on the point of dying, the apostles drew near and said: "God doth not deem himself worthy of enforced acts of service. Rise ye therefore while still in your right minds and are yet free to turn from evil to good and to pass from darkness to light." But their adversaries abiding in their unwillingness to accept the faith, in like manner as they had fled from before the apostle Matthew fled from these two apostles to the worshippers of images throughout Persia that they might stir up hostility against the apostles, saying everywhere: "Behold, the foes of our gods are coming to us. . . ."

*ib.* 20 (G. 258): As one might expect, the Magians, Zaroos and Arfaxat, who did many evil deeds among the cities of Persia and said that they were of the race of the gods, kept flying from before the face of the apostles, remaining in each city only until they learned that the apostles were approaching.

*ib.* 23 (G. 259): At this time even the two Magians of whom we have spoken, Zaroos and Arfaxat, were burned by a flash of lightning and turned into cinders.

*ib.* VII, 1, on St. Matthew ( G. 259 ) : When he had himself gone into this country ( *i.e.* Ethiopia ) and was sojourning in a great city called Naddauer, in which dwelt Aeglippus, the King, there happened to be there at the same time two Magians, Zaroes and Arfaxat, who were entertaining the king with their marvellous acts so that he literally believed them to be gods. The king trusted them in everything, and the entire populace of this city that has been mentioned and of distant regions of Ethiopia as well came daily to do them homage. For example, they would make men suddenly lose the power of walking and would keep them standing motionless as long as they, the Magians, desired. Likewise, through rites that they performed they controlled men's power to see and to hear. They would command serpents to strike, which the Marsi also are wont to do, and themselves healed many people by means of incantations. It is a popular saying that greater reverence is shown to evil-doers through fear than to doers of good through love ; in this same manner were the Magianas venerated among the Ethiopians and for a long time held in high esteem.

*ib.* 4 ( G. 259 ) : Moreover, Zaroes and Arfaxat were meanwhile striving to arouse them by their magic art (*i.e.* their own two serpents that lay asleep at the feet of Matthew the Apostle), but they were unable either to make them open their eyes or even to move at all.

(GM. 317-318) :

"A reference to Zoroaster may also be contained, as Mr. George Hamilton, of Ann Arbor, Mich., writes me, in the commentary on the Thebaid of Statius, vi. 338, attributed to Lactantius Placidus : ' But great credit must be accorded the Persians for this treatment of a secret doctrine, because among them was first devised the system that embraces these mysteries (or, as one may state it, the famous Persian was the great teacher of this doctrine).' "

NICEPHORUS CALLISTI.

(wrote about 1320 A.D.)

Ecclesiastical History (Migne, P.G. CXLVI) XIV, 18 (C. 114-115) : The Persian (sc. Isdigerdes) openly held Maruthas in great honour. . .but the Magians, observing the great consideration which the Roman bishop enjoyed, . .were vexed,

and hesitated in their calculations, fearing that the king's interest in Maruthas would lead to his wavering in his allegiance to his own worship. For Maruthas, by entreating God with prayers, had immediately cured the king of a headache which had caused him great suffering for a long time, and which had defied all the arts of the Magians. At any rate they attempted to deal with the king by guile. Now the Persians are devoted worshippers of fire, and they give the name "Magians" to those whose tendency is to regard the elements as gods. It was the king's custom to adore the perpetually-burning fire, and so the Magians concealed a man underground at the usual time for the king's devotions, and told him to give utterance as follows: "The king must be outlawed, for he is convicted of impiety toward the divine, in that he believes the Christian priest to be favoured of god, and esteems him highly." The Persian, when he heard this, was for expelling Maruthas from his kingdom, in spite of the reverence he felt for him. But Maruthas, in his love of God applying himself earnestly to prayer, easily learnt the source whence the Persians were being deceived. Going up to Isdigerdes, he said: "O king, be not made mock of in this manner. Enter, and when you hear the voice wafted towards you, give orders for the ground beneath to be dug up. The plot will be easily revealed. It is impossible that fire should speak. How could it, when it is soulless? No: it is a contrivance of man that works this marvel." Isdigerdes followed his suggestion. He again went into the chamber wherein the imperishable fire was kept, and when he heard the same voice, at once gave orders for the place to be dug up. And so the man underneath, who had been thought to be a god, was shown up. This greatly enraged the king, who had the order of the Magians reduced to a tenth of its numbers. After this he gave Maruthas permission to found churches in Persia wherever he liked, and in consequence Christianity spread almost daily and, in the Persian territories, without risk. Next Maruthas returned to Constantinople, since his ambassadorial duties, which had occasioned his presence in Persia, had by now been discharged. Circumstances, however, called for another embassy, and he was sent back on this duty. The Magians were again contriving expedients designed to prevent his being treated on terms of equality by the king, at least in the matter of honour. They found means to cause a horrible odour to rise in a place from which the king usually started. They then concocted and spread abroad false charges, alleging that the odour had been produced by the associates of the Christian priest. But their previous conduct led the king to suspect that the Magians were responsible for this thing also, and he sought out and enquired after the guilty with great



zeal. When it was once again recognised that those responsible for producing the noxious odour were Magians, the king again punished many members of the order. Maruthas he held in even greater honour.

#### THE SO-CALLED ZOROASTRIAN LOGIA OR CHALDEAN ORACLES.

The translators can do no better than refer the reader to the illuminating note on the Logia contributed by Dr. Louis H. Gray to Professor A. V. Williams Jackson's book, "Zoroaster, the Prophet of Ancient Iran," pp. 259-261. We quote but one paragraph although we advise the reader to read the whole note.

"In the writings of the Neo-Platonic philosophers there lay hid a mass of citations, termed 'Chaldaean Logia,' or more usually, simply 'Logia,' or again, introduced by the formula: 'As saith one of the Gods,' or even appearing without any introductory phrase whatsoever. These Logia date in general about the end of the second century A.D., and they present to us a heterogenous mass, now obscure and again bombastic, of commingled Platonic, Pythagorean, Stoic, Gnostic, and Persian tenets. I am inclined to doubt that the entire mass comes from a single source, although some have suggested that a certain Julian the Chaldaean, or his son, who lived in the period of the Antonines, may perhaps have been the author. However trivial the Logia justly appear to us, they received the serious attention of Iamblichos, Proklos, Simplicios, Damaskios, and Iohannes Ludos, while Hierokles and later Plethos wrote 'compendis of the Zoroastrian and Platonic Systems.'"

One cannot imagine language more difficult to translate than that of the greater part of these Logia. Their incompleteness, their utter want of syntactical structure in many cases, their derivation from a vast variety of unrelated sources, the hopelessly corrupt condition of a great deal of the text, the obviously esoteric meaning of many lines together with their lack of dependence upon any definite statement of thought, make the task of translating the Logia a protracted process of divination. One can do but little more than guess in the light of his reading in Zoroastrian, Gnostic, Neo-Platonic and similar literatures, what the lines seem to mean. Our translation is not presented dogmatically, for we are convinced that in this case one translator's honest guess is as good as another's.

We have followed Gray's text wherever possible; occasionally we have adopted the emendations suggested by Kroll and

these the reader can observe for himself in Gray's footnotes to his text. We give our translation without commentary, except so far as the extreme compression and obscurity of numerous passages compel us to give expanded interpretations rather than absolutely literal versions.

*Ps.*—Psellus.

*Dam.*—Damascius.

*Proc.*—Proclus.

### UNITY, DUALITY AND TRINITY.

*Ps.*—The question of paternal unity.

*Dam.*—Unity is extended and begets duality.

*Proc. Dam.*—Now the function of duality consists in this: it flashes forth segments of itself in the form of thoughts; it is that which controls all things and which assigns to its place everything not already so assigned.

*Dam.*—The triad over which unity rules is the source of light in the whole world. This arrangement is the starting point of all division.

*Proc.*—That is to say, the mind of the Father commanded that everything be divided into three parts; to this his will gave assent and from that moment all things were divided. The mind of the eternal Father spake thus to the triad, because he governs all things by means of Mind.

*Dam.*—And there appeared in the triad virtue, wisdom and intellectual knowledge of exact truth. Thus of these elements is composed the substance of the triad, which, though existing previously, was nevertheless not primary, but rather is that by which these things are measured. One may infer, then, that all things are subservient to these three principles.

Of the three orbits of existence the first is the sacred one, the middle, the one that consisteth of air, and the third, different from the others, that which warmeth the earth with fire, and which is the very spring of springs, aye, of all springs. It is the womb that containeth all things, the place whence shoot up the beginnings of substance in a multitude of forms.

*Proc.*—Thence issueth the trailing fiery whirlwind, like to the flower of faint flame, shooting forth in the hollow vaults of heaven ; for from here descend earthwards the marvellous rays of light.

### FATHER AND MIND.

*Ps.*—The Father apprehended himself but did not limit his own peculiar possession, fire, to his own intellectual powers.

*Ps.*—Nothing imperfect proceedeth from the Father, for he hath made all things perfect and hath entrusted them to Secondary Mind, the name that was first given to the whole race of man.

*Proc.*—This Father-begotten light of itself plucked the flower of Mind from the Father's powers. For the self-engendered Mind of the Father, having conceived of deeds to be done, cast upon the world the fiery shackles of love to the end that through the acts of love all things might endure eternally and that what had been wrought by the splendours of the Father's Mind might not perish ; in brief, that through love the elements might continue to exist. By thinking the Father is able to implant his mind in all sources and beginnings. There is a source of the things that pertain to Mind, to wit, the lowermost depth of the Father's being ; nor hath it gone forth from there, but it hath abided there, even in its most sacred place, amid the divine silence. Fire, which was at first his own special faculty, he confines in Substance not by acts of body but by the exercise of Mind. For here and there throughout the world the Father's Mind, which thinks that which is susceptible of thought and conceives ineffable beauties, hath scattered material tokens of itself.

*Dam.*—The mind of the Father represents a complete natural division and is not further divisible. By Mind he comprehends that which may be thought and brings the power of perception to the world. By Mind he comprehendeth that which may be thought and bringeth Soul to the world.

### MIND, THE THINKABLE AND THINGS PERTAINING TO MIND.

*Dam.*—Mind and the Thinkable are of one and the same essence.

*Proc.*—Mind coexisteth with the thinkable, for it hath no separate being. Things that pertain to Mind are also thinkable things, that is to say, those things that one conceiveth when he engages in thought. The thinkable is food for him who thinks. Strive to learn that which is thinkable, since it existeth apart from Mind, even from that Mind which governeth the world of fire. For the maker of the world of fire is the mind of Mind. Ye who employ Mind know the depths of the paternal Mind that transcendeth the world. Division that was conceived by Mind is the beginning of all division. There also existeth a certain thinkable element which thou must think of with the flower of Mind.

*Dam.*—If thou gently inclinest thy mind to this thing, thou shalt perceive it, but not by merely thinking something wilt thou perceive it. For there is a helpful power that shineth all about us, flashing forth segments of itself in the form of thought, and one must therefore not endeavour to perceive this element summarily, but by means of the extenuated flame of extended Mind which measureth all things save this one thing, namely, that which is thinkable. Upon this injunction must thou ponder: if thou turnest thy mind to this thing, thou shall perceive it without effort; turn to it rather thy sacred eye that is experienced in such things and direct thy mind free of all impressions upon this thinkable thing, that thou mayest learn it, for it existeth apart from Mind. All Mind perceiveth God, since Mind doth not exist without the Thinkable nor the Thinkable without Mind. All things yielding to the intellectually-perceived flashes of the fire of Mind obey the persuasive counsel of the Father; that is, in exercising the faculty of thought and in continuing to revolve ceaselessly and perpetually. It is observable also in the whirling movement of sources and origins of things and in their tireless revolution. Through its holy name it darteth hither and thither among the worlds with an unwearied whirling motion because of the swift rebuke of the Father. The source of the souls of animal life is under the control of two minds. The Creator, who with his own hands fashioned the universe, was the first to leap into being from Mind, investing himself in fire that he might mix, as in a bowl, the sources of unions, spreading over them the flower of his own fire. All things scintillate with emanations of Mind and are filled with the impulse of Love. Unformed things are given form. They fly about like unto swarming bees, separating into corporeal shapes in the world. That which Mind declareth, it declareth, forsooth, by means of thought; for while created things possess power, Mind cometh from the Father.

## INCANTATIONS, IDEAS, BEGINNINGS.

Numerous are these things and flying swiftly forward they dominate the worlds of the zone of light ; they occupy three levels of altitude. Beneath them lies the great reservoir of the beginnings of things. Beginnings when they had excogitated the intellectually perceived deeds wrought by the Father, revealed them to human eyes in bodily form, acting as interpreters between the Father and Matter and creating visible imitations of the invisible. They inscribed, as it were, the invisible creation upon the visible. The Mind of the Father sped swiftly through space and with his untiring will conceived all manner of forms ; these sprang forth all from the same source, for the Father can both will and bring to completion. Through them the Mind of the Father connected with the Father each by its own separate channel, one form of life here and another there, these having been distributed among various intellectually-perceived entities through the agency of the fire of Mind. For the world with its variety of forms the Father established a pattern, indestructible and intellectually perceived, not hastening to spread over the world the traces of that form in which the world took visible shape. And he was pleased with these manifold designs, whose source is but one, namely, that whence issue all individual forms, unshaped, separating into corporeal shapes throughout the world, and which gathering together into formidable masses, fly about like swarming bees. One is borne this way, another that, being conceptions of Mind which issue from the Father and which through unending time strive to seize upon the flower of fire. The supreme primitive creative force, like a fountain that wells up of itself, poured forth these forms from the Father's being. Even incantations that are conceived of Mind themselves exercise Mind, being so moved about by inarticulate acts of will as to participate in thought.

## HECATE, UNITER, FOUNDERS OF MYSTERIES.

All these are derived from the Father. But the inexorable thunderbolts and the folds of resplendent light that contain the fiery whirlwind are both derived from Hecate who herself is born of the Father ; from her likewise come the vitalized flower of fire and the mighty wind of the highest heavens beyond the empyrean. To her the Father assigned the keeping of the heights of Heaven by means of his fiery storms, imbuing with his own might those whose function it is to bring things together into one. The whole world is upheld by intelligent beings that bend not under their task. She (Hecate) is a Creative goddess.

and one who dispenses life-bearing fire, and the Author of life filleth her womb and endueth the Uniters with the fruitful potent power of fire. They are also guardians of the Father's works. The Father maketh himself like unto his creation moved by the desire to assume the form of the images. The founders of mysteries have been in intimate communion with the Uniters. To the intellectually perceived flashes of fire of Mind everything yields in servile obedience, as likewise do all things that are subservient to the Uniters who possess material form. When articulate Man put on his panoply of strength and armed his mind and soul with threefold might, he consented to the limitation that he should not move about in the realms of fire like a nebula without mass, but rather that he should possess solid form. But it is the Uniters who create atoms and visible things, which have a corporeal material existence.

### SOUL, NATURE.

Because a Soul, through the might of the Father, is flaming fire, it is immortal, hath mastery over life and holdeth within it an abundant means of filling the void spaces of the world. For it is a copy of Mind and that which Mind bringeth into being is in part corporeal. When the channels of fire are brought together, Soul accomplisheth the works of fire which is eternal. After the Father hath given thought thereto, I myself, a soul, take up my abode therein. Soul is warm and giveth life to all things. For the Father of gods and men hath implanted Mind in Soul and Soul in our inert material body. High in the heavens Soul quickeneth light, fire, the ether and the worlds. The works of nature are wrought by the intellectual voice of the Father. Soul it is which hath ordered and continueth to order the mighty heavens as co-worker with the Father. Her horns have been established aloft. Upon her divine shoulders hath the boundless originating power of nature been laid. This untiring power in its turn ruleth the worlds and created things, that the heavens might speed along through their eternal course, drawing all things along with them. Swiftly turneth the sun about its axis, that it may follow an accustomed path. Look not with thine eyes upon the divinely-given name of this power of nature.

### THE WORLD.

The Creator is he who of himself fashioneth the world (for that which may be termed the substance of fire is a different thing from the world), fashioning all things with his own hand that the cosmic mass might be made absolutely complete, that

the world might become manifest and not seem to have the consistency of a mere membrane. The whole world is made of fire, water, earth and clear celestial air. Mathematically, both rational and irrational are the combinations of the world's component parts. Fire, which is the bearer of the vital principle, proceedeth by way of various separate channels now to one life, now to another, and in descending from above passeth in a straight line through the centre of the earth to the middle of the fifth zone, which also is a bearer of fire, and where the channels of matter begin.

The Creator hastened to create Man a creature endowed with speech. He is another source of power that controlleth the realm of fire. The centre is the point from which all radii extending to the circumference are equal. The mind of the Father hath strewn the world with distinctive marks of Himself. The centre is the middle point of all the radii of the Father's Mind ; it is indeed a copy of Mind and that which is created partaketh of the nature of body also.

### HEAVEN.

Now the Father erected seven supports for the worlds. When he had enclosed heaven as it were within a rounded vault, he set therein the numerous company of the fixed stars and placed beneath them the seven living planets. In their midst he put the earth, poured water into the depressions upon its surface and above these diffused the air. He established the numerous company of the fixed stars lest through being widely scattered they might exert baleful influences. With a steadfastness that permitteth no deviation did he establish the numerous company of the fixed stars, having made fire to embrace fire ; aye, this he did with a steadfastness that permitteth no deviation. Underneath the Father set six planets with the fiery sun in their midst as a seventh planetary body, assigning to them, which aforetime were irregular, regular orbits in the heavens.

Now the divine Mother brought into being the mighty sun and the resplendent moon. The ether, the sun, the spirit of the moon regulateth the misty atmosphere, the solar cycles, the lunar harmonies and the hollow spaces of the sky. Tuneful strains come from the ether, from the streams of light that flow out from the sun and moon, and from the misty air. Broad is the expanse of the atmosphere ; the moon goeth through its cycle in a month and ceaseless is the turning of the sun. The divine Mother receiveth all these sweet strains of the ether, the sun, the moon and the

atmosphere and combineth them into one music. Fire is at once the product and the source of fire, Hair may be seen on the down of a human being's head at birth. Cronus, consort of the sun, is the guardian of the sacred summit of Heaven. The cycle of the ether, the ceaseless movement of the moon, the streaming mists, the mighty sun and the resplendent moon.

### TIME.

Time is a divinity that dwelleth in the world, is eternal, infinite, new and yet old, and in form is like unto a spiral. It is another fountain of power that controlleth the empyrean world.

### SOUL, BODY, MAN.

Thou must hasten toward the light and the Father's effulgent rays whence thy soul came to thee clad in a wealth of Mind. This did the Father contrive in his Mind and by Him was mortal man given a soul. Now the Mind of the Father hath implanted here and there in souls evidences of itself, having imbued soul with an intense love. The Father of men and gods hath ingrafted Mind in Soul and hath established us in Body. All divine things are without Body, but to them for our sake he hath attached bodies, since our bodies are impotent to govern beings that are without body, because of the nature of the body upon which ye have been engrafted. In god reside souls which trail behind them potent flames of fire that derive from the Father and from them, the fruits of the empyrean, as they descend from above, is gathered Soul, the flower that nourisheth life. Wherefore, when souls have considered in thought the deeds of the Father, they shun the inexorable omen of divine Destiny. Even if thou beholdest this thy soul restored to its original estate, yet the Father granteth another to make up the complete number. Verily those souls that come down from heaven to earth are the most blessed above all souls. It is they that are supremely happy and depend not upon the ineffable threads of Destiny; aye, even all those souls which, O Sire, proceed from Thine effulgent self or come from Zeus himself according to the mighty necessity of Destiny. May profound immortal Soul lead the way and let all eyes be lifted on high! Go not down into the world below whose light is darkness and beneath which reacheth an incredible abyss, aye, and Hades, also, enveloped in gloom, who aboundeth in filth and delighteth in lifeless forms, is devoid of Mind, dwelleth amid steep precipices, knoweth not straightness, ever windeth hither and thither in a wretched abyss and ever consorteth with a body invisible, inert and devoid of breath. This is the world that hateth the light and these the winding streams by which many



mortals are carried off. Seek thou paradise ; strive to find the fountain of the soul whence thou art ; when thou hast done service to the body in some wise thou shalt be restored to the condition from which thou hast come, having made the deed one with the Holy Word. Go not downwards where beneath the earth a steep chasm lieth and hurrieth mortals down to its depths that have seven channels ; beneath standeth the throne of dire Necessity. Do not seek to add ought to Destiny. The soul of men will in some way press God close unto itself ; it is in no wise mortal but is wholly possessed of the spirit of God, for it boasteth of a harmony by whose influence the body of man was brought into existence. When in an act of piety thou hast reached out thy mind, which is of the nature of fire, thou shalt save even thy corruptible body. Even the Shade hath a portion in a place that is enveloped in light. Attach firmly reins of fire all about the soul which is formless and unformable. Thought, warm as with fiery heat, occupieth the foremost place. A mortal man when he hath come nigh unto the fire will receive light from God. For a man who abideth long there are swift-flying spiritual beings. The punishments of men act as restraints, and the fruits of evil matter are at once useful and good. Let fire-bearing Hope rear thee in the dwelling place of the angels. But the Mind of the Father doth not suffer Soul to use her own free will, until such time as she depart from forgetfulness and acquire speech, remembering the holy covenant of the Father. To some He hath granted to comprehend the distinctive mark of light that may be learned by experience ; others though heavy with sleep he hath rewarded with his own strength. Defile not the breath nor penetrate beneath the surface nor leave off-scourings of thy body upon steep places. Take not thine own life lest thy soul, departing from thee, be left desolate and resourceless, because accursed are the souls of those that leave the body by violence. They who separate soul from body are restored to animate existence but are easily destroyed. The source of virtue lieth wholly within Hecates, left flank and yet without hurt to her virginity. O Man, who art the creation of most intrepid Nature, strive not to grasp with thy mind the vast size of Earth, for the plant of exact truth groweth not in the soil of Earth ; neither by putting many measures together seek to compute the dimensions of the sun, for it is borne along in its course by an eternal will in spite of thee. There is a regular movement of the moon and a forward progress of the stars. Concern not thyself with the swift coursing of the moon ; the stars, impelled by necessity, press ceaselessly onward, a motion that was not instituted on thine account. The broad wings of the birds that fly on high are

not fraught with truth, nor are the severed pieces of sacrifices or of the entrails of victims; these things are all naught but refuse, the basis of such deception as itinerant traders use. Do then shun them, intending as thou dost to open for thyself the holy paradise of piety where are gathered together virtue and wisdom and obedience. The beasts of Earth will inhabit thy body, and then even over them will She mourn as over her own children.

### DAEMONES, MAGIC RITES.

Nature persuadeth the dæmons to be holy and the offspring of evil matter to be useful and good. These things, however, I disclose in the sacred precincts of Thought. Fire surgeth forward in the air like unto a swelling wave, either as an unformed flame whence issueth a voice or as a flood of light that envelopeth the earth, speeding and whirling through space. But it is possible for one to see with his eyes a steed which gleameth even more brightly than light or a youth that rideth upon the swift steed, shining like fire or clad in gold or devoid of vesture or even wielding a bow and standing upon the back of the steed. If thou speakest to me many times, thou shalt behold all things grow dim, for then doth the dome of heaven appear to be without substance. The stars shine not, the light of the moon is veiled, earth abideth not and all things are scorched by the flames of thunderbolts. Say not that the image of Nature is self-revealing, for thou mayest not behold the dæmons until Body shall have attained perfection. By means of sacred rites they bewitch souls and seduce them from the holy mysteries. From the deep recesses of earth leap forth the dogs of the underworld which never reveal true body to mortal man. The magic power worketh in Hecate's whirling top. Never alter strange-sounding terms of magic, for each group of dæmons hath its own divinely-appointed terms that have secret power in mystic ceremonies; whensoever thou beholdest most holy fire without form or shape leaping in great flashes throughout the depth of the universe, listen to the voice of fire. Whensoever thou seest the divine dæmon coming earthwards, offer sacrifice of a stone while uttering magic words. All things have sprung into being from fire alone. The Father engendereth not fear, but rather implanteth the spirit of obedience.

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## FOREWORD.

Dr. Nanabhai Navroji Katrak of Bombay has founded two Lectureships under the name of "Bai Ratanbai Katrak Lectures", one at Oxford and the other at Paris. The one at Oxford University is to consist of not less than six lectures to be delivered at the end of every period of ten years on a subject embodying research in the field of Zoroastrian Religion. The other, at the Sorbonne, is to consist of not less than four lectures to be delivered at the end of every five years on a subject embodying researches in Zoroastrian History. The first series of Lectures at Oxford was delivered in 1925 by Prof. Louis H. Gray of Columbia University, the well-known Oriental Scholar. The K. R. Cama Oriental Institute has undertaken to publish these lectures as a separate number of its journal, and the present volume is the result.

EDITOR.





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## CLASSIFICATION OF THE DIVINE AND DEMONIC BEINGS OF THE IRANIAN RELIGIONS .. .. .

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## ABBREVIATIONS.

[It seems scarcely necessary here to repeat the full and formal bibliographies given in the principal studies on the Iranian religions, of which the most recent is contained in Jackson, *Zoroastrianism*, pp. xx-xxxi. The authors, titles, etc., of books and articles not included in this list of abbreviations, but cited in the course of discussion, are recorded in the notes which mention them.]

*ABAW* : *Abhandlungen der königlich preussischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, philosophisch-historische Classe*, Berlin, 1908 sqq.

Abeghian, *Volks Glaube* : M. Abeghian, *Der armenische Volks Glaube*, Leipzig, 1899:

*AD* : *Andarj-i-Dastōbarān val Vēhddīnān*, ed. Jamaspji Minocheherji Jamasp-Asana, *Pahlavi Texts*, Bombay, 1897-1913, pp. 121-7 ; tr. Kaikhusru Jamaspji Jamasp-Āsa, in *Sir Jamshetjee Jejeebhoy Madressa Jubilee Volume*, do, 1914, pp. 84-8.

*Āfr.* : *Āfrīngān* (in all standard editions and translations of the Avesta) <sup>1</sup>

Aharonian, *Croyances* : A. Aharonian, *Les anciennes croyances arméniennes*, Geneva, 1913.

*AJSL* : *American Journal of Semitic Languages and Literatures*, Chicago, 1884 sqq.

Ananikian, *Mythology* : M. Ananikian, 'Armenian Mythology', in *MAR* vii (1925), 1-100, 363-71, 379-97, 435-40.

*Aog.* : *Aogəmadzēčā*, ed. and tr. (Avesta, Pāzand, and Sanskrit versions) W. Geiger, Erlangen, 1878 ; ed. (Pahlavi version) Bahmanji Nusservanji Dhabhar, in *Indo-Iranian Studies...* in Honour of... Sanjana, London, 1925, pp. 117-30 ; (Pāzand version) Edalji Kersāspji Āntiā, *Pāzend Texts*, Bombay, 1909, pp. 348-57.

<sup>1</sup> Ed. N. L. Westergaard, Copenhagen, 1854 ; F. Spiegel (except Yašta and Fragments), 2 vols., Vienna, 1853-58 ; K. F. Geldner (except Fragments), 3 vols., Stuttgart, 1886-95 ; tr. F. Spiegel, 3 vols., Leipzig, 1852-63 ; J. Darmesteter, *ZA* ; J. Darmesteter and L. H. Mills, *SBE* iv, xxiii, xxxi ; C. de Harlez, <sup>2</sup> Paris, 1881 ; C. Bartholomæ (Gāθās), Strashbourg, 1905 ; F. Wolff (the remainder, except the Fragments), do, 1910. Editions and translations of no lasting value or of portions only are designedly omitted here



*Arabian Nights* : tr. J. Payne, 13 vols., London, 1882-84 ;  
*Supplemental Nights*, tr. R. F. Burton, 4 vols., Benares, 1885-88.

*Art. Ham. (Pers., Sus.)* : inscriptions of Artaxerxes I or II at Hamadân (or Persepolis or Susa), ed. and tr. in all complete editions of the Achaemenian inscriptions.<sup>1</sup>

*AS* : *Acta sanctorum quotquot toto orbe coluntur*, new ed., Paris, 1863 sqq.

*ASDS* : *Afdiya va Sāyakih-i Damīg-i Sagastān*, ed. and tr. E. W. West, in *JAOS* xxxvi (1916), 118-21 (cf. A. V. W. Jackson, *ib.*, pp. 115-7 ; the work was actually done before Jan. 7, 1898) ; ed. Jamaspji Miñocheherji Jamasp-Asana, *Pahlavi Texts*, Bombay, 1897-1913, pp. 25-6 ; tr. Jivanji Jamshedji Modi, in *Aiyādgār-i-Zarīrān*, etc., do., 1899, pp. 122-7.

Assemani, *Acta* : S. E. Assemani, *Acta sanctorum martyrum orientalium et occidentalium*, i, Rome, 1748.

*AV* : *Atharva Veda*, best ed. W. D. Whitney and R. Roth, Berlin, 1855 (2d ed., do., 1924) ; best tr. W. D. Whitney, ed. C. R. Lanman, Cambridge, U. S. A., 1905.

*AVN* : *Artū-Firāf-Nāmak*, ed. and tr. (Pahlavi version) Hoshangji Jamaspji Asa and M. Haug, Bombay, 1872 ; tr. A. Barthélemy, Paris, 1887 ; ed. (Pahlavi and Persian versions) Kaikhusru Jamaspji Jamasp Asa, Bombay, 1902 ; (Pāzand version) Edalji Kersāspji Antiā, *Pāzand Texts*, do., 1909, pp. 358-80 ; (Persian version) Manockji Rustamji Unvālā, *Dārāb Hormazdyār's Rivāyat*, do., 1922, ii, 331-42 ; (Sanskrit version) Sheriarji Dadabhai Bharucha, do., 1920.

*AZ* : *Āfrin-i Zartūšt*, ed. (Avesta version) N. L. Westergaard, *Zendavesta*, pp. 300-1 ; tr. Darmesteter, *ZA* ii, 659-62, and *SBE* xxiii, 325-8 ; ed. (Pāzand version) Edalji Kersāspji Antiā, *Pāzand Texts*, Bombay, 1909, pp. 107-10 ; (Persian version) Manockji Rustamji Unvālā, *Dārāb Hormazdyār's Rivāyat*, do., 1922, i, 399-401.

<sup>1</sup> (Old Persian version) F. Spiegel,<sup>2</sup> Leipzig, 1881 ; F. Weissbach and W. Bang, 2 parts, do., 1893-1908 ; H. C. Tolman, New York [1908] (Babylonian version) C. Bezold, Leipzig, 1882 ; (Elamitic version) F. H. Weissbach, do., 1890 ; (all three versions) F. H. Weissbach, do., 1911. Editions and translations of no lasting value or of portions only are designedly omitted here.

Bartholomae, *AirWb.* : C. Bartholomae, *Altiranisches Wörterbuch*, Strasbourg, 1904.

—*Forschungen* : *Arische Forschungen*, 3 parts, Halle, 1882-87.

—*Gatha's* : *Die Gatha's des Awesta*....übersetzt, Strasbourg, 1905.

—*ZIW* : *Zum altiranischen Wörterbuch*, do., 1906.

Baunack, *Studien* : J. and T. Baunack, *Studien auf dem Gebiete des Griechischen und der arischen Sprachen*. i (all published), Leipzig, 1886-88.

*BB* : *Beiträge zur Kunde der indogermanischen Sprachen*, ed. A. Bezzenger, 30 vols., Göttingen, 1877-1906.

*Bd.* : *Būdahišn*, ed. (Pahlavi version) N. L. Westergaard, Copenhagen, 1851 ; ed. and tr. F. Justi, Leipzig, 1868 ; tr. E. W. West, in *SBE* v, 1-151 ; ed. (Pāzand version) Edalji Kersāspji, Antiā, *Pāzend Texts*, Bombay, 1909, pp. 1-82.

Benfey-Stern, *Monatsnamen* : T. Benfey and M. A. Stern, *Ueber die Monatsnamen einiger alter Völker*, Berlin, 1836.

Bergaigne, *Religion* : A. Bergaigne, *La Religion védique*. 3 vols., Paris, 1878-83.

Berneker, *Wörterbuch* : E. Berneker, *Slavisches etymologisches Wörterbuch*, Heidelberg, 1908 sqq.

*Bh.* : inscriptions of Darius the Great at Bahistūn, ed. and tr. in all complete editions of the Achaemenian inscriptions, also ed. and tr. (all versions) L. W. King and R. C. Thompson, London, 1907.

Boisacq, *Dictionnaire* : E. Boisacq, *Dictionnaire étymologique de la langue grecque*, Paris, 1916.

Bousset, *Gnosis* : W. Bousset, *Hauptprobleme der Gnosis*, Göttingen, 1907.

Braun, *Akten* : C. Braun, *Ausgewählte Akten persischer Märtyrer*....aus dem Syrischen übersetzt, Kempten and Munich, 1915.

Brown, *Lexicon* : F. Brown, S. R. Driver, and C. A. Briggs, *A Hebrew and English Lexicon of the Old Testament*. Boston, U. S. A., 1906.

Brückner, *Mitologia* : A. Brückner, *Mitologia slava*, Bologna [1923].

Brugmann, *Grundriss* : K. Brugmann, *Grundriss der vergleichenden Grammatik der indogermanischen Sprachen*,<sup>2</sup> 3 vols. (7 parts), Strasbourg, 1897-1916.

BSLP : *Bulletin de la société de linguistique de Paris*, Paris, 1867 sqq.

BYt. : *Bahman Yašt*, ed. (Pahlavi version) Kaikobād Ādarbād Noshervān, Bombay [1899]; tr. E. W. West, in *SBE*, 189-235; ed. (Pāzand version) Ēdalji Kersāspji Antiā, *Pāzend Texts*, Bombay, 1909, pp. 339-48; (Persian version) Manockji Rustamji Unvālā, *Dārāb Hormazdyār's Rivāyat*, do., ii. 86-97.

Carnoy, *Mythology* : A. Carnoy, 'Iranian Mythology', in *MAR* vi (1917), 251-351, 360-8, 395-404.

Casartelli, *Philosophy* : L. C. Casartelli, *The Philosophy of the Mazdayasnian Religion under the Sassanids*, tr. Firoz Jamaspji Jamasp Asa, Bombay, 1889.

Chavannes-Pelliot, *Traité* : E. Chavannes and P. Pelliot, 'Un Traité manichéen retrouvé en Chine', in *JA* X, xviii (1911), 499-617; XI, i (1913), 99-199, 261-394.

CIS : *Corpus inscriptionum semiticarum*, Paris, 1881 sqq.

Clay, *Artaxerxes* : A. T. Clay, *Business Documents of Murashû Sons of Nippur dated in the Reign of Artaxerxes I*, Philadelphia, 1898.

—*Darius* : *Business Documents of Murashû Sons of Nippur dated in the Reign of Darius II*, do., 1904.

—*Documents* : *Business Documents of Murashû Sons of Nippur dated in the Reign of Darius II*, do., 1912.

Clemen, *Fontes* : C. Clemen, *Fontes historiae religionis persicae*, Bonn, 1920.

—*Nachrichten* : *Die griechischen und lateinischen Nachrichten über die persische Religion*, do., 1920.

ČN : *Čatrang-Nāmak*, ed. and tr. Peshutan Behramji Sanjana, in *Ganjeshāyagān*, etc., Bombay, 1885; C. Salemann, in *Mélanges asiatiques tirés du bulletin de l'académie impériale de St. Pétersbourg*, ix (1887), 222-42; ed. Khudāyār Shahryār Irani, *Pahlavi Texts*, Bombay, 1889, pp. 28-36; Jamaspji Minocheherji Jamasp-Asana, *Pahlavi Texts*, do., 1897-1913, pp. 115-20.

Cowley, *Papyri* : A. Cowley, *Aramaic Papyri of the Fifth Century, B.C.*, Oxford, 1923.

Cumont, *Cosmogonie* : F. Cumont, *La Cosmogonie manichéenne d'après Theodore bar Khôni*, Brussels, 1908.

—*TM* : *Texies et monuments figurés relatifs aux mystères de Mithra*, 2 vols., do., 1896-99.

Darmesteter, *Etudes* : J. Darmesteter, *Etudes iraniennes*, 2 vols., Paris, 1883.

—*Haurvatât* : *Haurvatât et Ameretât*, do., 1875.

—*Ormazd* : *Ormazd et Ahriman*, do., 1877.

—*ZA* : *Le Zend-Avesta*, 3 vols., do., 1892-93.

—*Dar. Pers.* : inscriptions of Darius the Great at Persepolis, ed. and tr. in all complete editions of the Achaemenian inscriptions.

*DD* : *Dāṭistān-i Dīnik*, tr. E. W. West, in *SBE* xviii, 1-276

de Harlez, *Avesta* : C. de Harlez, *Avesta, livre sacré du zoroastrisme*,<sup>2</sup> Paris, 1881.

Delbrück, *Syntax* : B. Delbrück, *Vergleichende Syntax der indogermanischen Sprachen*, 3 vols., Strasbourg, 1893-1900.

Delehay, *Actes* : H. Delehay, *Les Versions grecques des actes des martyrs persans sous Sapor II*, Paris, 1905 (= *Patrologia Orientalis*, II, iv).

de Morgan, *Numismatique* : J. de Morgan, *Manuel de numismatique orientale*, Paris, 1923, sqq.

Dhalla, *Theology* : M. N. Dhalla, *Zoroastrian Theology*, New York, 1914.

*Dk.* : *Dīnkart*, ed. and tr. Peshotan Behramjee and Darab Peshotan Sanjana, Bombay, 1874-1928 19 vols. ; ed. Dhanjishah Meherjibhai Madan, 2 vols., do., 1911.

Dottin, *Manuel* : G. Dottin, *Manuel pour servir à l'étude de l'antiquité celtique*,<sup>2</sup> Paris, 1915.

*ERE* : *Encyclopaedia of Religion and Ethics*, ed. J. Hastings, 13 vols., Edinburgh, 1908-27.

Falk-Torp, *Wörterbuch* : H. Falk and A. Torp, *Norwegisch-dänisches etymologisches Wörterbuch*, Heidelberg, 1911.

Farnell, *CGS* : L. R. Farnell, *The Cults of the Greek States*, 5 vols., Oxford, 1896-1909.

Feist, *Kultur* : S. Feist, *Kultur, Ausbreitung und Herkunft der Indogermanen*, Berlin, 1913.

— *Wörterbuch* : *Etymologisches Wörterbuch der gotischen Sprache*,<sup>2</sup> Halle, 1925.

*FW* : Westergaard's *Fragments of the Avesta*, ed. N. L. Westergaard, *Zendavesta*, pp. 331-4 ; tr. Darmesteter, *ZA* iii, 1-12, and *SBE* iv,<sup>2</sup> 245-51.

*G* : *Gāh* (in all standard editions and translations of the *Avesta*).

*Gd. Bd.* : *Grand Būdahišn*, ed. Tahmuras Dinshaji Anklesaria, Bombay, 1908.

Geiger, *Aməša Spəntas* : B. Geiger, 'Die Aməša Spəntas, ihr Wesen und ihre ursprüngliche Bedeutung', in *SWAW* clxxvi (1916).

Geiger, *OK* : W. Geiger, *Ostirānische Kultur im Altertum*, Erlangen, 1882.

Geldner, *Metrik* : K. Geldner, *Ueber die Metrik des jüngeren Avesta*, Tübingen, 1877.

Gelzer, *Götterlehre* : H. Gelzer, 'Zur armenischen Götterlehre', in *Berichte über die Verhandlungen der sächsischen Gesellschaft der Wissenschaften, philosophisch-historische Classe*, 1896, pp. 99-148.

*GF* : *Mātigān-ī Yōšt-ī Fryānō*, ed. and tr. in *AVN* pp. 207-66 ; tr. A. Barthélemy, Paris, 1889.

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# RATANBAI KATRAK LECTURES.

## THE FOUNDATIONS OF THE IRANIAN RELIGIONS

BY

LOUIS HERBERT GRAY, M.A., PH.D. (COLUMBIA).

*Professor of Oriental Languages, Columbia University.*

## INTRODUCTION.

The ancient religions of the Iranian Plateau possess an interest extending far more widely than the area in which they flourished. With the development of the Persian Empires they spread to Cappadocia, Commagene, Pontus, Armenia, and Georgia,<sup>1</sup> and even exercised some slight influence in northern India;<sup>2</sup> while their traces still exist in the Hindū-Kūš,<sup>3</sup> as well as among the Tušes, Pšavs, Khevsurs, and Ossetes of the Caucasus.<sup>4</sup> They are believed by many<sup>5</sup> to have influenced the Judaism of the Exile, though the resemblances between the

<sup>1</sup> See Gelzer, *Götterlehre*, pp. 100-18; Ananikian, *Mythology*, pp. 20-35, 42-6; O. von Wesendonck, in *Caucasica*, i (1924), 58-91.

<sup>2</sup> A. Weber, 'Über die Magavyakti des Krishnadāsa Miçra', in *SBAW* 1879, pp. 446-88, and 'Über zwei Parteischriften zu Gunsten der Maga resp. Čākadvīpiya Brāhmaṇa', ib. 1880, pp. 27-78; T. Bloch, 'Eine indische Version der iranischen Sage von Sām', in *ZdmG* lxiv (1910), 733-8; W. E. Clark, 'Šākadvīpa and Śvetadvīpa', in *JAOS* xxxix (1919), 209-42; H. H. Wilson, in M. Reinaud, *Mémoire géographique, historique et scientifique sur l'Inde*, Paris, 1849, pp. 391-7; W. Kirfel, *Die Kosmographie der Inder*, Bonn, 1920, pp. 101, 103, 114, 120, 130. The Sanskrit *Sūryaśataka* of Mayūra (first half of the seventh century) probably belongs to this cycle (ed. and tr. G. P. Quackenbos, *The Sanskrit Poems of Mayūra*, New York, 1917; cf. especially pp. 35-9).

<sup>3</sup> C. de Ujfalvy, *Les Aryens au nord et au sud de l'Hindou-Kouch*, Paris, 1896, pp. 91, 96-7, 329-32, 334, 337-8; J. Biddulph, *Tribes of the Hindoo Koosh*, Calcutta, 1880, pp. 75, 108; Olufsen, *Pamirs*, pp. 197-9, 205-6.

<sup>4</sup> M. Kovalevski, 'Survivals of Iranian Culture in the Caucasian Highlands', in *Archaeological Review*, i (1888), 313-31; L. H. Gray, in *ERE* xii, 483-8; E. H. Minns, ib. ix, 572-4.

<sup>5</sup> e.g. T. K. Cheyne, *Origin and Religious Contents of the Psalter*, London, 1891, pp. 271-2, 281-3, 394-407, 419-22, 425, 433-41; L. H. Mills, *Our Own Religion in Ancient Persia*, Chicago, 1913; A. Kohut, *Über die jüdische Angelologie und Dämonologie in ihrer Abhängigkeit vom Parsismus*, Leipzig, 1866; E. Stave, *Einfluss des Parsismus auf das Judentum*, Haerlem, 1898; E. Böklen, *Verwandschaft der jüdisch-christlichen mit der persischen Eschatologie*, Göttingen, 1902; Scheffelowitz, *Judentum*.



Iranian *yazatas* and the Hebrew angels (מַלְאָכִים 'messengers'), Aēšma Daēva and Asmodaeus, Aṡra Mainyu and Satan ('Adversary'). Aməša Spəntas and Archangels seem rather superficial, while belief in a future life would appear to have arisen independently among Iranians and Jews. It has been suggested,<sup>1</sup> on the other hand, that the Persians, described by Herodotus (i, 133) as the most ready of all men to adopt foreign customs, borrowed their monotheistic concept of Ahura Mazda from the Jews of the Exile; but this hypothesis likewise is scarcely necessary. There are some traces of Iranian beliefs, however, in post-Apostolic Christianity,<sup>2</sup> as in Muhammadanism,<sup>3</sup> Gnosticism,<sup>4</sup> Mandaeanism,<sup>5</sup> and especially Manicheism with its ramifications in Europe to the days of the Albigenses,<sup>6</sup> while under the name of Mithraism they swept the Roman Empire, stopping only at Hadrian's Wall and constituting by all odds the most formidable rival of nascent Christianity.<sup>7</sup>

The reasons for this wide diffusion were partly political: the religions of Iran spread with the expansion of the Iranian Empires, first under the Achaemenians and later under the Sāsānids.<sup>8</sup> Yet there was more than a political basis, for this alone would not explain the extent and the tenacity of Mithraism, a faith of the humble and lowly. The real reason for the vitality of Iranian religion up to the present day has lain in its

<sup>1</sup> Pettazzoni, *Religione*, pp. 76-84; Moulton, *Treasure*, pp. 68-73, cf. M. Gaster, 'Parsiism in Judaism', in *ERE* ix, 637-40.

<sup>2</sup> I Infancy iii, 1, 6-7 (late Arabic text); E. Kuhn, 'Eine zoroastrische Prophezeiung in christlichem Gewand', in *Festgruss an Rudolf von Roth*, Stuttgart, 1893, pp. 217-21.

<sup>3</sup> I. Goldziher, 'Islamisme et parsisme', in *RHR* xliii (1901), 1-29; M. Horten, *Die philosophischen Systeme der spekulativen Theologen im Islam*, Bonn, 1912, pp. 55, 67, 68, 191, 200-1, 212, 242, 244, 246, 248-9, 297-8, 299-300, 331, 334, 391, 398; E. Littmann, 'Hārūt und Mārūt', in *Festschrift... Andreas... dargebracht*, Leipzig, 1916, pp. 70-87; L. H. Gray, 'Zoroastrian Elements in Muhammedan Eschatology', in *Le Muséon*, nouvelle série, iii (1902), 153-84.

<sup>4</sup> Cf. Bousset, *Gnosis*, pp. 85-90, 116-9, 136-52, 202-9, 223-32, 237 369-82.

<sup>5</sup> W. Brandt, *Mandäische Religion*, Leipzig, 1889, pp. 194-7, 202-3.

<sup>6</sup> This will be discussed fully by Jackson in *Mani and Researches*; cf. also O. Zöckler, 'Neumanichäer', in *PRE* xiii, 757-70.

<sup>7</sup> See especially Cumont, *TM*.

<sup>8</sup> For the political factors governing the apparently changeful attitude of Sāsānian Zoroastrianism toward Christianity see Labourt, *Christianisme*, pp. 43-50; W. Wigram, *An Introduction to the History of the Assyrian Church*, London, 1910, pp. 59-62, 138, 188; Pettazzoni, *Religione*, pp. 196, 198, 203-4.

precious possession of an intense and tremendous conviction that Good is good and Evil is evil; that Good must war against Evil till wickedness is vanquished; that each man must battle for God against the devil. Such a creed bred men of lofty purpose, of high morality, of that purity, nobility, and resolution which found so fine an expression in the Iranian triad of 'good thought, good word, good deed', the union of religion with morality, of duty toward the divine world with duty toward mankind.

In the historic period the Iranian religions appear to fall into two groups which may be termed, for the sake of convenience, 'Persian' (with Mithraism as its great offshoot)<sup>1</sup> and 'Avestan'. The former, centring in Persis (the modern area of Fārs) and represented in native sources only by the inscriptions of the Achaemenian Kings, seems to have been a simple system of worship of Auramazda and other gods, of whom only Miθra and Anāhitā are named;<sup>2</sup> the latter is set forth in the Avesta and its ancillary literature in Middle and Modern Persian.

The broad outlines of the Avestan religion are very generally known. Its worship centres about Ahura Mazda, the 'Wise Lord' and the only true God, who opposes Aṇra Mainyu, the 'Hostile Spirit'. Each is assisted by a multitude of super-human beings; and man also engages in the battle, aiding and aided by Ahura Mazda, who rewards him with eternal bliss, or helping Aṇra Mainyu, who recompenses him with hell. Fire is venerated as the highest material emblem of the 'Wise Lord', but is not worshipped, so that it is a gross misnomer to call the adherents of the religion 'fire-worshippers'. Neither is this system dualistic except by a use of the term which seems wholly erroneous, for the two opposing powers are neither co-equal nor co-eternal. Aṇra Mainyu is far less mighty than Ahura Mazda; he is ignorant as contrasted with the omniscient 'Wise Lord', and at a time definitely appointed he and all his hosts will be conquered for ever, while Ahura Mazda and the powers of good will reign supreme throughout eternity. Far from being dualistic, the religion is essentially monotheistic.<sup>3</sup>

1 See below, pp. 35-7, 88-89; but otherwise Christensen, 'Quelques notices sur les plus anciennes périodes du zoroastrisme', in *Acta Orientalia*, iv (1926), 102-4.

2 Cf. L. H. Gray, 'Achaemenians', in *ERE* i, 69-73; Pettazzoni, *Religione*, pp. 113-56; Meillet, *Conférences*, pp. 25-6. Against this view, besides the authorities cited in *ERE*, *loc. cit.*, see Moulton, *EZ* pp. 39-60.

3 Moulton, *EZ* pp. 125-6, 155; cf. Pettazzoni, *Religione*, pp. 96-7. For general outlines see Jackson, *Zoroastrianism*, with full references to previous studies.

As presented in the Avesta, Pahlavi, and Parsi-Persian texts, this system bears on every page the impress of one of the greatest spiritual leaders of all time, Zaratustra, more commonly known by the Greek adaptation of his name, Zoroaster, who is here so dominant a figure that the religion itself is commonly termed Zoroastrianism.<sup>1</sup> His date is set by Iranian tradition at 640-563 B.C., a period of widespread religious, philosophical, and ethical ferment during which the Prophets were teaching in Israel, the philosophers of Greece were beginning their activity, the Buddha was proclaiming a new doctrine in India, and Confucius was moulding the Celestial Empire to his will.<sup>2</sup>

The area in which the early Avesta religion arose is difficult to determine. Some<sup>3</sup> have argued that its original home was in eastern Iran, but it was more probably native to the north-west, particularly to the region known to the Classical writers as Atropatene, the modern Persian district of Ādārbayjān, apparently the birthplace of Zaratustra and perhaps the scene of his earlier ministry.<sup>4</sup> This hypothesis is much strengthened if it be true that, as has recently been argued,<sup>5</sup> the language of the Avesta is more closely akin to the north-western dialect of the Manichaean Pahlavi fragments and to the modern Persian vernaculars of that same area than to any other Iranian languages. The Avestan religion, then, would be Median as contrasted with the Persian, so that the frequent phrase 'Persia(ns) and Media(ns)', or *vice versa*—later replaced by 'Persia(ns) and Parthia(ns)'<sup>6</sup>—would bear a religious as well as a political significance.

<sup>1</sup> See Jackson, *Zoroaster*, to which may be added E. Lehmann, *Zaratustra: en bog om Persernes gamle tro*, 2 vols., Copenhagen, 1899-1902. The theories of J. Hertel, *Die Zeit Zoroasters und Achämeniden und Karyakiden*, Leipzig, 1924, may be ignored.

<sup>2</sup> L. C. Casartelli, 'A Note on the Possible Date of Zarathushtra', in *Spiegel Memorial Volume*, Bombay, 1908, pp. 130-2.

<sup>3</sup> Especially by Geiger, *OK*.

<sup>4</sup> Jackson, *Zoroaster*, pp. 17, 96, 171, 191-201, 219-24.

<sup>5</sup> P. Tedesco, in *Le Monde oriental*, xv (1921), 255-7 (cf. Meillet, *Conférences*, pp. 26-7); cf. J. Vendryes, in A. Meillet and M. Cohen, *Les Langues du monde*, Paris, 1924, p. 36. See, however, for divergent views, both of the date of Zoroaster and of the place of origin of the Avesta A. Christensen, in *Acta Orientalia*, iv (1926), 86-92, 105-115.

<sup>6</sup> e.g. in the Paikuli Inscription 4 (3'), 5, 8 (7'), 16', 37', 40' (Herzfeld, *Paikuli*, i, *ad loc.*). For the phrase 'Persia(ns) and Media(ns)' or 'Media(ns) and Persia(ns)' see Bh. i, 34, 41, 46-7, 49, 66; ii, 18, 81-2; iii, 29-30; Esther i, 3, 14, 18-9; x, 2; Daniel viii, 20.

The sources for these religions seem at first glance to be abundant. They fall into two general categories: (I) native; (II) foreign. To the first class belong (a) the Old Persian inscriptions of the Achaemenian Kings (558-330 B.C.)<sup>1</sup> with contemporary translations of greater or less extent in Babylonian, Elamitic, and some small fragments in Aramaic; (b) the Avesta, consisting of (1) the *Gāthās*, seventeen poems (Ys. xxviii-xxxiv, xliii-li, liii, and also liv, 1) in a very archaic dialect, traditionally ascribed to Zoroaster himself, besides the seven chapters of the *Haptaŋ-hāiti* (Ys. xxxv-xli) in *Gāthic* prose in their present form;<sup>2</sup> and (2) of the 'Younger Avesta', written in a dialect which, on the whole,<sup>3</sup> is doubtless much later than the *Gāthās*, and which comprises (i) the seventy-two 'Hās' (including the *Gāthic* chapters) of the *Yasna* ('Worship') devoted to the cult of various sacred beings; (ii) the five *Gāhs* ('Times'), each celebrating one of the five periods into which the day is divided; (iii) the five *Nyāišns* ('Laudations'), each in honour of a sacred being; (iv) the twenty-four 'Kards' of the *Višpraŋt* ('All-Lords') extolling the lords of the faith; (v) the four *Āfrīngāns* ('Blessings'); (vi) the two *Sirōcaks* ('Thirty-Days') enumerating the sacred beings connected with each of the thirty days of the month; (vii) the twenty-one *Yašts* ('Praises') in adoration of great sacred beings; (viii) the twenty-two 'Fargards' of the *Vidēvdāt* ('Law against the Demons'), containing certain ancient traditions, but chiefly of a ritual character; (ix) some shorter pieces, notably the *Haōxt Nask* (mainly on the future life), the *Vištāsp Yašt* (of rather miscellaneous character), the *Aogamadaččā* (on the inevitability of death), and the *Āfrīn-i-Zartušt* (a benediction for Kings); and (x) a large number of fragments; (c) the literature in Pahlavi (or Middle Persian) and in Pāzand (Pahlavi written in pure Iranian, instead of a mixture of Iranian words with Semitic logograms), supplementing the Avesta, beginning with the Sāsānid period, and comprising *inter alia* (i) a commentary on much of the Avesta; (ii) the *Dīnkarŋ* ('Acts of the Religion'), an elaborate history of the faith; (iii) two recensions of the *Būndahišn* ('Creation') on cosmology; (iv) the *Dāŋistān-i-Dīnik* ('Religious Opinions'); (v) the *Šikand-Gūmānik-Vijār* ('Doubt-Dispelling Explanation'); (vi) the *Dīnā-i-Maīnōg-i-*

<sup>1</sup> An additional brief text of Darius I has recently been discovered (S. Smith, in *JRAS* 1926, pp. 433-6; L. H. Gray, *ib.* 1927, pp. 97-101; C. D. Buck, in *Language* iii [1927], 1-5; F. Weissbach, in *Zeitschrift für Assyriologie*, xxxvii [1927], 291-4).

<sup>2</sup> For an attempt to reduce them to their presumably original metrical form see Baunack, *Studien*, i, 328-41.

<sup>3</sup> For archaisms in the Younger Avesta cf. A. Meillet, in *JA* XI, x (1917), 183-95, and *Conférences*, pp. 18-20, 30.

Xrat ('Opinions of the Spirit of Wisdom')—all on a variety of religious matters—(vii) the Artā-ī-Virāf Nāmak ('Book of Artā-ī-Virāf') on eschatology; and (viii) many other treatises on subjects both sacred and profane; and, finally (d), the late Parsī-Persian literature containing a mass of tradition, exegesis, and other theological material.

To the second, or foreign, class belong (a) the numerous allusions to Zoroaster and the Iranian religions in Greek and Latin authors;<sup>1</sup> (b) references in Armenian and Syriac writers;<sup>2</sup> (c) statements in Arabic and Muhammadan Persian works; (d) traditions in the late Sanskrit *Bhaviṣya-Purāṇa* and a few minor compositions preserving a tradition of infiltration of Iranian elements into north-western India;<sup>3</sup> (e) scattered data in Chinese literature and in the fragments of Manichaean documents discovered in Central Asia;<sup>4</sup> and (f) scanty gleanings from Mandaeen writings, proper names on Mandaean and Aramaean bowls, Babylonian and Aramaic tablets and inscriptions, Indo-Scythian coins, and possibly in a text found at Boyaz-Köi, not far from Angora.<sup>5</sup>

Of the native sources by far the most important is the Avesta. This, however, is but a fragment. Originally, as we know from a summary of it in the Dīnkar (VIII, i-xlvi; IX, i-lxix), it consisted of twenty-one 'Nasks', of which only one, the Vidēvdāt, has been preserved entire. The portion extant is estimated to contain

<sup>1</sup> L. H. Gray, 'Classical Passages Mentioning Zoroaster's Name', in Jackson, *Zoroaster*, pp. 226-73 (supplemented in *Le Muséon*, nouvelle série, ix [1908], 311-8); Clemen, *Fontes* (English translation of all these passages by W. S. Fox, *Passages in Greek and Latin Literature relating to Zoroaster and Zoroastrianism*, translated into English, Bombay, 1928). For an estimate of these sources see Clemen, *Nachrichten* (to be used with caution; cf. L. H. Gray, in *Harvard Theological Review*, xv [1922], 94-5).

<sup>2</sup> Gelzer, *Götterlehre*, pp. 100-18; R. Gottheil, 'References to Zoroaster in Syriac and Arabic Literature', in *Classical Studies in Honour of Henry Drisler*, New York, 1894, pp. 24-51. For Zoroastrian influence in Georgia see O. von Wesendonck, in *Caucasica*, i (1924), 58-91.

<sup>3</sup> See above, p. 1, note 2.

<sup>4</sup> See Jackson, *Zoroaster*, pp. 278-80; E. H. Parker, 'Chinese Knowledge of Persia', in *Imperial and Asiatic Quarterly Review*, III, xv (1903), 144-69; Chavannes-Pelliot, *Traité*; Müller, *Handschriften-Resten*; Le Coq, *Manichaica*; C. Salemann, *Manichäische Studien*, i (Petrograd, 1908).

<sup>5</sup> W. Brandt, *Mandäische Religion*, Leipzig, 1889, pp. 194-7, 202-3; Pognon, *Coupes*; Montgomery, *Incantation*; Clay, *Documents, Darius, and Artaxerxes*; Stein, *Coins*; W. E. Clark, 'The Alleged Indo-Iranian Names in Cuneiform Inscriptions', in *American Journal of Semitic Languages and Literatures*, xxxiii (1917), 261-82.

some 83,000 words and to be about one-fourth of the original whole, so that primarily it was approximately equal in size to the Hebrew text of the Old Testament. Comparison of the present Avesta with its Pahlavi translation and commentary shows that it has remained unchanged since that version was made about the sixth century of our era; and the variant readings of the manuscripts reveal no essential divergencies of meaning. On the other hand, neither the orthography nor the text of the Avesta can yet be regarded as established, but since the radical changes proposed by the 'Göttingen School' can scarcely be accepted as scientifically justifiable,<sup>1</sup> it seems best to follow provisionally the conventional orthography and text, reserving the right to modify them if subsequent research shall really require it. So far as the religion is concerned, however, criticism, whether 'lower' or 'higher', is not likely to cause changes of material importance.

Of the foreign sources first rank must be given to the Greek and Latin authors, beginning with Xanthus and Herodotus and running well into the Middle Ages. Here again, from citations of fragments of authors whose works as a whole are no longer extant, it is obvious that much of worth has been lost. These references have been so thoroughly collected and so exhaustively studied that it seems sufficient to state, as a reasoned judgement, that the more they are investigated, the more evident their general truthfulness and accuracy become. Next in value, because of its almost contemporary date, is the testimony of the Armenian historians, especially Moses of Khoren and Elisaeus, reciting the struggle of their country with the Zoroastrian Sāsānid Empire. Another noteworthy source is found in the Acts and Passions of Persian Saints and Martyrs, especially in the great persecution under Šāhpuhr II (339-79). Written in Greek, Latin, Syriac, and (in at least one case) Armenian, they set forth the popular side of the religion, rather than its official

<sup>1</sup> F. C. Andreas, 'Die Entstehung des Awesta-Alphabetes und sein ursprünglicher Lautwert', in *Verhandlungen des XIII. internationalen Orientalisten-Kongresses*, Leyden, 1904, pp. 99-106; attempted reconstructions by Andreas and J. Wackernagel of Ys. xxx—xxxii in *Nachrichten der königlichen Gesellschaft der Wissenschaften zu Göttingen*, philologisch-historische Klasse, 1909, pp. 42-9; 1911, pp. 1-34; 1913, pp. 363-85; C. Bartholomae, 'Zum Lautwert der awestischen Vokalzeichen', in *WZKM* xxiv (1910), 129-79, and *Zur Kenntniss der mittelpersischen Mundarten*, vi (Heidelberg, 1926), 3 sqq.; A. Meillet, 'Sur le texte de l'Avesta', in *JA* XI, xv (1920), 187-203; H. Reichelt, 'Zur Beurteilung der awestischen Vulgata', in *WZKM* xxvii (1913), 53-64; H. Junker, *Das Awestaalphabet und der Ursprung der armenischen und georgischen Schrift*, Leipzig, 1927 = *Caucasica* i [1925], 1-92; ii [1926], 82-139).

aspect; and though they sometimes betray a suspicious vagueness, they frequently contain details of value, especially when one remembers that the saints and martyrs whom they celebrate were in many cases converts from Zoroastrianism to Christianity, so that they had a personal knowledge of the religion which they had once professed.<sup>1</sup> We must also mention the polemics against Zoroastrianism by two theologians, the Armenian Eznik of Kolb<sup>2</sup> and the Syrian Theodore bar K'hôni,<sup>3</sup> as well as the detailed account by the Arab al-Šahrastānī.<sup>4</sup> Here also much has vanished. A certain George, martyred by Khusrū in 615, 'composed a book in which he refuted the religion of the Magians, revealing their shameful mysteries, which he knew well, and unveiling the ignominy of the doctrine of Zarādōšt';<sup>5</sup> and at the end of the fourth century (or the beginning of the fifth) Arra, followed by Bar Saldē, wrote a Syriac treatise against the Magians, while both Elišā bar Quzbayē (fifth century) and Yoḥannan de Bêth Rabban (sixth century) refuted Zoroastrian objections to Christianity.<sup>6</sup> For the Persian religion we have, besides the translations of the Achaemenian inscriptions already noted, epigraphic texts in Babylonian, Egyptian, and Greek which represent Cyrus, Cambyses, and Darius as showing reverence to Marduk, Neit, Osiris, Amon, the gods of Elephantine, Hermopolis

<sup>1</sup> L. H. Gray, 'Zoroastrian and other Ethnic Religious Material in the Acta Sanctorum', in *Journal of the Manchester Egyptian and Oriental Society*, 1913-4, pp. 37-55; Delehayē, *Actes*; Assemani, *Acta*; Hoffmann, *Auszüge*; Braun, *Akten*; Armenian Passion of S. Hiztibuzit (ed. Vark' ev Vkeyabanut'iunk' Srboç, Venice, 1874, ii, 124-30; tr. F. C. Conybeare, *Apology and Acts of Apollonius and other Monuments of Early Christianity*, London, 1894, pp. 261-71; also ed. and tr., with valuable introduction, in *AS* IV Nov., 191-216); (Georgian) *Life of St. Nino*, tr. M. and J. O. Wardrop, Oxford, 1900. For canons of criticism of such documents see H. Delehayē, *Les Légendes hagiographiques*, 2d ed., Brussels, 1905.

<sup>2</sup> Tr. J. M. Schmid, *Des Wardapet Eznik von Kolb Wider die Sekten*, Vienna, 1900, pp. 89-146; see also L. Mariès, 'Le De Deo d'Eznik de Kolb connu sous le nom de "Contre les Sectes"', in *REA* iv (1924), 113-205; v (1925), 11-130.

<sup>3</sup> Ed. and tr. Pognon, *Coupees*, pp. 111-3, 161-5.

<sup>4</sup> Tr. T. Haarbrücker, *Abu'l-Fath' Muh'ammad asch-Schahrastānī's Religionspartheien und Philosophen-Schulen*, Halle, 1850-51, i, 275-85, 298-9; cf. also M. Horten, *Die philosophischen Systeme der spekulativen Theologen im Islam*, Bonn, 1912, pp. 84-7.

<sup>5</sup> *Chronicle of Seert*, ed. and tr. A. Scher, in *Patrologia Orientalis*, xiii (Paris, 1919), 537.

<sup>6</sup> A. Baumstark, *Geschichte der syrischen Literatur*, Bonn, 1922, pp. 67, 135, 115, 116.

Magna, Panopolis, etc., and Apollo,<sup>1</sup> while the restoration of the Temple at Jerusalem by Cyrus and Darius, like the royal favour of Artaxerxes Longimanus toward the Jews and their religion, is universally known.<sup>2</sup> The remaining foreign allusions to the Iranian religions, whether Persian or Avestan, are of minor importance.

If the Avesta text as we now possess it seems to be composite in character, the religion likewise appears to reveal more than one stratum. There is, first of all, a certain amount common both to Iran and to India, though perhaps much less than is usually supposed unless one feels compelled to assume that identity of name necessarily denotes identity of being and function. The major portion, however, apparently represents a specifically Iranian religion, probably that of northern Media; and another stratum seems to have come, as we have already suggested, from Persia. There may also be a few traces of Babylonian influence, as in the astrological fatalism of the *Dinā-Maīnōg-i-Xraθ* (prior to the twelfth century),<sup>3</sup> and there appears to be, especially in the later period, some amount of what is neither Indo-European, Semitic, nor Iranian, though the origin of this is so uncertain that, to avoid unwarranted precision, it may provisionally best be termed 'allogenous'.<sup>4</sup> Egyptian influence is perhaps

<sup>1</sup> E. Schrader, *Keilinschriftliche Bibliothek*, III, ii (Berlin, 1890), 320-7; C. P. Tiele, 'Cyrus de Groote en de godsdienst van Babel', in *Mélanges Charles de Harlez*, Leyden, 1896, pp. 307-12 (cf. A. van Hoonacker, *ib.* pp. 325-9); H. Brugsch, *Thesaurus Inscriptionum Aegyptiacarum*, Leipzig, 1883-91, pp. 639-40, 693-4, and *Reise nach der grossen Oase El Khargeh*, do. 1878, pp. 23-4, 25, 27-33, 48-52; W. Golénischeff, 'Stèle de Darius aux environs de Tell el-Maskhoutah', in *Recueil de travaux relatifs à la philologie et à l'archéologie égyptiennes et assyriennes*, xiii (1890), 99-109 (especially p. 106; cf. also G. Daressy, *ib.* xi [1889], 170); S. Birch, 'Inscription of Darius in the Temple of El-Khargeh', in *Transactions of the Society of Biblical Archaeology*, v (1877), 293-302 (the translation also in *Records of the Past*, viii [1876], 137-44); W. M. Flinders Petrie, *History of Egypt from the XIXth to the XXXth Dynasties*, London, 1905, pp. 361-2, 365-7; G. Cousin and G. Deschamps, 'Lettre de Darius, fils d'Hystaspes', in *Bulletin de correspondance hellénique*, xiii (1889), 529-42; L. H. Gray, 'The Religion of the Achaemenians according to their Non-Iranian Inscriptions', in *JAOS* xxi (1900), 177-84.

<sup>2</sup> For Cyrus see II Chronicles xxxvi, 22-3; Ezra i, 1-11; v, 13-5, 17; vi, 3-5 (cf. Isaiah xlv, 28-xlv, 5); for Darius, Ezra vi, 1-13 (cf. Daniel vi, 25-7); for Artaxerxes Longimanus, Ezra vii, 11-26.

<sup>3</sup> Cumont, *TM* i, 301; cf. Casartelli, *Philosophy*, p. 33; L. H. Gray, in *ERE* v, 792; Moulton, *EZ* pp. 86-7, 236-43.

<sup>4</sup> Moulton, *EZ* pp. 191-3, 204-8, and 'Magi', in *ERE* viii, 242-4; cf. M. S. Zaborowski, *Les Peuples aryens d'Asie et d'Europe*, Paris, 1908, pp. 189-96. The Magi were most probably Median priests, regarded with hostility by the Persians (for a possible explanation of the Persian festival of the Magophonia ['Magi-Slaughter'] cf. L. H. Gray, in *ERE* v, 874-5).



traceable in Old Persian art, but there is no certain indication of any Iranian religious borrowing from this source, neither can one safely allege any effect upon it from the cults of the Elamites.<sup>1</sup>

The statement that the religion of the Avesta is composite must, however, receive essential qualification, for the non-Iranian (i.e., non-Median and non-Persian) elements are of very minor importance. The faith of Iran seems to have formed, in all vital respects, an independent and individual religious entity. It was in no real sense a subdivision of some larger group, whether Indian or any other. Yet there was indubitably a bond between the Iranians and the Indians which justifies the use of the term 'Indo-Iranian' in more than a linguistic sense. This bond, however, was broken at an early period, with the linguistic result that words etymologically identical assumed meanings diametrically opposed, so that, to cite an out-standing instance, *devā-* means 'god' in Sanskrit, but *daēva-* is 'demon' in Avesta, whereas the Avesta *ahura-* 'lord' is the Sanskrit *āsura-* 'demon'. Similarly the Sanskrit *grhā-* 'house' has a perfectly good signification, but its Avesta counterpart *garəda-* is employed only for the abode of evil beings, *dəmāna-* or *nmāna-* being the term for mansions of the good. This curious double vocabulary of the Avesta with one word for an 'Ahurian' being and another for the 'Daēvian' has given rise to much conjecture.<sup>2</sup> A close examination of the sixty Avesta terms of this type, however, leads to the conclusion that the greater number of Ahurian words were common throughout the Iranian Plateau, whereas the Daēvian words, though common in Sanskrit and in Middle and Modern Indian, were archaic or obsolete in Iran.<sup>3</sup> The solution of the problem seems to lie in the history of the Plateau: not in any religious cleavage, but in migrations from Inner Asia toward the south.

It is practically certain that the Iranians entered the Plateau as invaders, though we do not know the race or races whom they there supplanted. Some may have been represented in the historic period by the Elamites and Cassites, whose language is

<sup>1</sup> Cf. below, p. 17.

<sup>2</sup> P. von Bradke, *Dyāus Asura, Ahura Mazdā und die Asuras*, Halle, 1885; Hillebrandt, *Mythologie*, iii, 430-44; Haug, *Essays*, pp. 287 sqq.; L. Frachtenburg, 'Etymological Studies in Ormazdian and Ahrimanian Words in Avestan', in *Spiegel Memorial Volume*, Bombay, 1908, pp. 269-89; H. Güntert, *Über die ahurischen und daevischen Ausdrücke im Avesta*, Heidelberg, 1914.

<sup>3</sup> L. H. Gray, 'The "Ahurian" and "Daevian" Vocabularies in the Avesta', in *JRAS* 1927, pp. 427-41.

held to belong to the Caucaso-Asianic group;<sup>1</sup> and it is probable that Elam also contained a negro element to whom traditions still refer and of whom traces still exist.<sup>2</sup>

The Indo-Iranians seem to have advanced into the Iranian Plateau by a series of waves passing, in the course of centuries, through the mountain-gaps to the east of the Caspian, just as other waves migrated from the same centre to new homes in the Balto-Slavic lands.<sup>3</sup> The first incomers in the Plateau, who retained the Indo-European sharp sibilant *s*, went, doubtless by compulsion, further and further south and south-east. Other waves, changing this *s* to *h* when initial,<sup>4</sup> followed, some going to the west and settling in Ādarbaijān, some to what is now Kurdistān, some to Persis in the south-west, some to the east in Sistān (i.e., Sākastān 'Scythland') and Afyānistān; the desert centre forbade lasting habitation. The second chapter of the Vidēvdāt, it has been suggested,<sup>5</sup> preserves a tradition of three stages of the Iranian advance, each occupying a successive third of the Plateau. Very probably these invaders partly exterminated and partly absorbed the aborigines, receiving in turn modifications of physique, language, religion, and civilisation, though in how great degree we may not thus far know. The *s*-speakers were finally expelled by the *h*-speakers. Some few seem to have found a refuge in the Hindū-Kūš, but the great majority made their way through the mountain-passes and entered the Panjāb, the *h*-speakers remaining in Iran. The *s*-speakers were the Indians of the historic period, and the *h*-speakers were the Iranians. Thus one may explain both the similarity and the difference between Veda and Avesta; and it

<sup>1</sup> C. Autran, in A. Meillet and M. Cohen, *Les Langues du monde*, Paris, 1924, pp. 282-3, 285-90; F. Finck, *Die Sprachstämme des Erdkreises*, Leipzig, 1909, p. 41; Schrader, *RL* i, 543-4; F. Bork, 'Elam', in M. Ebert, *Reallexikon der Vorgeschichte*, iv (Berlin, 1925), 72-83; cf. also Justi, in *GirP* ii, 399-402.

<sup>2</sup> M. Dieulafoy, *L'Acropole de Suse*, Paris, 1890-2, pp. 27-32, 57-8, and F. Houssaye, *ib.* pp. 102-13 (= *Les Races humaines de la Perse*, Lyons, 1887, pp. 28-48); Sykes, *History*, i, 51-2; and see in general J. von Präsek, *Geschichte der Meder und Perser*, Gotha, 1906-10, i, 8-49.

<sup>3</sup> The author hopes to demonstrate this theory in detail elsewhere.

<sup>4</sup> e.g. Sanskrit *saptá* 'seven,' Latin *septem*, Old Irish *sechte*, Gothic *seibun*; Avesta *hapta*, Armenian *ev'n*, Greek *ἑπτά* (Indo-European \**septm*).

<sup>5</sup> L. H. Gray, in *ERE* ii, 704; Herzfeld, *Paikuli*, i, 178-9, regards it as a description of the Arsacid Empire, and Carnoy, *Mythology*, pp. 254, 312, 314, 351, interprets it mythologically.

would seem justifiable to assume that, if the migrations actually took place as here outlined, (a) the Indians were more advanced in civilisation when they entered India than were the Iranians at their invasion of the Plateau, and (b) that the Veda is older in date of composition than the Avesta.<sup>1</sup>

Established in Iran, the newcomers became an agricultural people. The land was now fully populated, and no further waves of immigrants could be admitted. Nevertheless, hosts from the north still pressed for entrance, and in their turn the Iranians were exposed to attack. They termed their foes Tūrānians, and a superficial reading of the Avesta and of its ancillary literature has led many to suppose that these enemies were of an alien race. Yet the Avesta itself shows that the Tūrānians had the same type of names and worshipped the same gods with the same rites as the Iranians.<sup>2</sup> It is practically certain that both groups were Iranians, the sole difference being that the Iranians proper were sedentary, and the Tūrānians nomadic. True aliens entered Iran only at a far later date, first with the Arab conquest and then with the inroads of the Turco-Tatar hordes, who struck a blow at Persia from which she has never fully recovered.

The religions of Iran as set forth in the historic sources both native and foreign seem to have behind them a long evolution and to rest upon foundations which had become almost, if not wholly, forgotten in the lapse of centuries. The reconstruction of the original and primitive system is, then, of interest as a chapter in the history of man's religious development, which almost certainly led, in Iran as in Israel, from a vague belief in countless *numina* presiding over nearly every conceivable function of nature and of human activity to an evernarrowing but ever more potent and more noble group of divinities until it reached the tremendous concept of Jehovah and Ahura Mazda, and the gods were merged in God.

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<sup>1</sup> Cf. also Keith, *Religion*, pp. 614-9.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. Yt. v, 41-5, 73; ix, 18, 22; xi, 7; xiii, 37-9; xvii, 55-6; xix, 56-64, 77, 82, 93. The Avesta *tūra-* is probably to be compared with the Kurdish and Baktiāri *tūr* 'wild, savage' (cf. Bartholomae, *AirWb.* col. 656), and may also be connected with Sanskrit *turá-* 'strong, mighty' (for further possible cognates see Persson, *Beiträge*, pp. 479-84). Feis (*Kultur*, p. 405) identifies the Tūrānians with the Scyths (see also Marquart, *Erānšahr*, pp. 155-7).

The theory underlying the endeavour here made to reconstruct these foundations owes its genesis mainly to two passages, one Iranian and referring to the Avestan system, and the other Greek, describing the Persian beliefs. In the Pahlavi *Šāyast-lā-Šāyast* (xv, 5) we read as follows: '(In) the world that which is mine, who am Aūharmazd, is the righteous man, of Vohūman are the cattle, of Ar̥tāvahišt is the fire, of Šatvairō is the metal, of Spandarmat are the earth and virtuous women, of Horvadaṭ is the water, and of Amerōdaṭ is the vegetation', an affirmation of the twofold nature of the Aməša Spentas—one divine and the other material—which is also recorded elsewhere in Iranian texts.<sup>1</sup> On the other hand, Herodotus, speaking of the Persians, has this striking passage (i, 131): 'Their custom is to ascend to the highest peaks of the mountains and to make oblation to Zeus, calling the whole vault of the sky Zeus; <sup>2</sup> and they sacrifice also to Sun and to Moon and to Earth and to Fire and to Water and to Winds'. Assuming, as it seems only right to assume, that nothing whatever is said in religious texts without some foundation, good and sufficient to those who declare it, it would appear to follow that every statement—not merely selected data—should be evaluated in relation to every other statement, truth being probably attainable, at least approximately, by the final result of all such evaluations with due consideration of the general spirit of the special system as a whole and with the sum total of data which have gained scientific recognition in all other branches of science. This has been the one and only axiom of the studies in this volume. Of course, one need not give blind credence to every single detail, and one should make proper allowance for the 'mythopoeic' tendency; but one should never discard a statement or a tradition because at first sight it seems improbable or even absurd. Each should be carefully and sympathetically studied to remove all possible accretions so as to discover the historic fact which it contains. Any other course of procedure seems deficient in scientific completeness and exactness.

<sup>1</sup> L. H. Gray, 'Pahlavi, Pāzand, and Persian References to the Double Nature of the Amshaspands', in *Indo-Iranian Studies... in Honour of ... Sanjana*, London, 1925, pp. 21-9. Against this view see the polemic of B. Geiger, *Aməša Spentas*, pp. 123-9.

<sup>2</sup> Moulton, *EZ* p. 391, note 3, is scarcely correct in suggesting that Δία is here an Old Persian form (the Δίαν τὸν οὐρανόν. Πέσσαι of Hesychios is apparently borrowed from the passage in Herodotus), for this, corresponding to Sanskrit *dyáuḥ* (accusative *dyām*, *dīvam*), would be \**diyāuš* (accusative \**diyām*, \**divam*), which would not be represented in any sense by Δία. The deity's Persian name may, however, actually have been \**Diyāuš* (see below, p. 27, note 1).

In pursuance of this method each superhuman being, whether divine or demonic, both of the Persian and of the Avestan religion has been studied;<sup>1</sup> all the extant data, native or foreign, regarding each of these figures have been gathered and presented; since one may assume that all epithets of deities or of demons, except possibly the most general and colourless, were given for some perfectly definite reason, these have been duly considered,<sup>2</sup> as has every important theophorous human name;<sup>3</sup> a chronological sequence has been adopted in all references so far as this is permitted by the highly composite nature of the documents, where criticism, in the almost total absence of history, is not yet able exactly to classify the various elements in the order of their evolution; light has been sought from the recognised principles of comparative linguistics and comparative religion, though in regard to the latter it should be borne in mind that it is the differences rather than the resemblances (which often arise from entirely dissimilar causes, and which are very frequently more apparent than real) which mark the genius and the individuality of a religion, as of any other phase of life and its activities; the various conclusions, however divergent, of all Iranian scholars to whose sound judgement respect must attach have been recorded; each noteworthy analogue in the superhuman beings of other Indo-European and of Semitic religions has been pointed out, although, *bien entendu*, merely as a parallel and only in rare cases (exclusively Vedic) as truly akin; special attention and first place have naturally been given to the Veda in all comparisons.

In stating my own conclusions I have sought so to arrange the material as to distinguish clearly between the data of the Iranian texts, the references in ancient non-Iranian documents, and all interpretations and theories, whether of my predecessors or of myself. In no case have I sought *a priori* to demonstrate that such-and-such a deity or demon had such-and-such an origin. Beginning the discussion of a superhuman being, I have seldom known where the investigation was to lead me; I have simply let the evidence carry me where it would.

<sup>1</sup> After some hesitation Yima has been omitted. Though an important figure in Iranian mythology, he seems neither to have been originally nor to have become a deity, as did his Indian counterpart Yama. Concerning Yima-Yama see Spiegel, *Periode*, pp. 243-56, and *EA* i, 522-30; Darmesteter, *Ormuzd*, pp. 231-3, and *ZA* ii, 16-20; Carnoy, *Mythology*, pp. 254, 304-19, 351; Macdonell, *Mythology*, pp. 171-4.

<sup>2</sup> See L. H. Gray, "A List of the Divine and Demonic Epithets in the Avesta", in *JAOS* xlv (1926), 97-153.

<sup>3</sup> See especially Justi, *Namenbuch*, which now may be considerably supplemented.

The conclusions reached in accordance with these principles and methods may be very briefly summarised. The Iranian religions, both Persian and Avestan, represent in their original forms a simple cult of deities, both 'good' and 'evil', of nature and of human activities, many of these superhuman personages being 'departmental' or 'special' gods and demons. With the spiritual and material evolution of the Iranians these beings became ethically good or evil; the lesser gave place to the greater and became obsolescent in varying degree, while the greater gained in power for weal or woe. Finally, in the Gāthās, Zoroaster stamped upon these simple faiths the impress of his monotheistic ideal; and though the old beliefs lingered on, their traces were so vague that only patient and hazardous research can still discern them. Non-moral and multiform Nature had been ethicised and unified. All the host that had once been beneficent or maleficent deities were gods no longer; now there was, in reality, only an omnipotent, omniscient, omnipresent Ahura Mazda confronted by an Angra Mainyu doomed to defeat and shame.

In their beginnings, then, the Iranian religions would seem to have been far more primitive than the Vedic. If we seek to find their analogues elsewhere among the Indo-Europeans, it can be only among the early Romans,<sup>1</sup> the heathen Lithuanians and Latvians,<sup>2</sup> and possibly the Gaulish and British Celts,<sup>3</sup> while in the Semitic world the pagan Arabs<sup>4</sup> and the primitive Canaanites<sup>5</sup> appear to show phenomena that are comparable. As Moses and the Prophets changed belief in the B'ālīm to the religion of Jehovah, so, we may firmly hold, Zoroaster transmuted, independently and with no aid from without, the nature-creeeds of Iran into the lofty, virile faith of Ahura Mazda, performing a service even greater than has heretofore been realised.

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<sup>1</sup> Wissowa, *Religion*, pp. 18-60, 103-293; R. Peter, 'Indigitamenta', in Roscher, ii, 129-233; Richter, 'Indigitamenta', in *PW* ix, 1334-67; R. S. Conway, 'Italy (Ancient)', in *ERE* vii, 457-61.

<sup>2</sup> Usener, *Götternamen*, pp. 79-115; Enid Welsford, 'Old Prussians', in *ERE* ix, 486-90; an exhaustive study of the pre-Christian Prussian, Lithuanian, and Latvian religion is in course of preparation by the present writer.

<sup>3</sup> Renel, *Religions*; Dottin, *Manuel*, pp. 294-356; C. Jullian, *Recherches sur la religion gauloise*, Bordeaux, 1903, and *Histoire de la Gaule*, Paris, 1908-26, i, 356-60; ii, 113-81; Holder, *Sprachschatz*, *passim*; Mac Culloch, *Religion*, pp. 22-48, 124-6.

<sup>4</sup> J. Wellhausen, *Reste arabischen Heidentums*, 2d ed., Berlin, 1897; T. Nöldeke, 'Arabs (Ancient)', in *ERE* i, 659-73.

<sup>5</sup> L. P. Paton, 'Canaanites', in *ERE* iii, 176-88.

## BOOK I.

## THE IRANIAN PANTHEON.

## CHAPTER I.

## THE AMƏŠA SPƏNTAS.

*Section A.*

## THE AMƏŠA SPƏNTAS AS A GROUP.\*

THE divine heptad of the Iranians is first termed Aməša Spəntas ('Immortal Holy Ones')<sup>1</sup> in the Gāthic prose of the Haptaŋhāiti (Ys. xxxix, 3; xlii, 6).<sup>2</sup> Nevertheless the Gāēās name either all seven of them—Ahura Mazda, Vohu Manah, Aša Vahišta, Xšaēra Vairya, Ārmaiti, Haurvatāt, and Amərətāt (Ys. xxxiv, 11 : xlv, 10; xlvii, 1), or only six (Ys. xxxi, 6, 21), or merely five (Ys. xxxiii, 11 : xliii, 6; xlvi, 16; li, 4). When only six are mentioned, Ārmaiti is omitted; when only five, Haurvatāt and Amərətāt.

In the Younger Avesta the 'Immortal Holy Ones' are forms assumed by Ahura Mazda (Yt. xiii, 81); they are seven in number, like to their father, Ahura Mazda, in thought, word, and deed (Yt. xiii, 83; xix, 16); their paths are bright as they fly to the libations (Yt. xiii, 84; xix, 17); and Aši is their sister (Yt. xvii, 2). By an extension of the term to include all worshipful beings, one passage (Vsp. viii, 1) declares that they number 111,150, and even more.

They are named in the following lists: Ahura Mazda, Vohu Manah, Aša, Xšaēra, Ārmaiti, Haurvatāt, and Amərətāt (Ys. lvii, 24; lxx, 2—associated in the latter passage with Gōuš Tašan, Gōuš Urvan, and Ātar; Yt. x, 92); Vohu Manah, Aša, Xšaēra, Ārmaiti, Haurvatāt, and Amərətāt (Ys. i, 2—associated with Gōuš Tašan, Gōuš Urvan, and Ātar; Yt. i, 25); and they seem to be enumerated likewise in a late text (HN i, 4-6) which states that he who lauds Aša praises Ahura Mazda, the

<sup>1</sup> The connexion proposed by Geiger (*Aməša Spəntas*, pp. 6-31) with Sanskrit *pan-*, 'to be admirable', *pānya-*, 'wonderful', etc., seems less probable than the usual view (e.g. Bartholomae, *AirWb.*, col. 1621) that *spenta-* is cognate with Lithuanian *sventas*, Old Church Slavonic *sventŭ*, 'holy' (Trautmann, *Wörterbuch*, p. 311).

<sup>2</sup> For this portion of the Avesta see especially Baunack, *Studien*, pp. 328-461.

Waters (Haurvatāt), the Earth (Ārmaiti), Kine (Vohu Manah), Vegetation (Amərətāt), and 'all good things created by Mazda, possessed of Aša's seed' (Xšaθra).

In the Pahlavi texts the Ainšaspands are described as radiant and 'each one successively is apparently one finger's breadth shorter than the other' (ZS xxi, 13, 23), one being created from another by emanation (Phl. Jām. 3). They are listed in their conventional order (Bd. i, 26), and reference is repeatedly made to their two-fold nature—spiritual and material (Gd. Bd., ed. Anklesaria, pp. 33: 15-34: 2: 34: 13-35: 3: 35: 8-10; 35: 15-36: 4: 36: 10-13; 37: 3-6; 37: 10-12; 163: 8-9; 164: 11-13; 168: 13-14; 170: 11-12; 171: 2-5; 173: 4-5; 174: 3-5; 178: 1, 11-13; 179: 9, 12-14; SLS xiii, 14; xv, 5, 7-29: ZS xxii, 3-12; Patit-i-Xūt 4-10; Patit-i-Ātūrpāt 10-16; Patit-i-Īrānīg 3-9; SDBd. ii; xi, 3).<sup>1</sup> In Manichaean fragments they form the bodyguard of Ohrmīzd;<sup>2</sup> and the word מַחְרִיכְסַנְדִּי may actually be translated 'element', notably in the Sogdian version of Gal. iv, 3.<sup>3</sup>

The Aməša Spəntas have been regarded as Iranian counterparts of the Vedic Ādityas<sup>4</sup> or of the Babylonian Igigi and Anunnaki,<sup>5</sup> but evidence in favour of either of these theories is scanty.<sup>6</sup> In like manner the six Elamite deities, grouped in two triads and associated with the Lord of Sūsa (Sūšinak),<sup>7</sup> are, Professor Stephen Langdon kindly informs the writer,<sup>8</sup> 'probably only an accident'. The true source of the 'Immorta

<sup>1</sup> See the present writer's 'Pahlavi, Pāzand, and Persian References to the Double Nature of the Amshaspands', in *Indo-Iranian Studies... in Honour of... Sanjāna*, London, 1925, pp. 21-9. Meillet, *Conférences*, p. 61, regards these beings as the 'cortège des forces bienfaisantes qui accompagnent Ahura Mazdā' (cf. ib. p. 67: 'ce n'est pas de dieux, c'est de forces actives qu'est entouré Ahura Mazdā').

<sup>2</sup> C. Salemann, *Manichaica*, iii (Petrograd, 1912), 9, 12.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. Müller, *Handschriften-Reste*, p. 98, and in *SBAW* 1907, p. 265; F. C. Andreas, in Reitzenstein, *Psyche*, p. 4. The word appears in Chinese as *moholosapen* (Chavannes-Pelliot, *Traité*, pp. 544, 101).

<sup>4</sup> So most recently and with great detail by Geiger, *Aməša Spəntas* pp. 164-245. For the Ādityas see Macdonell, *Mythology*, pp. 43-6; Hillebrandt, *Mythologie*, iii, 3-110; Keith, *Religion*, pp. 98-101, 102-3, 217.

<sup>5</sup> Notably by Moulton, *EZ* pp. 98-9, 240; R. Pettazzoni, 'Aməša-spəntas e Ādityas', in *Studi italiani di filologia indo-iranica*, vii (1909), 3-14, connected the Aməša Spəntas with the planets and with Babylonia but does not present this view in his later *Religione*.

<sup>6</sup> Against the view that they are Iranian Ādityas see Hillebrandt, *op. cit.*, iii, 102-5; for the Igigi and Anunnaki see Jastrow, *Religion*, pp. 184-6, 204, 207, 236, 593; cf. also Tiele, *Religion*, ii, 66-7, 70-1.

<sup>7</sup> J. de Morgan, *Mission scientifique en Perse*, iv (Paris, 1886), 178.

<sup>8</sup> Letter of April 30, 1924.



Holy Ones' seems to have been within Iran itself, and it would appear that they were the Eastern Iranian analogues of the Western Iranian deities of whom Herodotus speaks (i, 131 ; cf. Strabo, p. 732 ; Zenobius, *Ἐπιτομή ἐκ τῶν Ταρπαίου καὶ Διδύμου παροιμιῶν*, v, 78 ; Aristides, *Apologia*, iv, 2—vi, 3) when he says that the Persian custom is 'to ascend to the highest peaks of the mountains, and to offer sacrifices to Zeus, calling the entire vault of the sky Δία ; and they sacrifice also to Sun, Moon, Earth, Fire, Water, and Winds'.<sup>1</sup> The Scythians likewise worshipped a heptad consisting of Tabiti, identified with Hestia ; Papaïos, corresponding to Zeus, and his wife Apia (Ge) ; Oitosyros (variant forms Goitosyros and Gongosyros), equivalent to Apollo ; Artimpasa (variants Argimpasa and Artimeasa), parallel with the 'Celestial' Aphrodite ; 'Herakles' ; 'Ares' ; and (among the Royal Scyths) Thamimasadas (or Thagimasada), identified with Poseidon (Herodotus, iv. 59). It is a moot question whether these names are to be explained as Iranian or as Old Turkish,<sup>2</sup> but in any case the number seven may be significant.

According to Gd. Bd. xxvi, 4, the order of the Aməša Spəntas at the divine court is as follows :<sup>3</sup>

Ahura Mazda

Vohu Manah

Ārmaiti

Aša Vahišta

Haurvatāt.

Xšaθra

Amərōtāt

Sraoša

A group of seven chief deities<sup>4</sup> would seem to have been a concept common to Eastern and Western Iranians, as well as to

<sup>1</sup> Tiele's skepticism regarding the accuracy of Herodotus's account of the Old Persian cults (*Religion*, ii, 361-9) seems rather excessive.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. Minns, *Scythians*, pp. 85-6.

<sup>3</sup> Translated by Darmesteter. *ZA* ii, 306 ; cf. Jackson, *Zoroastrianism*, 46.

<sup>4</sup> The suggestion of Schefftelowitz (*Judentum*, p. 133, note 4) that the heptad is formed by analogy with the seven princes attending upon the King of Persia (Herodotus iii, 31, etc.) lacks probability. For heptads in Gnosticism see Bousset, *Gnosis*, pp. 9-58, 237, 354.

some Scythic tribes; and the number remains constant even though the members of the heptad are not invariably the same. The heptad may be considered a distinctive characteristic of this group of religions, since it appears not to occur in the Semitic or in the non-Iranian Indo-European systems. It would further seem that the original East Iranian heptad was so profoundly—and, we may add, deliberately—ethicised by the reform associated with the name of Zoroaster as, at least temporarily, and in part permanently, to obliterate nearly every trace of its primal meaning. A similar process was apparently carried out in the case of the great majority of minor deities and of demonic beings, so that only by reconstruction of scattered fragments can we hope to rebuild the pantheon and the pandemonium of the primitive Iranian religion or religions.

### *Section B.*

#### AHURA MAZDA.

Mentioned in practically every strophe of the *Gāthās*, and associated, as the following Sections will show, with all the *Aməša Spəntas*<sup>1</sup> and with many other deities, Ahura Mazda grants rewards for good deeds (*Ys.* xxviii, 4). Appeal is made to him as the source of holy doctrine (*Ys.* xxviii, 11) and of divine wisdom (*Ys.* xxxi, 3), so that he decides on the plaint of the Ox (*Ys.* xxix, 4-6) and is judge of the acts done in this earthly life (*Ys.* xxxi, 8).

Even the spiritualised *Gāthās* reveal traces of Ahura Mazda's earlier naturalistic character. He first filled the heavenly realms with light (xxx, 7) and he can not be deceived (xlv, 4), for with his shining eye he observes all things (xxx, 13), so that whatsoever is 'worthful in the eye, the light of the sun, the shining bull of the days', is for the glory of him and Aša (l, 10). He clothes himself with the sky (xxx, 5) and dwells in the Realm of Vohu Manah beside the straight paths that lead to Aša (xxxiii, 5). Great stress is laid on his creations. He brings forth rivers and forests, gives swiftness to wind and cloud, fixes the course of sun and stars, and causes the moon to wax and wane; from him come light and darkness, sleep and waking, morning, noon, night, and the seasons (xlv, 3-5); he is the creator of all (xlv, 7), of life (xlv, 4; l, 11), of primal individualities (xlv, 6), and of kine, waters, and plants (li, 7). He formed Aša through his wisdom (xxx, 7), and is the father of Vohu Manah

<sup>1</sup> See Sections on Vohu Manah (b)-(g); Aša (b)-(g); Xšaθra (b) Arinaiti (b); Haurvatāt and Amərətāt (b).

and the creator of Aša (xxxī, 8), the father of Vohu Manah and Ārmaiti (xlv, 4), of Aša (xlvii, 2), and of Spēnta Mainyu (xlvii, 3) while Ārmaiti and Gēuš Tašan are his (xxxī, 9).

He has special fellowship with Vohu Manah and Aša (liii, 3; cf. xxxii, 2, etc.); to man he teaches Vohu Manah (xxxī, 7), through whose wisdom he knows secret sayings (xlviii, 3); and he learns all through Aša (xxxī, 13), by whom he caused vegetation to grow for cattle 'at the birth of the first life' (xlviii, 6), and with whom he devised holy doctrine (li, 16). The righteous will abide in his house (xlviii, 7; xlix, 10; contrast the 'house of the Druj' as hell, xlix, 11; li, 14); he is besought to increase the body through Vohu Manah, Xšaθra, and Aša (xxx, 10); and he will grant Aməratāt, Aša, and the Realm of Haurvatāt (xxxiv, 1).

Throughout the Gāthās Ahura forms with Vohu Manah and Aša a *quasi*-triad which suggests (a) the triad of Sky, Sun, and Fire corresponding approximately to the Vedic triad of Sky, Mid-Air, and (earthly) Fire (Varuṇa, Indra [or Sūrya], and Agni) or even to the triple aspect of Agni;<sup>1</sup> and (b) the ethical triad Good Thought, Good Word, and Good Deed.<sup>2</sup>

In the Haptaṛhāiti Ahura Mazda has the form of the sun (Ys. xxxvi, 6), is a Yazata (xli, 3), and has nine wives, 'desirable according to Aša' (xxxviii, 1-2): Īžā, Yaoṣti, Forāṣti, Ārmaiti, Aši, Īš, Azūiti, Frasasti, and Pārəndi. He created the waters (xxxviii, 3-4), and his fairest forms are the sun on high and the light on earth (xxxvi, 6).

In the Younger Avesta (Ys. xvi, 1; Yt. xvii, 16), as in the Old Persian inscriptions (Dar. Pers. d, 1-2; Dar. Gold Tablet, 6-7; Xerx. Elv. 1-2; Xerx. Van, 1-2), Ahura Mazda is the 'greatest of the gods', and special emphasis is laid on his creative power (Aog. 30). Only he and Spēnta Mainyu have the epithet *dadvaḥ*- 'creator', while the terms *dātar*- 'creator' and *vīspa-taš*- 'all-shaping' are given to him alone. He made the paths of sun, moon, and stars (Vd. xxi, 5, 9, 13); he created and named the waters, which come from him (Ys. lxvii, 6-7, 10); he is the source of waters and plants (Ys. i, 12; xvii, 12) and of the earth (Vd. xix, 35); he created beings through Vohu Manah and will increase them through Aša (Vsp. xii, 4); and he shaped both cattle and men (Ys. xii, 7). Mention is made of his creative

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Macdonell, *Mythology*, pp. 19, 54, 69, 93.

<sup>2</sup> See also below, pp. 28-9, 36.

light (Ys. lviii, 6) and of his eyes—doubtless the sun and moon (Ys. lviii, 22). The 'swift-horsed' sun is expressly termed his eye (Ys. i, 11; iii, 13; iv, 16; vii, 13; xxii, 13), just as in the Rig Veda the sun is the eye of Mitra-Varuṇa (VI, li, 1; VII, lxi, 1; lviii, 1; X, xxxvii, 1). He is eternal and wears a star-decked robe made by spirits (Yt. xiii, 3); his 'white, bright, forth-beaming soul' is Məθra Spənta, and his fairest forms are the Aməša Spəntas, whose father and ruler he is (Yt. xiii, 81-3). His wives are mentioned (Vsp. iii, 4; G. iv, 9), and he is the father of Ārmaiti (Vd. xix, 13, 16), for whom he made a path above the orb of the sun (Yt. v, 90), and by whom he became the parent of Aši (Yt. xvii, 2, 16), while Ātar is his son (Ys. 0, 2, 11; ii, 3, 12; iii, 2, 14, 21, *et passim*). He is a healing deity (Vsp. ix, 1), and his messenger is Məθra (Yt. xiii, 146) or Nairyō-Səzha (Vd. xix, 34). He is associated with Aša (Āfr. iii, 6) and with Ārmaiti (Vd. viii, 21), as well as with Miθra, Rašnu, and Ārmaiti (Yt. xiii, 3). Nevertheless he offers sacrifice to 'Arədvī' (Yt. v, 17-9), and with Vāta Dāmōiš Upamana, Xvarənah, and Savah he attends the sacrifice presented by those imploring aid (Yt. xii, 4). He is apparently identified with Spənta Mainyu (Yt. xiii, 28) and is frequently termed 'Most Holy Spirit' (Ys. i, 1; xix, 1; Yt. i, 1; x, 73; xiv, 1, 34, 42; Āfr. iv, 4; Vd. ii, 1; vii, 1; ix, 1; x, 1; xiv, 1; xviii, 14; HN i, 1; ii, 1, 19). The first Yašt, which is in his honour, contains a somewhat mechanical list of seventy-four (or, deducting repetitions, sixty-eight) names. His most distinctive Avestan epithets are *aša-hač-* ('having Aša following'), *xratumant-* ('wise'), *durač-darštar-* ('far-seer'), *pouru-darštar-* ('many-seeing'), *fšāmant-* ('possessing cattle'), *baēšazya-* ('healing'), *raēvant-* ('radiant'), *raθwya-* ('relating to herds'), *višpā-hiṣat-* ('all-perceiving'), *spaštar-* ('observer'), *žnātar-* ('knower'). He shares with Aša the epithet *sraēšta-* ('most beautiful'), and with Miθra *ašaoya-* ('undeceivable'), *xšāyant-* ('ruling'), and *višpō-viṣvant-* ('all-knowing'); and there may be a hint of attempted syncretism in the *aša (vahišta)* and *čisti* of his name-list.

In the Old Persian inscriptions, where the name is always written Auramazdā, except in Xerx. Pers. c, 10 (where it is divided as in the Avesta), and Dar. Pers. e, 24 (where Aura occurs alone), this deity is the creator of sky, earth, man, and human welfare (NR a, 1-4; Xerx. Pers. a, 1-4; etc.); by his grace the King receives both throne and power (Bh. i, 11-12; etc.); he grants the monarch victory in battle (Bh. i, 54-5, *et passim*); the sovereign does all things through his aid (Bh. i, 68-71; iv, 46-7; NR. a, 49-51; Xerx. Pers. a, 11-17; b, 23-6); he is a witness to the truth (Bh. iv, 44-5), rewarding verity and

virtue, but punishing deceit (Bh. iv, 54-67, 73-80); and he is besought to bring divine assistance (Dar. Pers. d, 13-23; NR a, 51-5; etc.). The Achaemenian triad of Auramazdā, Anāhita, and Miθra (Art. Sus. a, 4-5 [Babylonian and Elamitic]; Art. Ham. 5-6) seems to find an echo in the 'Jupiter, Apollo, and Diana' whom Chosroes II commanded the Christians to adore.<sup>1</sup>

In the Pahlavi texts Aūharmazd dwells in the region of light (Bd. i, 2), and the sky is his vesture (Dk. IX, xxx, 7). His successive creations were Vohūman (Bd. i, 23; Dk. III, xi, 3; IV, 1; cf. IX, liii, 24; lxix, 47), Artavahišt, Šatvāirō, Spendarmaṭ, Horvadaṭ, and Amerōdaṭ (Bd. i, xxv) ; and he holds royal court in heaven, Vohūman, Artavahišt, and Šatvāirō being on his right hand, Spendarmaṭ, Horvadaṭ, and Amerōdaṭ on his left, and Srōš before him (Gd. Bd. xxvi, 4). He created water, vegetation, animals, and the law of the primitive religion (Dk. IX, xlv, 8), as well as fortune and weal (Gd. Bd. xxv; 1) ; and he is the cause of destiny (Dk. III, cxcii, 1), alone understanding the nature of Zrūvān (ib. IV, xxxi). His creatures live through Horvadaṭ, are immortal through Amerōdaṭ, possess complete mindfulness through Spendarmaṭ, and have him as their ruler through Šatvāirō (Dk. IX, xliii, 2). Tištar, Satavēs, Vohūman, Arēdvīvsūr, Vāt, Hōm, Dīn, Būrj, and the Fravašis execute his mandates concerning rain (Dk. III, cxii, 5); and he discourses with Vohūman and Artavahišt, as well as with the other Amšaspands (Dk. VII, ii, 17, 19). The angel of his fire is Ātar (AVN x, 6) ; and Neryōsang is his remembrancer (Dk. V, iv, 6) as well as his messenger (GF iii, 72, 77-9), other envoys being Spendarmaṭ, Arēdvīvsūr, and Artā-ī-Fravart (ZS xvi, 3), Vohūman, Ašavahišt, and Ātar (Dk. VII, iv, 74-5), Srōš and Neryōsang (Phl. Jām. iv, 2), or Neryōsang alone (Dk. VII, iv, 84). Aūharmazd is separate from Spənta Mainyu (Dk. III, xi, 2 ; Phl. Jām. iv, 2) and is visible in human form, though intangible (SIS xv, 1-3 ; cf. DD xix, 2). He who distresses priest or parent distresses Aūharmazd (SD xl, 1-2), whose earthly symbol is the righteous man, and whose arm is Zrūvān (Gd. Bd. xxvi, 5, 13). His gift is 'the august rank and throne of a champion', and he is essentially creative (SIS xxii, 1 ; xxiii, 1).

As the creator (*daδvah-*) Ahura Mazda presides over the tenth month of the Avestan year (Āfr. iii, 11 ; cf. the Cappadocian name Δαθουρ and its variants for the same month), which was called Dīn (Avestan \**daēna-*, Indo-European \**deinos*,

<sup>1</sup> AS V Jun., 166.

'shining, bright')<sup>1</sup> in the Pahlavi texts (Bd. xxv, 20). As the 'Great God' (Masafûy) he was lord of this month in the Sogdian calendar, and as the 'Nameless' (Anāmaka) in the Old Persian; he likewise presided over the first, eighth, fifteenth, and twenty-third days of every Avestan month (Sîr. i, 1, 8, 15, 23; ii, 1, 8, 15, 23; SIS xxii, 1, 8, 15, 23; xxiii, 1-4; cf. Bd. xxvii, 24), and the fifteenth day of each Armenian month was called Aramazd.

In Manichaeism Ahura Mazda, under the form of Xurmuzta, becomes Primal Man, and a Turfān fragment mentions his spear.<sup>2</sup> Making the fire-god his axe, Xurmuzta cleaves a demon's head and bestows upon the deity a lance seventy myriad miles in length.<sup>3</sup>

In Armenia King Tridates invokes rich fertility from mighty Aramazd, who is the father of all gods, Mihr being his son, and Anahit and Nanēa his daughters; kings were buried at his altars in Ani; and his scribe was Tir.<sup>4</sup> He created heaven and earth (Agathangelos, 133), and was the thunder-god worshipped at dawn (Moses of Khoren, ii, 86). His girdle was the rainbow (Thomas Artsruni, i, 1), and in one passage (ib. i, 2) Aramazd is said to have been the name given in Armenia to Di ('God').<sup>5</sup> An idol of Di=Zeus is mentioned in the *Synaxarion* of Tēr Israel;<sup>6</sup> St. Nino overthrew a huge statue which had been erected in his honour on the banks of the river Kur;<sup>7</sup> and the Greek *Passion of St. Acindynus* likewise speaks of an 'image' (ζῶλον) or 'idol of Zeus' (εἰδωλον τοῦ ἀνδριάντος [*v.l.* Διός]) which fell broken to the ground when the saint entered the fire-temple in which it stood.<sup>8</sup> On New Year's Day the Armenians celebrated a festival in honour of the deity and his daughter Anahit.<sup>9</sup>

<sup>1</sup> See below p. 72.

<sup>2</sup> C. Salemann, *Manichaica*, iii (Petrograd, 1912), 7; for details see Jackson, *Mani*.

<sup>3</sup> Le Coq, *Manichaica*, i, 20.

<sup>4</sup> Gelzer, *Götterlehre*, pp. 102-3, 109.

<sup>5</sup> For the etymology of *di* see Hübschmann, *Grammatik*, i, 439; Boisacq, *Dictionnaire*, p. 340.

<sup>6</sup> Tēr Israel, *Synaxarion*, Navasard, p. 25; Trē, p. 639.

<sup>7</sup> *ib.* Sahmi, p. 453 (cf. also p. 459). For the cult of Aramazd in Georgia see O. von Wesendonck, in *Caucasia*, i (1924), 77-83.

<sup>8</sup> *AS* I Nov., 470.

<sup>9</sup> Tēr Israel, *Synaxarion*, Navasard, p. 356.

'Aramazd' is a frequent Armenian translation of Ζεύς.<sup>1</sup> In the Syriac *Acts of the Martyrs of Karkha* fire and water are said to be the children of Hormizd, and prayer should be made to sun, moon, fire, and water as his sons.<sup>2</sup> He appears under the name Bēl in an Aramaic inscription from Cappadocia which describes him as the husband and brother of Dēn Mazdayasniš (*i.e.* Daēna Mazdayasnya);<sup>3</sup> in the Zarvanite system he was the younger son of Zrvan;<sup>4</sup> and later he gave his name to the planet Jupiter (Bd. v, 1), thus being equated with the Babylonian Marduk. He is once mentioned in the Talmud (*Sanhedrin* 39<sup>a</sup>) under the form הורמזין, and his name may survive in the modern Mazdagan Dagħ;<sup>5</sup> while in the Pāmīr dialects of Zēbak and Iškāšm *ōrmōzd* and *rēmuz* respectively mean 'sun'.<sup>6</sup> In this region he seems, under the name Almasde, to 'have degenerated into an evil spirit, who lives in the rivers, into the eddies of which he tries to draw bathing or swimming men. Sometimes he will go into the stables at night and amuse himself by disturbing the horses and donkeys or by pulling hairs out of their tail or manes'.<sup>7</sup> His name has been borrowed by the Mongols under the form Hormusda, by the Kalmuks as Hormustan, by the Mordvins as Azor(o), etc.,<sup>8</sup> and was not only borne, either alone or in compounds, by many in Iran,<sup>9</sup> but may also be implied in the דמירת 'Given [or, Created] by the Creator') of an Aramaic

<sup>1</sup> *e.g.* in the Armenian translation of the *Chronicle* of Eusebius (ed. J. B. Aucher, Venice, 1818, i, 25: 'Bēl, who is called Zeus in Greek and Aramazd in Armenian'; ii, 54, 108, 128, 240); cf. also Agathangelos, 57, 133, 134; Moses of Khoren, iii, 15. The Armenian theologian John the Philosopher, writing in the eighth century (quoted by Aucher, i, 25, note 1), differentiates between the Armenian pronunciation Aramazd (properly a Parthian form; cf. A. Meillet, in *BSLP* xxi [1919], 25) and the Persian Ormazd. For Aramazd in Armenia generally see Ananikian, *Mythology*, pp. 20-4, and cf. Hübschmann, *Grammatik*, i. 24-5, 62; Soudalgian, *Histoire*, pp. 733-5.

<sup>2</sup> Hoffmann, *Auszüge*, p. 53; Braun, *Akten*, pp. 66, 67, 152, 167, 182; Assemani, *Acta*, i, 245; *Chronicle of Seert*, ed. A. Scher, in *Patrologia Orientalis*, vii (Paris, 1909), 101.

<sup>3</sup> M. Lidzbarski, in *Ephemeris für semitische Epigraphik*, i (1902), 67-9.

<sup>4</sup> *e.g.* Eznik, pp. 90 sqq.

<sup>5</sup> International Millionth Map, North 1-39 (Tehran), iv, b.

<sup>6</sup> *Linguistic Survey of India*, x (Calcutta, 1921), 537.

<sup>7</sup> Olufsen, *Pamirs*, p. 199.

<sup>8</sup> U. Holmberg, in *MAR*, iv, 301; H. Jacobssohn, *Arier und Ugrofinnen* (Göttingen, 1922, pp. 38, 183).

<sup>9</sup> Justi, *Namenbuch*, pp. 7-10, 483, to which may be added the Ahūr-mazd-Varāz ('Boar of Ahura Mazda') of the Paikuli inscription (line 7; Herzfeld, *Paikuli*, i. 97, 130); cf. Hübschmann, *Grammatik*, i. 62.

papyrus from Elephantine,<sup>1</sup> which seems to find an analogue in the Hōrmīzgerd ('Made by Ormazd') of a Syriac Passion.<sup>2</sup>

According to Herodotus (vii, 40; viii, 115; cf. Xenophon, *Cyropaedia*, VIII, iii, 12; Curtius Rufus, III, iii, 11; Dio Chrysostom, *Orationes*, xxxix, 40-1), 'Zeus' (i.e. Ahura Mazda) had a chariot which was drawn by eight white horses and which no man might ascend; he was doubtless the 'good daimon' who, 'Zathraustes' declared, gave him his laws (Diodorus Siculus, I, xciv, 2); his form could not be seen (Cyprian, *Quod idola dii non sint*, 6), though his body was like light, and his soul like truth (Porphyry, *Vita Pythagorae*, 41). Zeus and Hestia (i.e. Ahura Mazda and Ātar) were invoked 'with the other gods' (Xenophon, *Cyropaedia*, I, vi, 1; VII, v, 57), as were Zeus' Helios, and Ge (Ahura Mazda, Miθra, and Ārmaiti; ib. VIII, iii, 24), and Zeus and Helios (ib. VIII, vii, 3; Nonnus, *Dionysiaca*, xxi, 250). He has as epithets Διαβατήριος (Photius, *Bibliotheca*, lxxi, 17), Στράτιος (Appian, *Mithridates*, 66, 70), Πατρῶος (Xenophon, *Cyropaedia*, VII, i, 1), and Βασιλεύς (ib. VII, v, 57)—all being purely Greek, not Iranian,<sup>3</sup> though Βασιλεύς suggests comparison with two of his Avestan epithets, *xšāθrya-* ('royal') and *xšāyant-* ('ruling'). The inscription of Antiochus of Commagene (II a) directly equates Ζεὺς with Ὠρομιάδης (cf. Diogenes Laertius, *De vitis philosophorum*, I, v, 8), and he is evidently the Bel invoked together with Miθra (Claudian, *De consulatu Stilichonis*, i, 62-3; cf. Theophylactus Simocatta, *Historia*, IV, xvi, 5), although the Syriac *Acts of Mār Mu'ain* expressly differentiate between them.<sup>4</sup> He finds a Scythian counterpart in Papaïos (Herodotus, iv, 69), whose name, clearly meaning 'father', may be connected either with Greek πάππα Asiatic Παπῦς, Παπίας, etc., or with Ural-Altaic *baba*, 'father'.<sup>5</sup>

Whether the term Ahura Mazda ('Wise Lord') was the original name of this deity is not altogether certain. In the Gāthās the combination is twice found in the plural (Ys. xxx, 9; f

<sup>1</sup> Cowley, *Papyri*, pp. 16, 7, cf. the use of *dāmidāta-* as an epithet of Aši, Gəuš Urvan, Miθra, and Haoma in the Avesta (L. H. Gray, in *JAOS* xlvi [1926], 110).

<sup>2</sup> Braun, *Akten*, p. 181.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. Gruppe, *Mythologie*, pp. 1116, note 10, 1117, note 2; F. Cumont, 'Le Zeus Stratios de Mithridate', in *RHR* xliii (1901), 47-57.

<sup>4</sup> Hoffmann, *Auszüge*, p. 29.

<sup>5</sup> Boisacq, *Dictionnaire*, p. 746; Kretschmer, *Einleitung*, pp. 344-6; Minns, *Scythians*, pp. 85-6; cf. also Hirt, *Indogermanen*, p. 587; Gruppe, *Mythologie*, p. 1548, note 6.



xxx. 4), probably meaning 'Mazda and the other Ahuras';<sup>1</sup> and in the Younger Avesta the word *ahura* is applied not only to Mazda, but also to Miθra and Apam Napāt. Apparently, as Moulton more than hinted,<sup>2</sup> Mazdāh ('Wise') was merely a cultic epithet of that Ahura who was the chief of the pantheon and who was—at least in power—the Iranian counterpart of the Vedic Varuṇa. Yet there is some reason to suspect that Varuṇa, who seems, both from his name<sup>3</sup> and from his connexion with water, to have been originally an aqueous deity,<sup>4</sup> replaced the old sky-god (the Greek Zeus, the Roman Jupiter, and the Norse Týr), just as the thunder-god Perunū or Perkūnas replaced him among the Balto-Slavs. We may, then, advance the hypothesis that Ōrmazd was not, as is so often supposed, an Iranian Varuṇa, but that he was the equivalent of the Vedic Dyaus himself<sup>5</sup>—that he was the sky-god pure and simple.<sup>6</sup> He was *the* Ahura ('Lord'), and was further honoured by the epithet Mazdāh ('Wise'), these two titles supplanting his original name and aiding his evolution, as his earlier celestial functions became forgotten, into practically a new divine being of predominantly ethical character. With the epithet Ahura we may compare such Vedic parallels as Varuṇa's *ásura prīcetas* ('wise lord'; RV I. xxiv. 14) and *ásura nīvāvedas* ('omniscient lord'; RV VIII. xlii. 1). The appellation Mazda is a component of this Old Persian personal names Mzšzios, Mzššaks,<sup>7</sup> and Msdabigin (probably for \*Mazda-bigna, 'Possessing the Glory of Mazda'),<sup>8</sup> while the appellative Mazdaku is found in a clay prism of Sargon (722-02 B.C.).<sup>9</sup> The term Ahura Mazda

<sup>1</sup> Cf. O. Richter, 'Der Plural von gAw. mazdōh - ahura-', in *KZ* xxxvi (1900), 584-9 (for a divergent view see Tiele, *Religion*, ii. 137-8).

<sup>2</sup> *EZ* p. 61.

<sup>3</sup> The present writer has long been skeptical of the older association of the name Varuṇa with Greek οὐρανός, 'sky', and prefers to connect it with Sanskrit vār(i)-, 'water'. Avestan vār-, 'rain', Greek οὐρον Latin urina, 'urine', Old Irish brón 'drop, rain', Old Icelandic ár 'mist', etc. (for further cognates see Boisacq, *Dictionnaire*, p. 729 Walde, *Wörterbuch*, p. 860; Müller, *Wörterbuch* p. 311; Walde-Pokorny *Wörterbuch*, i, 268-9.)

<sup>4</sup> For a summary of the various views concerning Varuṇa see Macdonell, *Mythology*, pp. 22-9; Hillebrandt, *Mythologie*, iii, 3-52; Keith, *Religion* pp. 96-8, 101-4.

<sup>5</sup> Cf. Macdonell, *op. cit.*, pp. 21-2; Keith, *op. cit.*, pp. 95-6.

<sup>6</sup> See, further, P. Bradke, *Dyaus Asura, Ahura Mazdā und die Asuras*, Halle, 1885; Darmesteter, *Ormazd*.

<sup>7</sup> Justi, *Namenbuch*, p. 201.

<sup>8</sup> Clay, *Documents*, p. 55.

<sup>9</sup> E. Meyer, in *KZ* xlii (1909), 5.

seems, then, to have supplanted the deity's true name,<sup>1</sup> which may have become so sacrosanct as to be practically tabu and which, replaced by the descriptive title Ahura Mazda (' Wise Lord ') as early as the Iranian period, later was wholly forgotten, while the ancient sky-god became the ethical ruler of the universe, and finally developed into at least a *quasi*-monotheistic deity.

### Section C.

#### VOHU MANAH.

Vohu Manah (' Good Mind '), or Vahišta Manah (' Best Mind '). is the most important of all the Aməša Spəntas excepting Ahura Mazda,<sup>2</sup> and he is, accordingly, among the foremost divine figures in the Gāthās.

(a) *Vohu Manah alone.* He is besought for discrimination, understanding, and memory (Ys. xxxi, 5), and through him Zarathuštra receives divine counsel (xlv, 6), desiring to know his ordinances (xlviii, 9). The heretical teacher prevents right estimate of his worth (xxxii, 9, 11), but the righteous have this knowledge (xlviii, 11). His house is a synonym for ' heaven ' (xxxii, 15) even as the ' house of the Druj ' is hell (xlix, 11 ; li, 14). Performance of his works brings reward (xxxiv, 14) which he will apportion (xliii, 16), bestowing pleasure and pain as he wills (xlv, 9). He is a created being (xlv, 4), the son of Ahura Mazda (xxxii, 8 ; xlv, 4). With his words Zarathuštra calls upon the righteous (xlv, 14), promising them, through Vohu Manah, the best of his possessions (xlv, 18) and desiring all to cling to him (xlix, 3). He weighs the deeds of men at the Judgement (xlviii, 8), and man should diligently strive to live his life (liii, 5). There is special mention of his paths (li, 16) which were well made by Aša (xxxiv, 13) and which Ahura Mazda is entreated to teach through Aša (xxxiv, 12). His ' band ' is likewise mentioned in a way which almost suggests the Mithraic confraternities.<sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup> It is not wholly impossible that this name may have been \*Diyāuš (accusative \*Divām) corresponding to the Vedic Dyāuṣ and to Avesta *dyāv* ' sky ' (Bartholomae, *AirWb.* coll. 761-2, *ZIW* pp. 172-5).

<sup>2</sup> Cf. L. H. Mills, ' Vohumanah in the Gāthas ', in *JAOS* xxi (1900), 67-87 ; A. J. Carnoy, ' The Character of Vohu Manah and its Evolution in Zoroastrianism ', in *A Volume of Oriental Studies presented to Professor E. G. Browne*, Cambridge, 1922, pp. 94-105.

<sup>3</sup> See below, pp. 37, 93.

(b) *Vohu Manah and Ahura Mazda.* Vohu Manah, who is consulted by Gəuš Urvan next after Ahura Mazda (xxix, 7-8), is the son of Ahura Mazda (xxxi, 8; xlv, 4; xlv, 4), who teaches him to man (xxxi, 17) and knows each man's merit through him (xxxii, 6). The 'Wise Lord' is besought to grant the final reward through Vohu Manah (xxxiii, 12), who holds colloquy with Zərəθuštra on behalf of Ahura Mazda (xliii, 7, 9, 11, 13, 15). Their joys are mentioned together (xlv, 9), and through Vohu Manah's wisdom Ahura Mazda knows secret sayings (xlviii, 3). Ahura Mazda is implored to teach his ordinances through Vohu Manah (l, 6), through whom the 'Creator of Life' will work his pleasure (l, 11). Through the 'Good Mind' Ahura Mazda will create strength and constancy at the Judgement (li, 7); and the 'Wise Lord' grants the fruit of Vohu Manah (liii, 4), the two being also associated in xxxi, 10.

(c) *Vohu Manah, Ahura Mazda, and Aša.* The possible significance of this triad has already been noted.<sup>1</sup> Ahura Mazda and Vohu Manah are implored to grant the glories of both worlds through Aša (xxviii, 2); at the Consummation Vohu Manah will create Ahura Mazda's Realm for those who deliver the Druj into Aša's hands (xxx, 8), and their fair abode is a synonym for 'heaven' (xxx, 10; xlv, 9), for, united with Vohu Manah, Ahura Mazda is a friend to bright Aša (xxxii, 2). The Realm of Vohu Manah is reached by the 'straight paths of Aša beside which Ahura Mazda dwells' (xxxiii, 5); Ahura Mazda is besought to teach the paths of Vohu Manah through Aša (xxxiv, 12); he grants the blessings of Vohu Manah through Aša (xliii, 2); he will come with Vohu Manah, who furthers creatures through Aša (xliii, 6); and through Aša Ahura Mazda will aid Vohu Manah to abide with the righteous (xlv, 1). Through them Ahura Mazda promises Haurvatāt and Amərətāt in his Realm (xlv, 10); in accordance with them he recognises the wise (xxviii, 10), whereas the wicked depart from the teachings of all three (xxxii, 4); and Ahura Mazda is entreated to teach through Aša what is the possession of Vohu Manah (xlvi, 2). Zərəθuštra lauds Ahura Mazda and Aša with the works of Vohu Manah (l, 9) and declares that 'what, O Vohu Manah, is most worthwhile in the eye, the light of the sun, the shining bull of the days', is for the praise of Aša and Ahura Mazda (l, 10). In accordance with Aša Ahura Mazda has provided for the kine, who asks Vohu Manah who will care for him among mankind (xxix, 7), the answer being that Zərəθuštra will do the pleasure of Vohu

<sup>1</sup> See above, p. 20.

Manah, Ahura Mazda, and Aša (xxix, 8; cf. xxix, 10). The three form a fellowship (liii, 3) and are also named together in xxviii, 1, 4, 5, 6, 9; xxx, 1; xxxi, 5; xxxiii, 6, 7; xxxiv, 2, 5, 6, 7, 13.

(d) *Vohu Manah, Ahura Mazda, Aša, and Spənta Mainyu.* Zaratuštra will ever guard Aša and Vohu Manah, and entreats Ahura Mazda to instruct him through Spənta Mainyu (xxviii, 11).

(e) *Vohu Manah, Ahura Mazda, Aša, and Atar.* Through Vohu Manah and Atar, and teaching through Aša, Ahura Mazda prepares the reward (xxx, 3, 9); and the power of Vohu Manah will be gained through the glow of Ahura Mazda's Fire, which is strong through Aša (xliii, 4).

(f) *Vohu Manah, Ahura Mazda, Aša, and Ārmaiti.* Aša is entreated to grant the glories of Vohu Manah, Ārmaiti for earthly boons, and Ahura Mazda for spiritual blessings (xxviii, 7); and elsewhere (xliii, 1) all four are implored for benefits.

(g) *Vohu Manah, Ahura Mazda, Aša, and Xšaθra.* Sacrifice is made to Ahura Mazda and Aša to perfect all things in the Realm through Vohu Manah (xxxiv, 3); through Vohu Manah, Xšaθra, and Aša, Ahura Mazda is implored to increase the body (xxxiii, 10); praise is rendered to Ahura Mazda with these three (l, 4); and in the Haptaŋhāiti the 'Wise Lord' is informed that praises are sung to Aša, Vohu Manah, and Xšaθra (xxxv, 10).

(h) *Vohu Manah, Ahura Mazda, Aša, Xšaθra, and Aši.* Through Aša the righteous will gain what Ahura Mazda has promised through Xšaθra and Vohu Manah, and Aši will give increase (l, 3).

(i) *Vohu Manah, Ahura Mazda, Aša, Xšaθra and Ārmaiti.* Through Vohu Manah Ahura Mazda is besought to grant his Realm, as well as that of Aša and Ārmaiti (li, 2), and the wise cling to the works of Vohu Manah and Ārmaiti, 'the companion of Aša', and to the hopes of Ahura Mazda in his Realm (xxxiv, 10). They are also named together in three other Gāthic passages (xxviii, 3; xliii, 16; xlv, 6).

(j) *Vohu Manah, Ahura Mazda, Aša, Xšaθra, Ārmaiti, Īzā, and Āzuiti.* Īzā and Āzuiti will be his who unites with Vohu Manah, since through Aša he knows Ārmaiti, and so will it be with all who are in Ahura Mazda's Realm (xlix, 5).

(k) *Vohu Manah, Ahura Mazda, Aša, Xšaθra, Ārmaiti, and Aši.* If Mazda and the other Ahuras, as well as Aši and Ārmaiti, are to be invoked, Vohu Manah is besought to grant Zaratuštra mighty Xšaθra that the Druj may be conquered (xxxi, 4).

(l) *Vohu Manah, Ahura Mazda, Aša, Ārmaiti, Aši, (Sravi) and Iš.* Aša is implored to grant Aši the boon of Vohu Manah, and Ārmaiti is entreated to confer Iš upon Vistāspa, while Ahura Mazda is besought to permit Zaratuštra to gain Sravi, who here seems equivalent to Sraoša (xxviii, 7).

(m) *Vohu Manah, Ahura Mazda, Aša, Xšaθra, Haurvatāt, and Amərətāt.* Ahura Mazda will grant to the righteous communion with Vohu Manah, Aša, Xšaθra, Haurvatāt, and Amərətāt (xxxi, 21).

(n) *Vohu Manah, Ahura Mazda, Spənta Mainyu, Aša, Xšaθra, Ārmaiti, Haurvatāt, and Amərətāt.* With Xšaθra and Ārmaiti, Ahura Mazda will give Haurvatāt and Amərətāt for Spənta Mainyu, and Vahišta Manah according to Aša (xlvii, 1).

(o) *Vohu Manah, Ahura Mazda, Ārmaiti, and Īzi.* In Ahura Mazda's abode Zaratuštra will store up Vohu Manah, Ārmaiti, and Īzā (xlix, 10).

(p) *Vohu Manah, Ahura Mazda, and Xšaθra.* Vohu Manah will increase Ahura Mazda's Realm (xxxi, 6); and through Vohu Manah Ahura Mazda grants the Realm to the righteous (li, 21).

(q) *Vohu Manah, Ahura Mazda, and Sraoša.* At Ahura Mazda's bidding Sraoša and Vohu Manah will come to the pious (xliv, 16).

(r) *Vohu Manah and Spənta Mainyu.* Only after consultation with Vohu Manah did Spənta Mainyu create kine (xlvii, 3).

(s) *Vohu Manah and Aša.* Next to the dyad of Ahura Mazda and Vohu Manah, that of Vohu Manah and Aša is the most important. The righteous will dwell in the pastures of Vohu Manah and Aša (xxxiii, 3), and Zaratuštra learns the straight paths through them (xxxiii, 6), those paths of Vohu Manah which Ahura Mazda is entreated to teach through Aša (xxxiv, 12), who made them well (xxxiv, 13). From Vohu Manah and Aša Zaratuštra asks the words of life (xliv, 8), but the wicked desire neither fellowship with Aša nor counsel from Vohu Manah (xliv, 13). Through Aša man knows Vohu

**Manah** (xlv, 9), and through them **Ahura Mazda** promises **Haurvatāt** and **Amərətāt** in his Realm (xlv, 10). For the righteous who love **Aša Vohu Manah** furthers creatures (xlvi, 13). With **Xšaθra** and **Ārmaiti** **Ahura Mazda** will grant **Vahišta** **Manah** according to **Aša** (xlvii, 1); through **Aša** the reward of **Vohu Manah** will be attained (xlviii, 6), the eternal prize being won only through them both (li, 14); but **Vohu Manah** will be far from those who desire to know nothing of **Aša** (xxxiv, 8).

(t) *Vohu Manah, Aša, and Ātar.* **Aša** is made perfect through **Ātar** and **Vohu Manah** (xlvi, 7).

(u) *Vohu Manah, Aša, and Gōuš Tašan.* Through **Vohu Manah** **Zaraθuštra** desires to know the revelations made by **Aša**, as well as those made to **Aša** by **Gōuš Tašan** (xlvi, 9).

(v) *Vohu Manah, Aša, and Xšaθra.* As a reward for man's Righteousness the Realm is granted through **Vohu Manah** (xlvi, 10), and they who share in **Vohu Manah** believe in **Xšaθra** through **Aša** (li, 18).

(w) *Vohu Manah, Aša, Xšaθra, and Ārmaiti.* These four abide with man (xxx, 7); and **Ārmaiti** and **Aša** further the Realm of **Vohu Manah** (xxxiv, 11).

(x) *Vohu Manah, Aša, and Ārmaiti.* **Vohu Manah** is far from those who despise **Ārmaiti**, and **Aša** shrinks from them (xxxiv, 9); but he is blessed who unites his soul with **Vohu Manah**, being well acquainted with **Ārmaiti** through **Aša** (xlix, 5); and **Ārmaiti** will come with **Vohu Manah**, through whose activity creatures are furthered by **Aša** (xliii, 6).

(y) *Vohu Manah, Ārmaiti, and Spənta Mainyu.* Through the words of **Vohu Manah** and the hands of **Ārmaiti** man fulfils the best of **Spənta Mainyu** (xlvii, 2); and after consulting with **Vohu Manah** **Spənta Mainyu** created kine, together with **Ārmaiti** to give them pasture (xlvii, 3).

(z) *Vohu Manah and Ārmaiti.* **Ārmaiti** is entreated to increase the life of **Vohu Manah** (xliii, 1); esteemed by **Vohu Manah**, she gives man good dwelling, constancy, and strength (xlviii, 6; cf. xlix, 10); but the teacher of the unbelieving **Bəndva** desires neither her nor the counsel of **Vohu Manah** (xlix, 2).

(aa) *Vohu Manah and Xšaθra.* **Vohu Manah** is besought to increase **Xšaθra** that **Zaraθuštra** may triumph over the **Druj**

(xxxi, 4) ; and Vohu Manah will recognise Xšaθra (xliv, 6), whom he possesses (xlv, 16).

(bb) *Vohu Manah, Xšaθra, Ārmaiti, Daēnā, and Fəratū.* In the Haptaŋhāiti laudation is given to this pentad (xxxvii, 5).

(cc) *Vohu Manah, Haurvatāt, and Aməratāt.* Through the works of Vohu Manah the obedient will attain Haurvatāt and Aməratāt (xlv, 5).

(dd) *Vohu Manah, Spənta Mainyu, and Gəuš Urvan.* Zaraθuštra prays for the works of Spənta Mainyu to please Vohu Manah and Gəuš Urvan (xxviii, 1).

(ee) *Vohu Manah and Tušnāmati.* Vohu Manah and Tušnāmati (who may be identical with Ārmaiti<sup>1</sup>) instruct Zaraθuštra (xliii, 15).

In the Younger Avesta the rôle of Vohu Manah is far less important than in the Gāthās. He appears in association with Aša (Ys. iv, 5), or with Aša and Xšaθra (FW i, 1). With Aša and Ātar he is a messenger of Spənta Mainyu (Yt. xix, 46), and his connexion with them reappears when he, with Ātar, protects Aša's creation against Aəra Mainyu (Yt. xiii, 77-78), although his special foe, whom he conquers, is Aka Manah (Yt. xix, 46). The Aməša Spəntas hold to him and proceed from him (Ys. iv, 4 ; Vsp. xi, 12), and he greets the righteous when they arrive in heaven (Vd. xix, 31). Through him as a mediator Ahura Mazda has created beings, and will increase them through Aša (Vsp. xii, 4). In view of the close association of Haoma and Miθra it is perhaps significant that the joys of Vohu Manah are connected with the medicines of Haoma (Ys. i, 12) ; and he seems to be synonymous with 'victorious Axšti' (Yt. ii, 1, 6 ; Sīr. i, 2 ; ii, 2). It would appear that he was represented by images (Vd. xix, 23-25), though the Pahlavi glossator here renders *vohu manah* by *vastarg* ('clothing'). According to a Pahlavi gloss on Ny. iii, 1, he has the seed of cattle, and the moon is formed from him ; but though in the Pahlavi texts he is the patron of cattle (e.g. SIS xiii, 14 ; xv, 5, 9-11 ; ZS xxii, 6 ; cf. also Neryosang on Ys. i, 2 ; xlv, 10), he does not appear in this capacity in the Avesta. Ahura Mazda and Miθra are combined in a *dvandva* compound (Ys. i, 11 ; ii, 11 ; iii, 13 ; iv, 16 ; vi, 10 ; vii, 13 ; xvii, 10 ; xxii, 13 ; Ny. i, 7 ; ii, 12 ; Yt. x, 113, 145 ; cf. also Yt. viii, 7, 38) ; they alone share with the Aməša Spəntas

<sup>1</sup> So Bartholomae, *AltWb.* col. 658.

the epithet *aiθya'jah* ('unimperilled'); and they are probably the 'Protector and Creator' named in a *dvandva* compound in Ys. xlii, 2; lvii, 2<sup>1</sup> as united in creating all beings. The parallel with the Vedic Mitra-Varuṇa is too obvious to require comment.<sup>2</sup>

In the Pahlavi texts Vohūman is the first creation of Aūharmazd (Dk. III, xl, 3; IV, i, xii; IX, xxxviii, 6; cf. IX, liii, 24; lxix, 47; Gd. Bd. xxvi, 7), although another version (Dk. III, cxxii, 2-3) states that he was born of Spēnta Mainyu. He is associated with Maθra Spēnta (Dk. III, excii, 3); Aūharmazd consults with him and Artavahišt (ib. VII, ii, 17); and he is mentioned together with Artavahišt (ib. VII, ii, 25), the pair being invoked for aid in peril from the wicked (ib. IX, xlv, 12). Knowledge of the religion of Aūharmazd is disclosed to his own by him who loves Vohūman (Dk. IX, 1, 14); and Ātar's good protection is taught by him whose words are through Vohūman (ib. IX, lxi, 5). He is associated with Mitrō and Srōš (Dk. IX, xxviii, 3); with Artavahišt and Ātar he is Aūharmazd's messenger to Vištāsp (ib. VII, iv, 74-5); and with Srōš he aids the infant Zaratūšt (ZS xvi, 9), to whom Aūharmazd sent him at the prophet's birth to offset the attacks of Akōman (ib. xiv, 8-10). Together with Hōm, Būrj, and others he co-operates, at the command of Aūharmazd, with Tištar for rain (Bd. vii, 3; ZS vi, 3; Dk. III, cxii, 5); he advances the progress of the creatures of Aūharmazd and produces the light of the world (Bd. i, 23, 25); and his auxiliaries are Māh, Gōšūrūn, and Rām (Gd. Bd. xxvi, 9). He deals especially with the thoughts of men, and he keeps a daily record of their thoughts, words, and deeds so far as each individual himself is concerned (DD iii, 13-14; xiv, 2). He protects the good creation (Dk. IX, xlii, 10) and brings the righteous to paradise (Gd. Bd. xxvi, 6); but he destroys the demons Aēšm and Āz (Dk. IX, xli, 18), though his chief foe is Akōman, whom he will vanquish at the end of the world (Bd. xxx, 29). His bird is the owl (SD xiv, 8-9) or the cock (SIS x, 9); he created sheep (Dk. III, ccclxxxv, 2); and in this world animals and white garments are under his especial care (Gd. Bd. xxvi, 8; ZS xxii, 3). He appeared visibly to Zaratūšt (Dk. VII, iii, 52; ZS xxi, 8, 12); he grants wisdom and is distinguished for beauty (SIS xxii, 2; xxiii, 1). He presides over the ninth

<sup>1</sup> Bartholomae, *Air Wb.* col. 889 (Tiele, *Religion*, ii, 206, note 2, however, regards them as Ahura Mazda and Aθra Mainyu).

<sup>2</sup> Cf. below, p. 36.



month, later called Ušman in Khorasan, and over the second day of each month (Bd. xxv, 20; Sir. i, 2; ii, 2; SIs xxii, 2; xxiii, 1; cf. Bd. xxvii, 24).

In Manichaean fragments from Turfān Vohūman, called *rōšān* ('light') or *bām yazdā* ('bright god'), is mentioned together with the Second Person of the Trinity—probably as being a mediator—and guides the souls of the pure to the abodes of immortality.<sup>1</sup>

Vohu Manah, unlike Miθra (Art. Pers. a, 25; b, 33; Susa a, 5; Ham. 5, 6), is not mentioned in the Old Persian inscriptions; but his name, in the form Uhumana', occurs in a Babylonian commercial document of the reign of Darius II,<sup>2</sup> and may be the original reading of the name מְדוּמָן, one of the seven chamberlains of Ahasuerus (Esther i, 10).<sup>3</sup> An inscription from Assur has the words עֲלִמָּאִי וְדוּמָן (?) מְרִד־אִי ('image of Vohūman'; the statue has, unfortunately, been destroyed);<sup>4</sup> and Vohu Manah was probably the Ὀμανός who, with 'Anahita',<sup>5</sup> had sacred enclosures in Cappadocia—where the eleventh month was named Ὀσμονία, Οτσημνα, etc., in his honour—and whose images Strabo saw carried in procession (p. 733). His appellation may possibly appear in translation as the ἐπιτυχὲς νόημα, the 'good daimon' from whom Zoroaster received all his knowledge (*Scholia in Platonis Alcibiadem Primum*, 122A).

In India, Vasumanas, the etymological equivalent of the Iranian Vohu Manah, does not occur as the appellative of a deity, though it is the name of the traditional author of RV X, clxxxix, 3, and of a legendary epic King (MBh. X, cxvi, 17).

It may be suggested that, as was perhaps the case with Ahura Mazda,<sup>6</sup> and was almost certainly true of 'Arədvī',<sup>7</sup> an originally cultic epithet became the only name of the deity generally

<sup>1</sup> Müller, *Handschriften-Reste*, pp. 60, 75, 79; Salemann, *Manichaica*, iii (Petrograd, 1912), 4.

<sup>2</sup> Clay, *Darius*, p. 66.

<sup>3</sup> Benfey-Stern, *Monatsnamen*, p. 200; Scheftelowitz, *Arisches*, i, 47-8; ii, 32.

<sup>4</sup> P. Jensen, in *SBW* 1919, p. 1018.

<sup>5</sup> Cf. the collocation of (Auramazdā,) Anāhita, and Miθra in Art. Susa a, 4-5 (Babylonian and Elamitic); Ham. 5-6.

<sup>6</sup> See above, pp. 25-7.

<sup>7</sup> See below, p. 60.

known. If this be so, Vohu Manah was probably an analysis of the possessive adjectival compound \**vohumanah-*, 'good-minded', analogous to the Vedic *sumānas-*, used of Indra (RV I, liii, 4; III, xxxv, 8; IV, xx, 4; X, c, 4) and especially of Agni (I, xxxvi, 2, 6; III, iv, 1; ix, 3; xviii, 1; liv, 22; IV, iii, 15; x, 3; xiii, 1; V, i, 2; VII, i, 9; viii, 5; X, cxli, 1), though it is evident that all idea of the connotation of the term as 'good-minded' had been forgotten throughout Iran long before the reign of Darius II, its first datable occurrence, so that Vohu Manah was felt to mean simply 'Good Mind,' thus enabling Plutarch (*De Iside et Osiride*, 46) to translate it by *εὐνοία*.

The relation of Vohu Manah to Ahura Mazda in the Gāthās is so similar to that of Miθra to Ahura Mazda in the Younger Avesta<sup>1</sup> that 'Good-Mind(ed)' would seem to have been originally Miθra's chief cultic epithet in Iran; and it would appear to have been deliberately substituted for his real name in the Gāthās, which very significantly ignore any direct mention of Miθra.<sup>2</sup> Yet it is difficult to believe that so mighty a god was not felt—at least dimly—to lurk under the disguise of an epithet; and it may well be that the Younger Avestan epithet *aoxto-nāman-* ('whose name is spoken'), applied fourteen times to Miθra (also thrice to Ātar, twice to Sraoša, and once to Vanant), in reality stressed the fact that, unlike conditions in the Gāthic period, the deity's name might again be uttered openly.

Moulton has already noted<sup>3</sup> that 'Vohumanah significantly replaces Mithra as lord of cattle' in the Gāthās; but it seems possible to go much further and to advance the hypothesis that Miθra \*Vohumanah ('Miθra the Good-Minded') was the source of the Vohu Manah of the Gāthās as a whole. If the house of Vohu Manah is a synonym for 'heaven' (Ys. xxxii, 15), and if in later Zoroastrianism the 'sun-station' is next to the highest of the four heavens (e.g., AVN vii-x), in the R̥g Veda the righteous go to the third heaven, where is eternal light, the highest point of the sun.<sup>4</sup> Vohu Manah seems also to be associated with the sun in Ys. I, 10, where Zaratuštra speaks of 'what, O Vohu Manah, is most worthful in the eye, the light of the sun, the shining bull of the days', the mention of the bull, in view of its importance in the Miθra-legend, being perhaps significant. The 'paths of Vohu Manah' (li, 16) find a Vedic

<sup>1</sup> See below, p. 90.

<sup>2</sup> Moulton, *EZ* pp. 139-41.

<sup>3</sup> *EZ* p. 72, note 2; cf. Christensen, in *Acta Orientalia*, iv (1926), 102-4.

<sup>4</sup> Macdonell, *Mythology*, p. 167.

parallel in the 'path of Mitra' of RV V, lxiv, 3 (cf. the path of Aryaman and Mitra, RV II, xxvii, 6; and of Savitar, I, xxxv, 11; as well as the path made by Varuṇa for the sun, VII, lxxxvii, 1; see also I, clxiii, 6; clxiv, 31). The association of Ahura Mazda and Vohu Manah (*b*) suggests the collocation of Varuṇa and Mitra in the Rig Veda;<sup>1</sup> and the union of Ahura Mazda, Vohu Manah, and Aša (*c*) recalls the Vedic connexion of Varuṇa, Mitra, and Agni (RV I, cxv, 1; III, iv, 2; V, iii, 1; VI, xlix, 1; li, 10; VII, xxxix, 7; lxii, 3) or that of Varuṇa and Mitra with *tá* (I, ii, 8; xxv, 5; V, lxiii, 1, 7; lxviii, 1, 4; VII, lxxv, 3; VIII, xxv, 1, 4), the Avestan 'paths of Aša' (Ys. xxxiii, 5) seeming almost to echo the Vedic *ṛtásya pathi*.<sup>2</sup> Further, with the association of Ahura Mazda, Vohu Manah, and Xšaθra (*p*) we may compare that of Varuṇa, Mitra, and Indra in the Rig Veda (I, clxiv, 46; III, iv, 6; IX, c, 5); with that of Ahura Mazda, Vohu Manah, Aša, and Xšaθra (*g*) the collocation of Varuṇa, Mitra, Indra, and Agni (RV IV, xxxix, 4); and with that of Vohu Manah and Aša (*s*) the connexion of Mitra and Agni (RV III, v, 4; X, viii, 4).

The statement of Plutarch (*De Iside et Osiride*, 46) that Miθra was called the 'Mediator' (Μεσίτης) as being between Ahura Mazda and Aθra Mainyu<sup>3</sup> seems both to explain and to be explained by some Gāēic passages concerning Vohu Manah. This Aməša Spənta is usually the second member of the triad of Ahura Mazda, Vohu Manah, and Aša; and through him as mediator Ahura Mazda knows each man's merit (Ys. xxxii, 6). Through him Ahura Mazda is entreated to grant the final reward (xxxiii, 12), and on Ahura Mazda's behalf he holds colloquy with Zaratuštra (xlili, 7, 9, 11, 13, 15). Ahura Mazda is implored to teach his ordinances through Vohu Manah (l, 6); through him the 'Wise Lord' will create strength and constancy at the Judgement (li, 7); through him the 'Creator of Life' will work his pleasure (l, 11). Through him Ahura Mazda is besought to grant his Realm, as well as that of Aša and Ārmaiti (li, 2); and through him the 'Wise Lord' will bestow the Realm upon the righteous (xlvi, 10; li, 21). Through

<sup>1</sup> Grassmann, *Wörterbuch*, coll. 1040-1; Macdonell, *Mythology*, pp. 23-30, 127; Bergaigne, *Religion*, iii, 110-39; Hillebrandt, *Mythologie*, iii, 53-9; Keith, *Religion*, pp. 96-8, 103-4.

<sup>2</sup> Grassmann, *Wörterbuch*, coll. 284, 767-8. Agni's paths are also mentioned in the Rig Veda (I, lviii, 1; II, iv, 6-7; V, i, 11; VI, vi, 1; VIII, xxiii, 19).

<sup>3</sup> Cf. Cumont, *TM* i, 303; Pettazzoni, *Misteri*, pp. 230, 259-60; Clemon, *Nachrichten*, pp. 157-8.

him Zaratustra desires to hear the revelations made by Aša and those made to Aša by Gəuš Urvan (xlvi, 9); and through his works the obedient will attain Haurvatāt and Amərətāt (xlv, 5).

Like Miθra Vohu Manah is pre-eminently a divine being of wisdom and of friendship for man. He is entreated to give discrimination, understanding, and memory (Ys. xxxi, 5); and Zaratustra, desiring to know his ordinances (xlviii, 9), receives celestial counsel through him (xlv, 6). He will apportion rewards (xliii, 16), bestowing pleasure and pain as he wills (xlv, 9) and weighing the deeds of man at the Judgement (xlviii, 8); but the wicked desire not his counsel (xliv, 13; xlix, 2).

Even in the Gāthās Vohu Manah is associated with kine and pasturage. The Ox asks: 'Whom, O Vohu Manah, hast thou who may care for us among mankind?' (Ys. xxix, 7-8); Vohu Manah is aided by him who raises cattle (xxxii, 10); the righteous will dwell in the pastures of Aša and Vohu Manah (xxxiii, 3); creatures are furthered by Aša through the activity of Vohu Manah (xliii, 6); and 'Good Mind' fosters them for the righteous friend of Aša (xlvi, 13). Only after consultation with Vohu Manah did Spənta Mainyu create kine (xlvii, 3); and the sun is itself 'the shining bull of the days' (I, 10). All this suggests connexion with the conventional Younger Avestan epithet of Miθra, *vouru-gaoyaoti*-(*'lord of wide pastures'*), to say nothing of the legends clustering about the tauroctonous Miθra.

In view of the confraternities of historic Mithraism,<sup>1</sup> it is possibly significant that a 'band of Miθra' is mentioned in the Gāthās (II, 11), while at least the germs of esoteric Mithraic teaching may perhaps be implied in the statement (xlviii, 3) that through the wisdom of Vohu Manah Ahura Mazda knows hidden sayings.

If this hypothesis of a Gāthic replacement of the ancient Indo-Iranian solar deity Mitra-Miθra by an ethicisation of an early Iranian cultic epithet meaning 'Good-Mind(ed)' be correct, additional light would seem to be thrown upon the origin of that cult of Miθra which was destined to play so important a rôle in the religious history of the Near East and of the Roman Empire.<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Cumont, *TM* i, 326-9.

<sup>2</sup> See below, pp. 92-6, 99-100.

*Section D.*

## AŠA VAHIŠTA.

Aša Vahišta ('Best Righteousness') ranks third among the Aməša Spəntas<sup>1</sup> and with Ahura Mazda and Vohu Manah constitutes the great Iranian triad. The Gāthic material concerning him may first be presented.

(a) *Aša alone.* Aša is twice mentioned (Ys. xxx, 9; xxxi, 4) as distinct from the other Ahura Mazdas,<sup>2</sup> though this would seem to emphasise him rather than to imply that he is not of their number. At the command of the Druj the wicked destroy what belongs to Aša (xxx, 1), yet it is he who gives knowledge of the better portion (xxx, 3). The soul of the righteous is one with him (xxxiv, 2), and those who know nothing of him forfeit heaven (xxxiv, 8), souls departing from his act and word being in mortal peril (li, 13), whereas the faithful desire his manifestations (xlviii, 8). Together with him Zaraθuštra, in whose faith Aša is embedded (xlix, 3), seeks to further religion (xlv, 10) and asks when 'Righteousness' will be won by man (xlv, 3). Those allied with him receive the best reward (xlix, 9); he keeps final rewards and punishments (li, 4); counsel is received through him (li, 11); and Zaraθuštra invites him to come with blessing (li, 10). Hence the Prophet prays to see him (xliii, 10) and to attain him (li, 17) through whom prayer is granted (li, 22) and whom the righteous further (li, 22), while through him each man must strive to do better than his fellow (liii, 5).

Aša is begotten (xlv, 3), created by Ahura Mazda through his wisdom (xxx, 7-8), and the son of the 'Wise Lord' (xlvii, 2). He is closely associated with agricultural life, and hence is a patron of settled pastoral life. Thus he furthers property in general (xxx, 16; xxxiii, 11); the righteous will dwell in the pastures that belong to him and Vohu Manah (xxxiii, 3); he promotes agriculture (xlv, 20) even as agriculturists promote him (xlv, 4); he furthers creatures through the activity of Vohu Manah (xliii, 6); and through him Ahura Mazda caused vegetation to grow for cattle 'at the birth of the first life' (xlviii, 6). Through him the righteous gain kine (li, 5); with him Gōuš. Tašan holds colloquy (xxix, 1-5); and he speaks of Haurvatāt and Amərətāt (xxx, 6), whom he confers on the righteous

<sup>1</sup> See L. H. Mills, 'Asha as the Law in the Gāthas', in *JAOS* xx (1899), 31-53; 'The personified Asha', *ib.*, pp. 277-302.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. O. Richter, 'Der Plural von gAw. mazdāh-ahura-', in *KZ* xxxvi (1900), 584-9.

(xliv, 18). According to the Haptaŋhāiti, Aša, who grants all good things, is bright, and the most beautiful of the Aməša Spəntas (Ys. xxxvii, 4); and mention is made of his fellowship and community (xxxv, 8).

(b) *Aša and Ahura Mazda*. Prayer is made to Ahura Mazda through Aša (xxviii, 1), through whom the 'Wise Lord's' gifts are granted (xxviii, 6, 7), and through whom he learns all (xxx, 13). Though the two are of like will (xxviii, 8; xxix, 7), Ahura Mazda is the superior (xxix, 4-5), creating Aša by his wisdom (xxx, 7, 8) and being his father (xlvi, 2). 'Bright Aša' has Ahura Mazda as his good friend (xxxii, 2; 1, 6); through him the 'Wise Lord' is besought to give mighty power (xxxiii, 12); and to them both Zaratuštra makes lament (xxxii, 9). Through Aša Ahura Mazda's wisdom furthers communities (xxxiv, 14), and Ahura Mazda bids Zaratuštra go to Aša for instruction (xliii, 12), so that through him the Prophet learns to know the 'Wise Lord', the creator of life (xlv, 4, 8). Through Aša, Ahura Mazda can keep evil from the righteous (xliv, 15), and he is to be won according to the primal laws of Ahura Mazda (xlvi, 15). Aša is the wise counsellor of Ahura Mazda (xlvi, 17); for Frašaoštra close association with Aša is implored from Ahura Mazda (xliv, 8); and the pair are mentioned together (xlvi, 18; xlviii, 9; xlix, 1, 6; 1, 5, 10; cf. also xxxv, 1, 3, 9). Through Aša Ahura Mazda not only teaches the best of doctrines (xlviii, 3), which they devise together (li, 16), but also causes vegetation to grow for cattle 'at the birth of the first life' (xlviii, 6); and through him Ahura Mazda grants eternal life (liii, 1).

In the Haptaŋhāiti Ahura Mazda's wives are 'desirable according to Aša' (xxxviii, 1). Communion with Ahura Mazda and Aša is besought (xl, 2; xli, 6); hymns are composed in their honour (xli, 1); and the 'Wise Lord' is implored to make heroes believe in Aša (xl, 3). Aša attends upon Ahura Mazda (xli, 3), who created him as well as kine, waters, vegetation, light, earth, and all things good (xxxvii, 1; a veiled reference to Vohu Manah, Haurvatāt, Amərətāt, Miθra, Armaiti, and Xšaθra?).

(c) *Aša, Ahura Mazda, and Xšaθra*. The words of Aša and Ahura Mazda will be confirmed in the latter's Realm (xxxii, 6), and the support of the 'Wise Lord' is secured through Xšaθra in accordance with Aša (xliii, 14).

(d) *Aša, Ahura Mazda, Xšaθra, Haurvatāt, and Amərətāt*. Ahura Mazda will grant Amərətāt and Aša, and the Realm of Haurvatāt (xxxiv, 1).

(e) *Aša, Ahura Mazda, Xšaθra, and Sraoša.* To Ahura Mazda Zaratuštra gives Realm and Obedience through Aša (xxxiii, 14).

(f) *Aša, Ahura Mazda, Spənta Mainyu, Ātar, and Ārmaiti.* Through Spənta Mainyu and Ātar, with the aid of Ārmaiti and Aša, Ahura Mazda will apportion final rewards (xlvi, 6).

(g) *Aša, Ahura Mazda, Ārmaiti, and Fšəratū.* In the Haptaŋhāiti approach is made to Ahura Mazda with submission to Aša, Ārmaiti, and Fšəratū (xxxix, 5; cf. xxxiii, 12).

(h) *Aša and Spənta Mainyu.* Aša was chosen by Spənta Mainyu (xxx, 5).

(i) *Aša and Gəus Tašan.* The "Shaper of the Ox" held colloquy with Aša (xxix, 1-5).

(j) *Aša and Xšaθra.* The Realm of the house, etc., is furthered through Aša (xxxi, 16), and the righteous give support to Aša and Xšaθra (xxxi, 22), while Aša will grant Xšaθra to those who are zealous in his works (li, 1).

(k) *Aša, Haurvatāt, and Amərətāt.* Aša speaks of Haurvatāt and Amərətāt (xxxi, 6); he is augmented by their blessings (xxxiii, 9); and he confers 'Wholeness' and 'Immortality' (xliv, 18), who will unite with him who clings to Aša (xliv, 17).

(l) *Aša and Ārmaiti.* This dyad, so far as Aša is concerned, is second in importance only to that of Aša-Ahura Mazda. Ārmaiti is besought to instruct concerning Aša (xxxiii, 13); they were collaborators in creating (xxxiv, 10); and Aša shrinks from those who despise Ārmaiti (xxxiv, 9). They are united (xlvi, 16); Aša will arrive with Ārmaiti (xlvi, 11); and through Ārmaiti Aša comes to Fryāna (xlvi, 12).

(m) *Aša and Ādā.* Aša (or Ahura Mazda, or both?) is invoked to come with Ādā (xlix, 1).

(n) *Aša and Ātar.* Ātar is mighty through Aša (xxxiv, 4), and by the glow of Ahura Mazda's Fire, which has its strength through Aša, the power of Vohu Manah will be gained (xliii, 4). At every gift offered to the 'Wise Lord's' Ātar, Zaratuštra thinks of Aša (xliii, 9); Aša is made perfect through Ātar and Vohu Manah (xlvi, 7); and through Spənta Mainyu and Ātar, with the aid of Ārmaiti and Aša, Ahura Mazda will apportion final rewards (xlvi, 6), preparing the recompense through Vohu Manah and Ātar, and teaching through Aša (xxxi, 3).

(o) *Aša and Dəēnā*. *Aša* and *Daēnā* are mentioned together in the *Haptaŋhāiti* (xxxv, 1)<sup>1</sup>.

Like *Vohu Manah*,<sup>2</sup> *Aša* is a mediator in the *Gāthās*, recalling the similar rôle of the Vedic *Agni*.<sup>3</sup> Prayer is made to *Ahura Mazda* through him (xxviii, 1), and the 'Wise Lord' grants boons through him (xxviii, 6, 7), preparing recompense through *Vohu Manah* and *Ātar*, and teaching through *Aša* (xxxi, 3). Through *Aša* *Ahura Mazda* learns all things (xxxii, 13), and is implored to give mighty power through him (xxxii, 12). *Ahura Mazda* and *Vohu Manah* are besought to grant the glories of both worlds through *Aša* (xxviii, 2); through *Aša* and *Vohu Manah* *Zarathuštra* learns the straight paths (xxxiii, 6), while *Ahura Mazda* is entreated to teach the paths of *Vohu Manah* through *Aša* (xxxiv, 12), and through him the 'Wise Lord's' wisdom furthers communities (xxxiv, 14). Through *Aša* *Ahura Mazda* bestows the blessings of *Vohu Manah*, and through him the 'Wise Lord' will give support that *Vohu Manah* may dwell with the righteous (xliv, 1). Through *Aša* *Ahura Mazda* can keep evil from the pious (xliv, 15), and through *Aša* *Zarathuštra* learns to know *Ahura Mazda*, the creator of life (xlv, 4, 8), even as through *Aša* man knows *Vohu Manah* (xlv, 9). *Ahura Mazda* is entreated to teach through *Aša* what is the possession of *Vohu Manah* (xlvi, 2), while through them both the 'Wise Lord' promises *Haurvatāt* and *Amərətāt* in his Realm (xlv, 10). *Ahura Mazda* teaches the best of doctrines through *Aša* (xlviii, 3), and through him *Ahura Mazda* caused vegetation to grow for cattle 'at the birth of the first life' (xlviii, 6). The reward of *Vohu Manah* is attained through *Aša* (xlviii, 7), and through him the righteous will win what *Ahura Mazda* has promised through *Xšaθra* and *Vohu Manah* (1, 3). The righteous gain kine through *Aša* (1i, 5); through him and *Vohu Manah* the eternal reward is won (1i, 15); through him they who share in *Vohu Manah* believe in the Realm (1i, 18); prayer is granted through him (1i, 22); and through him *Ahura Mazda* gives eternal life (1iii, 1).

In the Younger Avesta *Aša* is termed the most beautiful of the *Aməša Spəntas* (Ys. xiii, 8; lix, 33; lx, 13; Yt. i, 22; ii, 7;

<sup>1</sup> For further association of *Aša* with *Ahura Mazda* and other *Aməša Spəntas* in the *Gāthās* see Section on *Vohu Manah*, c—n, s—x.

<sup>2</sup> See above, pp. 36-7.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. Macdonell, *Mythology*, p. 96; for the Vedic *Agni* see ib. pp. 88-100; Hillebrandt, *Mythologie*, iii, 157-300; Keith, *Religion*, pp. 154-62; and for his epithet *dutā-* ('messenger'), see Grassmann, *Wörterbuch*, ccl. 624.



xviii. 5; Sir. i, 3; ii, 3). He is named together with Ahura Mazda (Āfr. iii, 6), with Vohu Manah (Ys. iv, 5), with Vohu Manah and Xšaθra (FW i, 1), with Ārmaiti (Ys. lxxi, 11), and with Ārmaiti and Fseratū (Ys. xiii, 6); but by far his most frequent association is with Ātar (Ys. i, 4; ii, 4; iii, 6; iv, 9; vi, 3; vii, 6; xvii, 3; xxii, 6; lix, 3; G. ii, 9, 12; Yt. ii, 4, 9; Sir. i, 7; ii, 7; Āfr. iv, 2). He accompanies draughts of Haoma (Ys. x, 8; Yt. xvii, 5), and is furthered by Haoma (Ys. viii, 9; x, 1, 14; Sir. i, 30; Yt. xx, 3). Through him as a mediator Ahura Mazda will increase the beings which he has created through Vohu Manah (Vsp. xii, 4); but the wicked destroy his world (Ys. viii, 3). Nevertheless, his creation is protected against Aṇra Mainyu by Vohu Manah and Ātar (Yt. xiii, 77-8), with whom he is a messenger of Spənta Mainyu, especially opposing Aēšma (Yt. xix, 46) and Azi (Vd. xviii, 19-21), and conquering the Druj (Yt. xix, 95), besides heating Aṇra Mainyu as with molten iron (Yt. xvii, 20). He smites disease, death, fiends, sorcerers, and noxious creatures (Yt. iii, 14-17); and physicians heal not only with the law, knife, herbs, and spells, but also with Aša (doubtless here meaning cautery; Yt. iii, 6; Vd. vii, 44). The righteous desire to behold him and to come to him (Ys. ix, 12), praying to discover the straight paths to him and to his bright, joyous paradise (Ys. lxviii, 13); and his sunny abode is the home of the blessed dead (Ys. xvi, 7). Aša and Aša Vahišta are appellations of Ahura Mazda in the latter's name-list (Yt. i, 7, 15).

In the Pahlavi texts Artavahišt is the third of the Amšaspands (Dk. IV, x), and Šatvāirō arises from him (ib. xii). Aūharmazd consults with him and Vohūman (Dk. VII, ii, 17); the pair are invoked for aid in danger from the wicked (ib. IX, xlv, 12) and are the messengers of Aūharmazd to Vištāsp (ib. VII, iv, 74-5), while Artavahišt is associated with Vohūman (ib. VII, ii, 25) or with Ātar (ib. IX, ix, 8). He is concerned with the deeds of men rather than with their thoughts or words (DD iii, 13-14), and he guards the righteous (Dk. VII, i, 34), receiving sovereignty in heaven from Aūharmazd (SD xi, 5) and having a spiritual debt from healing the sick (Dk. VIII, xxxvii, 14). He is especially opposed to the demon Andar (Bd. xxx, 29), and he keeps the fiends from punishing the damned beyond their deserts (Gd. Bd. xxvi, 14). He watches over fire (Gd. Bd. xxvi, 15; ZS xxii, 7), and has as his particular auxiliaries Ātar, Srōš, and Vahrām (Gd. Bd. xxvi, 15), himself collaborating with Airyaman (Dk. III, clvii, 20). His gift is understanding and intellect, and he is distinguished by brilliancy (SIS xxii, 3; xxiii, 1). The neck of a sacrificial sheep is his portion (SIS

xi, 4). He presides over the second month (Bd. xxv, 20), whence the Cappadocian names *Αρταεών*, *Αραιστα*, *Αρταστής*, etc. (cf. also the Chorasmian month-name *Ardavast*); and also over the third day of each month (Sir. i, 3; ii, 3; SIS xxii, 3; xxiii, 1; cf. Bd. xxvii, 24).

On Indo-Scythian coins *Aša*, under the name *ΑΦΑΙΧΘΟ*, is represented as a beardless figure with a diadem and nimbus, his left hand on his hip, and his right hand extended with two up-lifted fingers.<sup>1</sup> In Mithraism he was identified with *Virtus-Arete*,<sup>2</sup> and he is the *Ἀλήθεια* of Plutarch (*De Iside et Osiride*, 46).

The name of the deity is not found in the Old Persian inscriptions, but his existence is clearly shown by the proper names *Ἀρταπάτης*, or *Ἀρδαβάτης* (Xenophon and Herodotus) for \**Arta-pāta*- ('Protected by Arta'), *Ἀρταδότης* (CIS II, i, 100: 4) for \**Arta-dāta*- ('Given by Arta') and *Ἀρταφέρνης* (Herodotus) for \**Arta-farnah*- ('Possessing the Glory of Arta');<sup>3</sup> and his name may likewise be a component of the Parthian city-name *Ἀρτάκανα* ('House of Arta'; Ptolemy, VI, v, 4; VIII, xxi, 18), the modern *Ardakān*.<sup>4</sup> His only significant epithets, *raoçahvant*- ('shining') and *xvānvant*- ('sunny'), are found in the *Gāthās* alone (Ys. xxxvii, 4; xxxii, 2).

The close association of *Aša* and *Ātar* both in the *Gāthās* and in the Younger Avesta, *Aša*'s rank as third in the great triad of *Ahura Mazda*, *Vohu Manah*, and *Aša*, and his function as a mediator suggest that he may represent the fire-god, and may thus be the Iranian counterpart of the Vedic *Agni*. In the *Gāthās*, *Ahura Mazda*'s Fire has strength through *Aša* (Ys. xliii, 4), and *Ātar* and *Vohu Manah* make *Aša* perfect (xlvi, 7); while in the *Haptaŋhāiti* *Aša* is 'bright' (Ys. xxxvii, 4). In the Younger Avesta he is expressly said (Yt. xvii, 20) to heat *Aṇra Mainyu* as with molten iron, and his name seems to be a synonym for cautery in Yt. iii, 6, and Vd. vii, 44. In Neryosang's Sanskrit version of the *Yasna* (i, 2; xxxi, 3; xlv, 10) his name is glossed by 'lord of fires and the like'; and his *Gāthic* association with *Xšaθra* suggests the Vedic relation of *Agni* and *Indra*, which is so close as to give rise to the *dvandva* compound *Indrāgnī*.<sup>5</sup> The

<sup>1</sup> Stein, *Coins*, pp. 11-12 and fig. xvii; von Sallet, *Nachfolger*, p. 200.

<sup>2</sup> Cumont, *TM* i, 15.

<sup>3</sup> Justi, *Namenbuch*, pp. 32, 33, 37 (cf. also E. Meyer, in *KZ* xlii [1909], 13, 18, 19, 20, and W. E. Clark, in *AJSL* xxxiii [1917], 265-6).

<sup>4</sup> W. Tomaschek, in *PW* ii, 1303.

<sup>5</sup> Cf. Grassmann, *Wörterbuch*, col. 216; Hillebrandt *Mythologie*, iii-294-300.

original distinction between Aša and Ātar would seem to be that the former was the divinity of sacrificial, the latter of ordinary (especially household) fire, corresponding to the Pāzand distinction between Ādar and Ātaš,<sup>1</sup> somewhat as the Greeks distinguished between Hephaistos and Hestia, the Romans between Vulcanus and Vesta,<sup>2</sup> and the pagan Lithuanians between Ugnis Šventà ('Holy Fire') and Polengabia.<sup>3</sup>

The term Aša, it may be suggested, was originally the first member of a compound adjective used as a distinctive cultic epithet of Ātar.<sup>4</sup> In the Rīg Veda Agni has the epithets *rtacit-* ('knowing holy order'; I, cxlv, 5; IV, iii, 4; V, iii, 9), *rtājāta-* ('born of holy order'; I, xxxvi, 19; cxliv, 7; clxxxix, 6; III, vi, 10; VI, xiii, 3), and especially *rtāvan-* ('holy'; I, lxxvii, 1, 2; III, ii, 13; xiii, 2; xiv, 2; xx, 4; IV, ii, 1; vi, 5; vii, 3, 7; x, 7; V, i, 6; xxv, 1; VI, xii, 1; xv, 13; VII, i, 19; iii, 1; vii, 4; VIII, xxiii, 9; xcii, 8; X, ii, 2; vi, 2; vii, 4; cxl, 6), almost the phonological equivalent of the Avestan *ašavan-*. Or we may have in Aša an instance of the adjectivation of a substantive,<sup>5</sup> so that the development may have been \*Ašō Ātar, 'Fire (which is) Holiness' > Ašō (Ātar), 'Holy (Fire)' > Ašā, 'Holy One', the concrete masculine gender later being changed intentionally to an abstract neuter (Ašəm).

It is possible, furthermore, that *ašavan-* ('adherent of Aša, righteous, holy').<sup>6</sup> especially as the antithesis of *dragvant-*, *drvant-* ('adherent of the Druj, wicked, fiendish'), meant at an earlier period the votaries of the bright fire-cult as opposed to the nocturnal worshippers of the dark underworld-deities.<sup>7</sup>

<sup>1</sup> See K. M. Kateli, 'Ādar and Ātaš in the Pāzand Writings', in *K.R. Cama Memorial Volume*, Bombay, 1900, pp. 239-40.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. Gruppe, *Mythologie*, pp. 1304-18, 1401-7; Farnell, *CGS* v, 345-95; A. Rapp, in Roscher, I, 2036-74; A. Preuner, *ib.* i, 2505-53; Wissowa, *Religion*, pp. 229-32, 156-61.

<sup>3</sup> Usener, *Götternamen*, pp. 98, 103.

<sup>4</sup> For the shortening of Iranian compound proper names consisting of an adjective and a noun cf. Artaces for \*Arta-xšaθra-ka-, Artina for \*Ātar-dāt-ina-, Bzyzios for \*Baga-pat-ia-, Δάρτις for \*X-dāta-, Μαζαῖος for \*Mazda-dāta-, Μίθραπος for \*Miθra-dāta-, Σπιτάκης for \*Spita-manah-ka-, Vasaces for \*Vasō-xšaθra-ka (Justi, *Namenbuch*, pp. 33, 50, 57, 81-2, 201, 207, 309, 357-8; for similar names in Sanskrit see Hilka, *Personennamen*, pp. 59-60).

<sup>5</sup> For this process see Brugmann, *Grundriss*, II, ii, 653-7.

<sup>6</sup> For passages see Bartholomae, *AirWb.* coll. 246-53.

<sup>7</sup> Cf. below, p. 195.

## Section E.

## XŠAΘRA VAIRYA.

XŠaθra Vairya ('Desirable Kingdom') ranks fourth among the Aməša Spəntas;<sup>1</sup> and the Gāthic data concerning him are as follows.

(a) *XŠaθra alone.* Zaraθuštra longs to gain the future boons of the 'boundless Realm' (Ys. xliii, 8).

(b) *XŠaθra and Ahura Mazda.* Through XŠaθra Ahura Mazda gives divine answer to man (xxxii, 2), and the 'Wise Lord' will come with him and other holy beings (xliii, 6). Through him Ahura Mazda will grant the final rewards and punishments (xlv, 7), to which reference is doubtless made in the 'glowing metal' or 'moiten metal' of the Judgement (xxxii, 7; li, 9). In Ahura Mazda's Realm is precious existence (xliii, 13), and Zaraθuštra eagerly awaits this Realm (xlviii, 8), imploring the 'Wise Lord' for a portion in it (xlix, 8), even as, according to the Haptaŋhāiti (Ys. xli, 2), the righteous hope to attain it.

(c) *XŠaθra and Ārmaiti.* XŠaθra was created together with Ārmaiti (xliv, 7); she increases him (xxviii, 3), and dwells in the sunlike Realm (xliii, 16).

(d) *XŠaθra and Hušiti.* XŠaθra will come with Hušiti, who is rich in pastures (xlviii, 11).<sup>2</sup>

XŠaθra appears as a mediator in Ys. xxxii, 2, when through him Ahura Mazda gives divine answer to man, and also in xlv, 7, where the 'Wise Lord' allots final rewards and punishments through him.

In the Younger Avesta XŠaθra is once (FW i, 1) associated with Vohu Manah and Aša, and from him boons and healing agencies are obtained (Vd. xx, 3). His name is mentioned side by side with 'molten metal' (Vsp. xx, 1; Yt. ii, 2, 7; Sir. i, 4;

<sup>1</sup> Cf. A. V. W. Jackson, 'Khshathra Vairya, One of the Zoroastrian Archangels', in *Avesta, Pahlavi, and Ancient Persian Studies in Honour of . . . Sanjana*, Strasbourg, 1904, pp. 159-66; ; A. J. Carnoy, 'L'Idée du "Royaume de Dieu" dans l'Iran', in *Le Muséon*, xxxiv (1921), 81-106.

<sup>2</sup> For further association of XŠaθra with Ahura Mazda and other Aməša Spəntas see Section on Vohu Manah, g-k, m, n, p, v, w, aa, bb; Aša, c-e, j.

ii, 4) and is even synonymous with 'metal' (Yt. x, 125; Vd. ix, 10; xvi, 6; xvii, 6, 8), while Neryosang, in his Sanskrit version of the Yasna, calls him '(over-) lord of the (seven) metals' (Ys. i, 2; xxxiii, 11; xxxiv, 1). His only distinctive epithet is *xšəng-darasa-* ('possessing the appearance of the sun'; Ys. xliii, 16).

In the Pahlavi texts Šatvāirō arises from Ar̥tavahišt (Dk. IV, xii), and through him the creatures of Aūharmazd have their creator as ruler (ib. IX, xliii, 2). He intercedes with Aūharmazd for the poor (Gd. Bd. xxvi, 19); and as presiding over metals he is concerned with the flood of molten metal which will cover the earth at the Last Day (ib.; Bd. xxx, 19; Dk. IV, x: IX, xlix, 17-18). His auxiliaries are the Sun, Mihr, Āsmān, and Anirān (Gd. Bd. xxvi, 19); his gift is wealth, and he is distinguished by his exaltation (Sls xxii, 4; xxiii, 1). He presides over the sixth month (Bd. xxv, 20), whence the Cappadocian forms *Ξαυθριονη*, *Ξαυθηρι*, *Ξαθρι*, etc. (cf. also the Chorasmian *Axšarivarī*), and likewise over the fourth day of each month (Sir. i, 4; ii, 4; Sls xxii, 4; xxiii, 1; cf. Bd. xxvii, 24).

On Indo-Scythian coins this deity is represented as a beardless figure facing right, wearing Greek armour and helmet, and holding a lance in his right hand, while the shield in his left rests on the ground.<sup>1</sup> He is the *εὐνομία* of Plutarch (*De Iside et Osiride*, 46), and his name may be preserved in that of King Šahrimān in the *Arabian Nights*.<sup>2</sup>

Moulton has suggested<sup>3</sup> that Xšaθra may have replaced an earlier 'special god'; and the hypothesis may also be advanced that, as has already been conjectured in studying Vohu Manah,<sup>4</sup> a cultic epithet has replaced the real name of the divinity. One may surmise that *xšaθra-* was originally the second member of an adjectival possessive compound,<sup>5</sup> possibly, from the collocation *vohū xšaθrā* in the Gāthās (Ys. xxxi, 22; li, 1) and *Haptaŋhāiti* (Ys. xxxv, 10; xxxvii, 5; cf. also the laudations of the

<sup>1</sup> Stein, *Coins*, pp. 7-8 and figs. xi, xii; von Sallet, *Nachfolger*, p. 205; Cumont, *TM* i, 144.

<sup>2</sup> Tr. Payne, iii, 100, 103, etc. (another of the same name, ib. vii, 1, 3, etc.)

<sup>3</sup> *EZ* p. 74, cf. p. 98.

<sup>4</sup> See above, pp. 34-5.

<sup>5</sup> For similar Iranian instances cf. *Baζάνης* for \*Arta(?) -bazanes and *Bόζος* for \*Baga-buxša- (Justi, *Namenbuch*, pp. 66, 72; cf. Hilka, *Personennamen*, p. 61).

Vohu-Xšaetra Gāōā —the name of Ys. li—in Vsp. i, 7; ii, 9; xx, 1, 2, 3; Afr. ii, 1; Vd. xix, 38), \**vohuxšaetra*- ('possessing a good realm').

In the Rig Veda the term *kṣatrá*- is used more frequently of Indra than of any other deities except Varuṇa and Mitra (I, liv, 8; IV, xvii, 1; xxi, 1; VI, xxv, 8; VII, xxi, 7; xxviii, 3; X, clxxx, 3); and it would seem, on the whole, that (Vohu [?]) Xšaetra was primarily an epithet of the god commonly called Vereθraγna in the Younger Avesta.<sup>1</sup> He would thus be practically an Iranian counterpart of the Vedic Indra, and there may be a further hint of this in the statement of Bd. xxx, 29, that he will conquer the demon Sōvar (the Saurva of Vd. x, 9; xix, 43).<sup>2</sup> This fiend, the Śarva of the Atharva Veda (see especially IV, xxviii; VI, xciii, 1, 2; VIII, viii, 17, 18; X, i, 23; XII, iv, 17; XV, iv, 1), closely resembles Rudra, if he is not actually one with him;<sup>3</sup> and Rudra seems to represent 'not the storm pure and simple, but rather its baleful side in the destructive agency of lightning',<sup>4</sup> whereas Indra was a beneficent deity of the monsoon and of the fertility which it brings.<sup>5</sup> This theory would further explain the boons associated with Xšaetra, for a most distinctive epithet of Indra, and one almost wholly monopolised by him, is *maghávan*- ('bountiful').<sup>6</sup>

### Section F.

#### ĀRMAITI.

Ārmaiti ('Thought, Devotion') ranks fifth among the Aməša Spəntas;<sup>7</sup> and the Gāēic material concerning her is as follows.

(a) *Ārmaiti alone.* Ārmaiti is once mentioned (Ys. xxxi, 4)<sup>8</sup> as though apart from the other Aməša Spəntas; she furthers

<sup>1</sup> See below, pp. 117-9.

<sup>2</sup> See below, p. 182.

<sup>3</sup> Macdonell, *Mythology*, p. 75; cf. Keith, *Religion*, pp. 144, 150.

<sup>4</sup> Macdonell, *Mythology*, p. 77; cf. further Hillebrandt, *Mythologie*, iii, 301-26; Keith, *Religion*, pp. 142-50.

<sup>5</sup> Macdonell, *op. cit.*, pp. 54-66; Hillebrandt, *op. cit.*, iii, 157-300; E. W. Hopkins, 'Indra as the God of Fertility', in *JAOS* xxxvi (1917), 242-68; Keith, *op. cit.*, pp. 124-33.

<sup>6</sup> Macdonnell, *op. cit.*, p. 63.

<sup>7</sup> Cf. also A. J. Carnoy, 'Aramati-Armatay', in *Le Muséon*, II, xiii (1912), 127-46. For the further association of Ārmaiti with Ahura Mazd and other Aməša Spəntas see Sections on Vohu Manah, *f, i-l, n, o, w-z* bb; Aša, *f, g, i*; Xšaetra, *c*.

<sup>8</sup> See, however, above, p. 38.

creatures (xlvi, 12); man becomes holy through her (li, 21); and she counsels the doubter (xxxi, 12). She is entreated to perfect the future birth for man, as well as agriculture for kine (xlviii, 5); she will give an enduring body that man may safely pass the Ordeal (xxx, 7); and she is besought to grant Vištāspa his wish (xxviii, 7).

(b) *Ārmaiti and Ahura Mazda.* Ārmaiti is the daughter of Ahura Mazda (xlv, 4), to whom she belongs (xxxi, 9), and with whom she comes to Zaraθuštra (xliii, 10). She will make known the judgements of the 'Wise Lord' and other divine beings (xliii, 6); Ahura Mazda is celebrated with her prayers (xlv, 10); and through her he is implored to bestow every energy (xxxiii, 12).

(c) *Ārmaiti and Daēnā.* Ārmaiti will come to those to whom Daēnā is proclaimed (xlv, 11).

Ārmaiti clearly appears as an earth-goddess in Ys. xlvii, 3, where Spənta Mainyu creates her to give pasture to kine; she is a birth-deity in xlviii, 5, where she is entreated to perfect both the future birth for man and agriculture for cattle; in xxxiv, 10, she is directly termed 'creating', and in xlv, 12, she furthers creatures. In xxxiii, 12, she is a mediating divinity, since through her Ahura Mazda is besought to give every energy.

In the Younger Avesta Ārmaiti is mentioned together with Aša (Ys. lxxi, 11), with Aša and Fəratū (Ys. xiii, 6), with Ahura Mazda (Vd. viii, 21), with Ahura Mazda, Miθra, and Rašnu (Yt. xiii, 3), and with Rātā (Sir. i, 5; ii, 5). She is the daughter of Ahura Mazda (Vd. xix. 13, 16), by whom she is the mother of Aši (Yt. xvii, 16). She possesses one thousand, ten thousand healing remedies (Yt. i, 27), and her eyes bring the wicked low (Yt. i, 29), though she is robbed of a third of her colour by the harlot (Vd. xviii, 64). She is honoured as the dwelling-place of the righteous (Ys. xvi, 10), and she receives, to restore it at the renewal of the world, semen involuntarily emitted (Vd. xviii, 51). Her name is occasionally used as a synonym for 'earth' (Vd. ii, 10, 18; iii, 35), the term by which Neryosang glosses her appellation in his Sanskrit version of the Yasna (i, 2; xxviii, 3, 7; xxxi, 4; xxxiv, 10; xliii, 1; xlv, 2; li, 2, 4).

In the Pahlavi texts Spəndarmat is the daughter of Aūhar-mazd (Dk. IX, liii, 27; liv, 2; lx, 4; lxix, 47), who sends her, together with Arədvīvsūr and Artaī-Fravart, to the infant

Zarātūšt ( ZS xvi, 3 ). 'Through her Aūharmazd's creatures have complete mindfulness of him' (Dk. IX, xliii, 2) ; she protects the souls of the righteous (ib. xlii, 10), and is the mother of the pious (PVM 122). She maintains creatures (Gd. Bd. xxvi, 25) and appeared physically to Zarātūšt (Dk. VII, iv, 58 ; cf. ZS xii, 4 ). She presides over the earth ( Gd. Bd. xxvi, 25 ; Dk. III, xc, 3-4 ; SIS xiii, 14 ; BYt ii, 8, 16, 31, 48, 53 ; Phl. Jām. i, 16), which is represented by the chessboard (CN9), and over 'the spirits of the regions, frontiers stations, settlements, and districts' ( ZS xxii, 9 ), while a Manichaean fragment<sup>1</sup> states that she comes from the earth from the east. She shudders when a corpse is buried (SD xxxiii, 2 ; cf. lxx, 12), is distressed when robbers, evil men, and disrespectful wives walk abroad (ib. xv, 22-3), and is injured by the step of a naked foot (ib. xlv, 1 ) or of a menstruous woman ( AVN lxxii, 5 ; lxxvi, 9). On the other hand, she rejoices when the righteous cultivate waste land or rear cattle, and when a virtuous son is born (SIS xv, 24 ). He who desires to please her must propitiate both earth and virtuous women (SIS xv, 20 ). To the unmarried she gives a spouse (*The Day Xordāt of the Month Fravardīn*, tr. Jamasp Asa, in *The K. R. Cama Memorial Volume*, Bombay, 1900, p. 129) ; she grants maternity ( ZS xii, 6 ) ; and receives one-third of the seed of the dying Gayōmarš (Bd. xv, 1 ; cf. ZS x, 3 ). Her auxiliaries are Āpān, Dīn, Art, and Maraspand (Gd. Bd. xxvi, 26) ; and her special opponent is Tarōmat (Nāūnyas) (Bd. xxx, 29 ; DD xciv, 2 ; Dk. VI, i, 6 ; IX, xxxiv, p) or Varen (Dk. VIII, ix, 3). The belly of the sacrificial sheep is her portion ( SIS xi, 4 ). Her gift is a high-born wife and goodly offspring, and she is distinguished for fruitfulness (SIS xxii, 5 ; xxiii, 1 ). She presides over the twelfth month (Bd. xxv, . 20 ), whence the Cappadocian month-name Σοῦδαπα and the Chorasmian Isbandārmāji, as well as over the fifth day of each month (Sīr. i, 5 ; ii. 5 ; SIS xxii, 5 ; xxiii, 1 ; cf. Bd. xxvii, 24). Under the form Ispandarmēd her name is found in Aramaic incantations.<sup>2</sup>

In Mithraism Armaiti was identified with Terra Mater and with Hera-Juno ;<sup>3</sup> and she seems to have corresponded to the Manichaean 'Mother of Life'.<sup>4</sup> She was probably the Hera of Plutarch (*Vita Artaxerxis*, 23), though elsewhere (*De Iside et Osiride*, 46) he renders her name by σοφίς, and the Ge

<sup>1</sup> Summarised by F. C. Andreas, in Reitzenstein, *Psyche*, p. 4.

<sup>2</sup> Montgomery, *Incantation*, xxvi, 4 ; xxx, 2 ; xxxii, 2 ; xxxv, 12.

<sup>3</sup> Cumont, *TM* i, 107, 138.

<sup>4</sup> Legge, *Forerunners*, ii, 301.



of Xenophon's *Cyropaedia* (III, iii, 22; VIII, iii, 24).<sup>1</sup> She is the only Aməša Spənta mentioned in Armenian, where, as a masculine deity, her name, in the Parthian form Spandaramet, translates Διόνυσος in 2 Macc. vi, 7; while the Persian form Sandaramet renders ἄδης in Ezek. xxxi, 16, etc.<sup>2</sup> According to Thomas Artsruni (i, '3), 'the earth is the asylum of the god Spandaramet-Bacchus; she has not been created by any one, but she has existed as she exists; she continues to be, and man is born from her'. Ārmaiti corresponds to the Scythian goddess Apia (Herodotus iv, 59), the spouse of Papaïos (Zeus), whose name, apparently a *mot enfantin* like 'mamma', may be connected either with Macedonian ἄππα 'father' ('daddy'), Greek ἄππας ὁ τροφεύς (Hesychius), and Anatolian names like Ἀπ(π)ία, or else with Mongolian *abiya*, 'fruitful'.<sup>3</sup>

Ārmaiti, whose name, as the metre shows,<sup>4</sup> is to be read Aramā'ti, is obviously cognate with the Vedic Arāmati, which Sāyaṇa once (on RV VII, xlii, 2) glosses by *bhūmī* ('earth').<sup>5</sup> Moulton very probably connected the word<sup>6</sup> with Greek ἔρα-ζε, 'earthwards', and interpreted it as for \*arā mātā, 'earth-mother'.

Practically a doublet of the Zam of the Younger Avesta, Ārmaiti seems to have been in origin the earth-mother and the wife (not the daughter) of the sky-deity, so that the pair Ahura Mazda-Ārmaiti would correspond to the Vedic Dyāvapṛthivī.<sup>7</sup> With the rise of Ahura Mazda to the rank of supreme deity, Ārmaiti necessarily became his daughter, but traces of the older

<sup>1</sup> Clemen, *Nachrichten*, p. 88.

<sup>2</sup> Hübschmann, *Grammatik*, i, 73-4; Gelzer, *Götterlehre*, pp. 103-4; Ananikian, *Mythology*, p. 25; Meillet, in *REA* i (1921), 234-5. The reason for the equation with Dionysos is his association with the death and birth of vegetation (Reichelt, *Reader*, p. 117).

<sup>3</sup> Hoffmann, *Makedonen*, p. 62; Kretschmer, *Einleitung*, pp. 346-7; Hirt, *Indogermanen*, p. 587; Minns, *Scythians*, pp. 85-6.

<sup>4</sup> Geldner, *Metrik*, pp. 31-2.

<sup>5</sup> For his other renderings see Muir, *OST* iv, 317, note 30, and cf. Spiegel, *Periode*, pp. 200-3; Pischel-Geldner, *Studien*, ii, 255-7. He glosses *māhim arāmatim* (RV VII, xxxvi, 8) by *uparatirahitām bhūmim* ('restless earth'; similarly X, xcii, 4-5). For Aramati see Macdonell, *Mythology*, pp. 119-20; Hillebrandt, *Mythologie*, iii, 405; Keith, *Religion*, p. 211.

<sup>6</sup> *EZ* p. 112, note 3; *Treasure*, p. 91; for cognates of ἔρα see Boisacq, *Dictionnaire*, p. 270.

<sup>7</sup> For the list of passages see Grassmann, *Wörterbuch*, col. 640, and cf. Macdonell, *Mythology*, p. 126. For Ārmaiti as an earth-goddess see also Tiele, *Religion*, ii, 147-50; Keith, *Religion*, p. 220.

belief lingered on so that she sustained the twofold relation of daughter and wife, thus doubtless aiding in the development of the later system of next-of-kin marriage.<sup>1</sup>

### Section G.

#### HAURVATĀT AND AMƏRƏTĀT.

In only one Gāthic passage (Ys. xxxii, 5) is Aməretāt ('Immortality') mentioned without Haurvatāt ('Wholeness'), but here she appears in company with Hujvāti, who seems to be practically identical with Haurvatāt.<sup>2</sup>

(a) *Haurvatāt and Aməretāt alone.* The pair are besought to grant their blessings (xxxiii, 8) and they will serve as food (xxxiv, 11).

(b) *Haurvatāt, Aməretāt, Ahura Mazda, and Spənta Mainyu.* Through Spənta Mainyu Ahura Mazda created kine, water, and plants, Aməretāt and Haurvatāt (ii, 7).

In the Younger Avesta their names are synonymous with water and vegetation respectively (Ys. iii, 1, 20; iv, 1, 3; vi, 17; vii, 1, 20, 26; viii, 1), as Neryosang glosses them in his Sanskrit version of the Yasna (i, 2; xxxi, 21; xxxiv, 1, 11; xlv, 10; xlvii, 1; li, 7). They accordingly conquer hunger and thirst (Yt. xix, 96), and they are once mentioned together with Ātar (Ys. lviii, 7).

In the Pahlavi texts Horvadaŋ and Amerōdaŋ produce the developed world for those who will benefit therefrom (Dk. IX, lxi, 10), so that their power acts forcibly for giving value and preparing the creatures (ib. xxxiv, 9). They bring water on plants (Dk. VII, ii, 38) and rule respectively over water and vegetation (ZS xxii, 11-12; xxviii, 1; Bd. ix, 1; Gd. Bd. xxvi, 32, 36; Sīs ix, 8). They also have cattle (Dk. IX, xli, 17) and Aūharmazd's creatures live through Horvadaŋ and are immortal through Amerōdaŋ (ib. xliii, 2). The former presides over time, and the latter makes cattle grow (Gd. Bd. xxvi, 32, 36); eating and drinking are their gifts (Dk. III, cccxvi, 3); and they are injured by talking while eating and by unseascnable chatter (ib. IX, xix,

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Gray, in *ERE* viii, 456-9.

<sup>2</sup> See especially J. Darmesteter, *Haurvatāt*. For further association of Haurvatāt and Aməretāt with Ahura Mazda and other Aməša Spəntas see Sections on Vohu Manah, *m*, *n*, *cc*; Aša, *d*, *k*.

1; MX. ii, 33), as well as by the menstruous woman (AVN lxxii, 5). Horvadaṭ makes intercession when the *dron* is consecrated on the day in which man's lot is determined for the ensuing year (SD lii, 2-3). Their respective auxiliaries are Tir, Vāt, and Farvartīn, and Rašn, Aštāt, and Zamyāt (Gd. Bd. xxvi, 32, 36), while their demon opponents are Tāirēw and Zāirīk (Bd. xxx, 29). Their gifts are abundant prosperity and herds of cattle respectively, and the one is distinguished for moisture as the other is for fatness (SIS xxii, 6-7; xxiii, 1). They preside respectively over the third and fifth months (Bd. xxv, 20), whence the Cappadocian month-names *Αμαρτοτ*, *Αρμοτατ*, *Αμαρπατα* etc., and *Αρτατος*, *Αραιοτατα*, *Αδραστατα*, *Αρτανια*, etc., as well as over the sixth and seventh days of each month (Sir. i, 6, 7; ii, 6, 7; SIS xxii, 6, 7; xxiii, 1; cf. Bd. xxvii, 24). The pair are the *πλουτος* and the *των επι καλοις ηδεων δημιουργος* of Plutarch (*De Iside et Osiride*, 46); they are mentioned in the Qur'an (ii, 96) under the names Hārūt and Mārūt,<sup>1</sup> and are the sources of the Armenian plant-names *hārut* and *mārut* (both meaning 'tuberoses').<sup>2</sup> It has been suggested, furthermore,<sup>3</sup> that they correspond to the Xrostag (Appellant) and Padvaxtag (Respondent) of Manichaeism. No Avestan epithets are recorded of either of them, and their Sanskrit equivalents, *sarvatātī-* and *amṛtatva-*, mean only 'totality' and 'deathlessness'.

Amərətāt has been identified<sup>4</sup> with the 'Ανάδατος (or 'Αναδίτης?) who, Strabo says (p. 512), was worshipped in Cappadocia<sup>5</sup> as a *περσικὸς δαίμων* who shared his altar (*σύμβωμος*) with Anaitis and Omanos (Vohu Manah).<sup>6</sup> This, however, seems open to some objection. In the first place, 'Αναδατ- would be a rather violent corruption of Amərətāt, whose name, as has just been noted, is actually found in Cappadocia as the appellation

<sup>1</sup> See E. Littmann, 'Hārūt und Mārūt', in *Festschrift... Andreas...* dargebracht, Leipzig, 1916, pp. 70-87.

<sup>2</sup> Abeghian, *Volksglaube*, p. 62; Ananikian, in *ERE* i, 796; and especially G. Dumézil, 'Les Fleurs Haurot-Maurot et les anges Haurvatāt-Amərətāt', in *REA* vi (1926), 43-69.

<sup>3</sup> Chavannes-Pelliot, *Traité*, p. 522, note; regarding these two beings see Jackson, *Mani*.

<sup>4</sup> Clemen, *Nachrichten*, pp. 145-6; cf. Lagarde, *Abhandlungen*, p. 154; Moulton, *EZ* p. 101; Cumont, *TM* i, 130; Jackson, *Zoroastrianism*, pp. 44, 52.

<sup>5</sup> For the ethnological and linguistic affinities of the Cappadocians see Kretschmer, *Einleitung*, pp. 398-9, and especially E. Chantre, *Recherches archéologiques dans l'Asie occidentale: Mission en Cappadoce, 1893-1894*, Paris, 1898.

<sup>6</sup> See above, p. 34.

of a month; and, in the second place, this Aməša Spənta never enjoyed, so far as we know, a rank permitting collocation with 'Arədvī' and Vohu Manah (Miθra). What one would expect would be the Achaemenian triad of Auramazda, Anāhita, and Miθra (Art. Susa, a, 4-5 [Babylonian and Elamitic]; Ham. 5-6). It may be suggested that 'Avzδar- represents an Old Persian \*anādāta-, 'not created', a vanished cultic epithet of the 'Wise Lord', the antithesis of such epithets as *ahuraδīta-* ('created by Ahura', applied to Vərəθraγna), *dāmiδīta-* ('created by the Creator', given to Aši, Gəuš Urvan, Miθra, and Haoma), and *mazdaδīta-* ('created by Mazda', used of Ātar, Cistā, Drvāspā, Rātā, Vanant, Vāta, Saokā, Savah, Xʷarənah, etc.), and comparable in its negative form with such epithets of Ahura Mazda as *adaoya-* ('undeceivable') or *axrafna-* ('sleepless').

The problem of the origin and development of these two Aməša Spəntas is far from easy. Moulton suggested<sup>1</sup> that, in view of Anāhita's care for waters and the Fravašis' guardianship of vegetation, Haurvatāt and Amərətāt were intended to supersede them, or that they may have been the Iranian representatives of the Indo-European 'celestial twins' (the Indian Āśvins, the Greek Castor and Polydeuces, etc.). It would appear more probable, however, that they replaced the cults of water and of Haoma (if not of the moon).

The waters, for whom Haurvatāt was substituted in the reform associated with Zoroaster's name, were recognised as healing (Yt. viii, 47) and were worshipped (see, in addition to Ys: lxv, Ys. i, 12; ii, 12; iii, 14; iv, 17; vi, 11; vii, 14; xvii, 12; xxii, 14; xxxviii, 3-5; lxviii, 6-7, 10-13; G. ii, 6; Ny. iii, 11; iv, 1-10; Vd. xviii, 9; VYt s; HN ii, 13; Nir. 48; cf. also Herodotus, i, 138; Strabo, p. 732; Pliny, *Historia naturalis*, XXX, ii [vi], 17; Agathias, ii, 24). Āvān ('Waters') is, furthermore, the name of the eighth month (Bd. xxv, 20) and of the tenth day of each month (Sir. i, 10; ii, 10; Sls xxii, 10; xxiii, 2; cf. Bd. xxvii, 24); and the proper name אֲבַתְיָדָן ('Daughter of the Waters') is found in an Aramaic incantation.<sup>2</sup>

In the case of Amərətāt the development seems to have been more complex. The divinity appears, on the whole, to have been evolved from *aməša-* ('immortal one'), whose Vedic equivalent, *amṛta-*, is frequently used as a synonym for the soma-draught (RV I, xxiii, 19; lxxi, 9; lxxii, 6; clxiv, 21; III,

<sup>1</sup> EZ pp. 114-5; cf. pp. 271, 275. On the other hand the Fravašis are also concerned with waters (Dhalla, *Theology*, p. 146).

<sup>2</sup> Montgomery, *Incantation*, v, 1.

i, 14; xxvi, 7; V, ii, 3; xxviii, 2; VI, xxxvii, 3; xlv, 16, 23; VII, iv, 6; IX, lxx, 2, 4; lxxiv, 4; cviii, 4; X, xi, 9; xii, 3; cxv, 5; cf. especially VI, lxxv, 18: 'may King Soma clothe thee with immortality'. Soma is himself immortal (*amša-*; I, xliii, 9; VIII, xlviii, 12; IX, iii, 1; cx, 4); the gods drank him for immortality (IX, cvi, 8); he confers immortality on gods (I, xci, 6; IX, cviii, 3) and men (I, xci, 1; VIII, xlviii, 3); and he makes his worshippers immortal in the blessed world beyond IX, cxiii, 7-8).<sup>1</sup>

Although in the Avesta *amša-* is the special epithet—apart from the *Amša Spēntas* as a class—only of *Hvarə*, *Haoma* has the practically equivalent term *dūraoša-* ('holding death afar') as his exclusive possession, and it was he who, in *Yima's* realm, made beasts and men undying, and plants and waters perennial (Ys. ix, 4-5). The absence of any mention of him in the *Gāthās*, except in the hostile veiled allusions of Ys. xxxii, 14; xlviii, 10, has been noted by Moulton;<sup>2</sup> but his cult was known to Plutarch (*De Iside et Osiride*, 46),<sup>3</sup> and the proper name חומרת ('Given by Hauma') occurs in an Aramaic document dating from the reign of Artaxerxes I.<sup>4</sup>

It would seem, then, that *Haoma* was replaced in the *Gāthās* by *Aməretāt*, just as *Miθra* was supplanted by *Vohu Manah*;<sup>5</sup> and that from association with *Haoma*, the plant which gave the draught of immortality (cf. ἀμβροσία), the functions of the *Amša Spēnta* were extended to preside over the entire vegetable world. Worship of the plant-world is recorded in Ys. i, 12; ii, 12; iii, 14; iv, 17; vi, 11; vii, 14; xvii, 12; xxii, 14; G. ii, 6, together with that of waters.<sup>6</sup> In the *Veda*, in like manner, waters and plants are objects of adoration.<sup>7</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Regarding Soma see Macdonell, *Mythology*, pp. 104-15 (especially, in the present connexion, pp. 105, 108-9, 112-3); Keith, *Religion*, pp. 166-72; and cf. in general G. Dumézil, *Le Festin d'immortalité, esquisse d'une étude de mythologie comparée indo-européenne*, Paris, 1924.

<sup>2</sup> *EZ* pp. 71-2, 358, 379. For the Younger Avestan *Haoma* see below, pp. 83-4.

<sup>3</sup> Moulton, *EZ* p. 399, note 9; Clemen, *Nachrichten*, pp. 158-9.

<sup>4</sup> Cowley, *Papyri*, C (=9), 2; D (=8), 2 (pp. 22, 23, 26, 27).

<sup>5</sup> See above, pp. 35-7.

<sup>6</sup> Cf. the veneration shown by Xerxes for a plane-tree (Herodotus, vii, 31; Aelian, *Varia Historia*, ii, 14; ix, 39, and see Clemen, *Nachrichten*, p. 83, as well as Darmesteter, *Haurvatāt*, p. 52, note 1, where it is suggested that the Persian corps of 10,000 *ābāvxroi* [Herodotus, vii, 183] was enrolled in honour of *Aməretāt*). For a similar cult in Armenia see Ananian, *Mythology*, p. 62.

<sup>7</sup> Macdonell, *Mythology*, pp. 85-6, 154; Keith, *Religion*, pp. 141-2, 184.

Whether one may go still further and identify Ameretāt-Haoma with Māh seems very doubtful. There appears to be no cogent evidence to connect Haoma with the moon in Iranian, and the passages cited by Hillebrandt<sup>1</sup> (Ys. ix, 26; x, 10; lvii, 19; Yt. viii, 23) in support of such a theory are quite uncertain. Even in the Rig Veda, though Soma subsequently becomes a synonym for 'moon', the identification can be verified only in late hymns (especially in X, lxxxv, 2, 5, 9), and Macdonell declares with good reason that 'while the identification of Soma and the moon is perfectly clear in the later literature, there is in the whole of the RV. no single distinct and explicit instance either of the identification or of the conception that the moon is the food of the gods'.<sup>2</sup> A similar statement would appear to hold true of the Avesta.

## CHAPTER II.

### THE MAJOR DEITIES.

#### *Section A.*

#### 'ARĀDVI'.

IN Vsp. i, 5 (cf. Yt. i, 21) 'the lofty waters, undefiled, holy' (*arəduyā āpō anāhitayā ašaonyā*) are parallel with 'the lofty, mighty, undefiled, holy (lady)' (*arədvīm sūrām anāhitām ašaonīm*) of Vsp. ii, 7; in other words, 'Arədvī' ('Lofty [Lady]') is equivalent to the Waters, who, as we have already seen,<sup>3</sup> were worshipped. She is also closely associated with water elsewhere (Ny. iv, 0, 10) and appears together with Vegetation and the Sun (Ny. i, 19); Ys. lxxv is composed in honour of her and of the Waters, and she is a deity of human generation and birth (lxxv, 2; cf. Vd. vii, 16). The chief text concerning her, however, is the fifth Yašt. She presides over generation and birth (§§ 2, 87); sacrifices are offered to her by Ahura Mazda, Haošyaŋha Parađāta, Yima, Aži Dahāka, Əraētaona, Kərəsāspa, Fraŋrasyan, Kavi Usan, Haosravah, Tusa, the sons of Vaēsaka, Paurva,

<sup>1</sup> *Mythologie*, i, 450-2.

<sup>2</sup> *Mythology*, p. 113; cf. Oldenberg, *Religion*, pp. 183-5; Keith, *Religion*, pp. 170-1; against this view see especially Hillebrandt, *Mythologie*, i, 267 sqq.

<sup>3</sup> See above, p. 53. For 'Arədvī' in general see F. Windischmann, *Die persische Andhita oder Anaitis*, Munich, 1856. For the association of 'Arədvī' with water see also Tiele, *Religion*, ii, 249-56, especially p. 251, where she is explained as the personification of the beneficence of the waters and as the goddess of a mythic stream.

Jāmāspa, Ašavazdah, Vistauru, Yōišta, Zarahuštra, Vištāspa, Zairivairi, and Vandarəmainiš (§§ 17-83, 104-8); but the sterile and the deformed may not bring oblations to her (§§ 92-3), and only the wicked do so after sunset (§ 95; cf. Nir. 48). Once (§ 72) she is associated with a place sacred to Apəm Napāt. She is described with much detail as white and mighty of arm; as a fair maiden, strong, beautiful, high-girt, and straight, shod with gleaming golden shoes with golden bands; as wearing a golden mantle and kerchief, holding the *barsom* in her hand, with a necklace and quadrangular golden earrings, adorned with a ribboned diadem of gold set with a hundred jewels and divided into eight parts, and clad in beaver garments (§§ 7, 64, 78, 123, 126-9). She dwells among the stars (§§ 85, 88, 132); Ahura Mazda makes a path for her above the orb of the sun (§ 90); and she rides in a chariot drawn by four steeds (§§ 11, 13) which are rain, wind, cloud, and hail (§ 120). The 'Wise Lord' produced her to further, protect, and supervise the world (§ 6), which she guards (§ 89). She is besought for victory over devilish as well as over human foes (§§ 23, 26, 46, 50), and is entreated to give strength to horses and health to men (§ 53).

'Arədvī's' most distinctive Avestan epithets are *gaēθō-frādana-* ('furthering creatures'), *dairəhu-frādana-* ('furthering the land'), *vaəθwo-frādana-* ('furthering the herd'), and *šaēθō-frādana-* ('furthering wealth'). She shares her conventional epithet *anāhita-* ('undefiled') with Miθra and Haoma (the latter pair only in Yt. x, 88); *aurvant-* ('swift') with Haoma; *xšōiθna-* ('shining') with Aši and Ušah; *pərəθu-frāka-* ('broadly proceeding') with Daēnā; and *vidaēva-* ('anti-demonic') with Ahura Mazda.

In the Pahlavi texts Arədvīvsūr, together with Tištar, Satvēs, Vohūman, Vāt, Hōm, Dīn, Būrj, and the Fravašis, executes the commands of Aūharmazd concerning rain, she, with Ātar, Vāt, and Dīn, routing the demons who seek to delay the downpour (Dk. III, cxii, 5). With Spəndarmat and Artāi-Fravart she is sent by Aūharmazd to the infant Zaratūšt (ZS xvi, 3); and she mediates between Māh and the sky (*spihr*) when Mihr and Sōk transmit weal to earth from the world on high (Gd. Bd. xxvi, 13). She receives the seed of Zaratūšt from Neryōsang (Bd. xxxii, 8); the right shoulder of the sacrificial sheep is her portion (SIS xi, 4); and Zaratūšt's head is like her shoulder (Dk. xxiv, 3). In later times Anahiṭ became the name of the planet Venus, corresponding to the Babylonian appellation Ištar (Bd. v, 1.).

In view of the wealth of description concerning 'Arədvī' it has been suggested that statues of her were made.<sup>1</sup> Berossus (cited by Clemens Alexandrinus, *Protreptica*, V, lxx, 3) expressly states that Artaxerxes Ochus (an error for Mnemon) 'was the first to set up an image of Aphrodite Anaitis in Babylon and Susa and Ecbatana and (among) the Persians and Bactrians and (in) Damascus and Sardis, and to inculcate her worship'; and Artaxerxes Mnemon actually associates Auramazdā Anāhita, and Miθra in his inscriptions (Art. Susa a, 4-5 [Babylonian and Elamitic], Ham. 5-6), an echo of this perhaps being found in the command of Chosroes II that the Christians should adore 'Jupiter, Apollo, and Diana'.<sup>2</sup> It is possible that 'Arədvī' is the female figure who, in Sāsānian sculptures at Tāq-i-Bustān, presents Khosru II with a garland of victory and pours a libation on the ground, though this identification is by no means certain<sup>3</sup>. She was assimilated to Artemis, Aphrodite, Athene-Minerva, Hera, Magna Mater, Ištar, and Nanaia;<sup>4</sup> and she possessed a shrine not far from the ruined site of Salabiyah on the Euphrates, said to have been founded by Darius (Isidore of Charax, 1), as well as temples at Konkobar (Kangavar),<sup>5</sup> Pasargadae, Ecbatana, and Demetrias (near Arbela) (Isidore, 1, 6; Strabo, p. 738, where the manuscripts read 'Αγζις'). Lydia and Cappadocia likewise contained shrines erected to her (Pausanias III, xvi, 8; VII, vi, 6; Strabo, p. 733); while at Hierocaesarea (two hours to the right of Kapakli) and at Zela were temples said to have been founded in her honour by Cyrus (Tacitus, *Annales*, iii, 62; Strabo, p. 512; cf. p. 559). Her shrine in Acilisene or, as the whole region was named after her, 'Αγζις, Anaitica (Dio Cassius, XXXVI, xlviii, 1; liii, 5; Pliny, *Historia Naturalis*, V, xxiv, 20),<sup>6</sup> possessed a golden statue of her (Pliny, *Historia Naturalis*, XXXIII, iv [xxiv], 82-4; cf. Tār-Israel, *Synaxarion*, Hori, pp. 311, 343); and this land was a veritable centre of her cult, hierodules of both sexes being consecrated to her, and the daughters of the noblest families being

<sup>1</sup> Darmesteter, *ZA* II, 364; Moulton, *EZ* p. 240; Clemens, *Nachrichten*, p. 98. A case in Salle V (Dieulafoy collection) of the Louvre contains some figurines of the conventional Ištar-type labeled 'Anahita'.

<sup>2</sup> *AS* V Jun., 166.

<sup>3</sup> Jackson, *PPP* p. 225.

<sup>4</sup> Cumont, *TM* I, 130-1, 133, 148-9, 231, 235, 333-5, and 'Un Bas-relief consacré à Anaitis', in *Comptes rendus de l'Académie des inscriptions et des belles-lettres*, 1915, pp. 270-6; Clemens, *Nachrichten*, pp. 133-5; cf. Gruppe, *Mythologie*, p. 1594.

<sup>5</sup> See also Jackson, *PPP* pp. 240-2.

<sup>6</sup> Cf. Hübschmann, *Ortenamen*, p. 286.



required to practise sacred prostitution at her shrine before marriage (Strabo, p. 532). She was perhaps the Ζαρηνις 'Αρτεμις Περσιν of Hesychius, deriving her name from 'Αζαρζ (or Ζαρηζ) in Elymais. There, according to Strabo (p. 744; cf. Polybius, xxxi, 11; Appian, xi, 66), was a shrine of 'Artemis' at which, Aelian records (*De natura animalium*, xii, 23), tame lions were kept, thus pointing to an amalgamation or confusion with some non-Iranian goddess.<sup>1</sup> She was identified by the Persians with the 'Ημιθέα of Kastabos in the Chersonese who gave healing to those who consulted her by incubation in her temple, and who relieved difficult labour-pains (Diodorus Siculus, V, lxiii 1-2).<sup>2</sup> Herds of cows, marked with a torch as her symbol, were maintained for sacrifice to her (Plutarch, *Vita Luculli*, 24); she enjoyed special reverence among the Persians, and 'mysteries' were celebrated in her honour (Diodorus Siculus, V, lxxvii, 6-8). She was served by priestesses vowed to chastity (Plutarch, *Vita Artaxerxis*, 27), and a Christian maiden Mamalk'ta is named among their number (Tēr-Israel, *Synaxarion*, Hori, p. 364). In honour of her and her father Aramazd the Armenians celebrated a festival on New Year's Day (ib. Navasard, p. 356). She is clearly the 'Mitra' of Herodotus (i, 131), who says that the Persians received her from the Assyrians and Arabians, a statement repeated by St. Ambrose (*Epistolae*, I, xviii, 30). Anāhita, the most frequent epithet of 'Arədvī', was the name of a Christian martyr in Persia in 447.<sup>3</sup>

It has been supposed that 'Arədvī' was Semitic in origin,<sup>4</sup> and Tiele suggested<sup>5</sup> that 'Arədvī Sūra' was an attempt to translate the Babylonian title *rubat bēlīt* ('exalted lady') often given to Ištar, while in the Paikuli inscription (l. 10) we find an oath by 'Ūharmizde and all the gods and Anāhēt, named "the Lady", (An(a)hēt) zī mar'atā šem).<sup>6</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Clemen, *Nachrichten*, p. 134; Cumont, *TM* i, 131; Hoffmann, *Auszüge*, pp. 131-2; Lagarde, *Abhandlungen*, p. 157; H. Reland, *Dissertationes miscellaneae*, ii (Utrecht, 1707), 263.

<sup>2</sup> Clemen, *Nachrichten*, pp. 138-9.

<sup>3</sup> Justi, *Namenbuch*, p. 15; Cf. T. Nöldeke, in *Festschrift an Rudolph von Roth*, Stuttgart, 1893, pp. 37-8.

<sup>4</sup> Notably by Moulton, *EZ* pp. 114-5, 238-40, 394.

<sup>5</sup> *Geschichte*, ii, 255, note. The resemblance of the term Anāhita to the name of the West Semitic goddess 𐤎𐤏𐤕 (cf. L. B. Paton, in *ERE* iii, 182; W. von Baudissin, in *PRE* i, 487-8) is merely fortuitous. Huart, *Perse*, p. 98, regards the introduction of Anāhita as due to 'Chaldaean' astrology.

<sup>6</sup> H<sup>6</sup> erzfeld, *Paikuli*, i, 98, 99.

Pettazzoni<sup>1</sup> and Scheftelowitz,<sup>2</sup> on the other hand, hold that 'Arədvī' was an essentially Iranian deity who absorbed some of the traits of Ištar; and the latter compares her with the Vedic goddess Sinivalī<sup>3</sup> who, with Prajāpati and Anumati, shapes the embryo (AV VI, xi, 3), is entreated for offspring (RV II, xxxii, 5-8; X, clxxxiv, 2; AV XIV, ii, 15, 21), brings riches, milk, and grain (AV XIX, xxxi, 10), and is implored to guide the kine to the stall (AV II, xxvi, 2). On the whole, it seems most probable that 'Arədvī' was more than a borrowed divinity, and that she was Iranian in origin, though perhaps influenced by Ištar.<sup>4</sup>

In Armenia, as already noted, the cult of Anahit was extremely popular.<sup>5</sup> She formed a triad with Aramazd and Vahagn, and she had shrines at Ani, Erēz (Erzingan), Artaxat (Artaxata' near Erivan), Aštišat<sup>6</sup> in the district of Taraun, and at the 'Throne of Nahat' on a high mountain near T'īl. At Aštišat she constituted a triad with Vahagn and Astlik, and there, as at Erēz, she had golden idols which were destroyed by St. Gregory. In the latter shrine, according to the Armenian version of Agathangelus (I, v, 21), the Illuminator was bidden to lay an offering of garlands and branches on her altar, for she was 'the glory and the life of Armenia, the giver of life, the mother of all wisdom, the benefactress of the entire human race, the daughter of the great and mighty Aramazd'. In the days of St. Narses she was still entreated for healing (Ariston of Pella, cited by Moses of Khoren, i, 60); and she was evidently the 'Nanea, daughter of Aramazd' ('Αἰνυῶς. θυγατρὸς Διός in the Greek version), whose statue at T'īl was destroyed (Agathangelus, I, cx, 133).<sup>7</sup> At Istaxr (Persepolis) was a 'fire-temple of Anāhēd' in which the heads of St. Baršabia and his companion martyrs were hung about 342.<sup>8</sup> The name

<sup>1</sup> *Religione*, pp. 131, 133.

<sup>2</sup> *ZdmG* lvii (1903), 170; *Judentum*, p. 230.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. Muir, *OST* v, 346; Keith, *Religion*, p. 199.

<sup>4</sup> Concerning this goddess see L. B. Paton, 'Ishtar', in *ERE* vii, 428-34.

<sup>5</sup> Cf. Gelzer, *Götterlehre*, pp. 111-7; Ananikian, *Mythology*, pp. 24-9; Sandaljian, *Histoire*, pp. 735-41 (cf. pp. 773-7); Hübschmann, *Grammatik*, i, 18.

<sup>6</sup> For various attempts to identify the site see Hübschmann, *Ortsnamen*, p. 401.

<sup>7</sup> Regarding Nanea see W. von Baudissin, in *PRE* xiii, 631-45, and for her cult in Armenia ib. pp. 637-8.

<sup>8</sup> Assemani, *Acta* i, 95; Nöldeke, *Tabari*, pp. 4, 17; Labourt, *Christianisme*, p. 72, note. The view of Spiegel (*EA* ii, 54, note) and Darmesteter (*ZA* ii, 365) that the word *anāhita* is the source of the Arabic *nāhid*, 'girl with rounded breasts', seems very dubious.

Anahit was given to the nineteenth day of each Armenian month.

The appellation Arədvī Sūrā Anāhitā, a series of three feminine adjectives, together with the deity's aqueous character, suggests that it was originally connected with a feminine noun, probably *āp-*, 'water'; and, as matter of fact, we find this very formula in Ys. lxxv, 1 (cf. *arədvī nama āpa* in Vd. vii, 16; *arədvī āp anāhita* in Vsp. i, 5; Ny. iv, 0; Yt. i, 21). As an earthly stream 'Arədvī', a mighty and perennial river, flows from Mount Hukairya, the loftiest point of the Haraiti range, on whose summit is Lake Urvis,<sup>1</sup> into Vouru-kaša (the Caspian), falling from the stars, from the height of a thousand men (Ys. lxxv, 3; Yt. v, 3, 7, 85, 88, 96, 102, 121, 132; x, 88; xii, 24; Vd. ii, 22; Bd. xii, 5; xiii, 1, 5-6; xxii, 11; xxiv, 17; DD xcii, 5). It is, in all probability, rightly identified by Geiger<sup>2</sup> with the Āmū-Daryā (Oxus); and subsequent studies<sup>3</sup> have shown that the Avestan account of the river's source is in remarkable agreement with geographical facts. The Āmū-Daryā derives its waters from the glaciers and perpetual snow of the Pāmirs, and its main source is the Panj ('Five') River, which rises in Vakhān in the Hindu-Kūš, the two principal heads being the Burgut ('Eagle') and the Ak-Su ('White River'), which have their origin respectively about fifteen and twelve kilometres north-west of Lake Čakmaktinpuł (37° 13' N. and about 74° 10' E.; 4023 mètres above sea-level), and fall 2276 mètres in 275 kilometres. It may even be suggested that the four steeds of the goddess (Yt. v, 11, 13), explained as rain, wind, cloud, and hail (Yt. v, 120), are in reality the four tributaries which, with the Burgut, make the Panj—the Bakjir, Bai-Kara, Āb-i-Šoršil, and Pāmīr-Daryā; that her diadem with eight parts represents the Panj, the Kizil-Su ('Red River') the Murjāb, and the Gund; that her whiteness refers to the clarity of the water (the upper course of the Murjāb, or 'Bird-Water', is actually called Ak-Su, or 'White-River') and to the foam of the numerous cataracts and rapids; that her golden garments are the sandy shores; and that her beaver robes allude to the presence of these animals along the river.

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Avestan *urvaēša-* 'whirlpool, turning-point, end'?

<sup>2</sup> OK pp. 46-52.

<sup>3</sup> Olufsen, *Pamirs*, pp. 3-14.

The deification of the Oxus, whose name may represent the Avestan *huxarša-* ('good growth'),<sup>1</sup> as 'Arēdvī', and the wide extension of the goddess's functions, so that nearly every trace of her original nature disappeared, find parallels in the development of the Indian deity Sārasvatī, who evolved from a sacred river surpassing all other waters in greatness, pure and purifying, flowing from the mountains and descending from the sky, the best of mothers, of rivers, and of goddesses, bestowing vitality, offspring, and wealth, into a deity of eloquence and wisdom.<sup>2</sup> Other analogues of divinised streams would be the various rivers Dee ('Goddess') in Cheshire, Aberdeenshire, Kirkcudbrightshire, and County Louth, as well as the Deba and Deva in Spain, the Duis and several small rivers named Dive in France,<sup>3</sup> and the Lithuanian Sventoji Upė ('the Holy River').

The Oxus had, moreover, a special guardian divinity whom al-Bīrūnī<sup>4</sup> terms Vaxš, and who appears in the proper names 'Οζάρης (Vaxšu-varta- 'Protected by Vaxšu')<sup>5</sup> and 'Οζοδάρης (Vaxšu-dāta- 'Given [or, Created] by Vaxšu'), as well as in Vaxš.<sup>6</sup> The deity is pictured on a seal from the Oxus Treasure as a winged bull with a human head,<sup>7</sup> and under the name OAX/PO he is represented on a coin of the Kušān dynasty as 'an old man holding a long sceptre in his right hand, and carrying what looks like a dolphin or fish in his left hand,'<sup>8</sup> With this river-deity one may perhaps compare the Lettish Gāujas Māte, the 'Mother' (i.e., goddess) of the Gauja (Aa).<sup>9</sup>

In the Pahlavi texts other river-spirits — of the Arag, the Marv, and the Vēh — pray to Aūharmazd (Bd. xx, 5-6; xxi,

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Justi, *Namenbuch*, p. 233. Reichelt, *Reader*, p. 100, thinks that 'Arēdvī' (which he regards as a name, not as a mere epithet) was the appellation 'of some large river-basin, which had become of great importance for the nomadic tribes of the Iranians'.

<sup>2</sup> Macdonell, *Mythology*, pp. 86-8; Keith, *Religion*, pp. 172-4; cf. E. W. Hopkins, 'The Sacred Rivers of India', in *Studies in the History of Religions Presented to Crawford Howell Toy*, New York, 1912, pp. 213-29.

<sup>3</sup> Holder, *Sprachschatz*, i, 1273-4, 1289.

<sup>4</sup> *Chronology of Ancient Nations*, tr. E. Sachau, London, 1879, p. 225.

<sup>5</sup> J. Marquart, in *Philologus*, Supplementband x (1905), 26.

<sup>6</sup> Justi, *Namenbuch*, p. 343.

<sup>7</sup> Herzfeld, *Paikuli*, i, 168-9; O. M. Dalton, *The Treasure of the Oxus*, London, 1905, pp. 103-5, Plate XV, 105.

<sup>8</sup> A. Cunningham, in *Numismatic Chronicle*, 1892, p. 121, Plate XXIII, 12, p. 156.

<sup>9</sup> K. Mühlenbach, *Lettisch-deutsches Wörterbuch*, ed. J. En'zolin, Riga 1923 sqq., ii, 587.

3); and sacrifice to rivers is also recorded by classical writers, the Magi offering white horses to the Strymon (Herodotus, vii, 113), and Tiridates giving a horse to the Euphrates (Tacitus, *Annales*, vi, 37).

### Section B.

#### Aši.

In the Gāthās Aši (‘Lot, Reward, Recompense’) is mentioned together with Aša, Ārmaiti, and the Ahura Mazdas (Ys. xxxi, 4); she will give recompense (xxxiv, 12); and with her Sraoša will come to apportion reward and punishment (xlili, 12). Zaratuštra longs for her (xlviii, 8), and through her might the righteous will increase his neighbour’s house (xlix, 3; cf. l, 3).<sup>1</sup>

The chief text concerning Aši is the seventeenth Yašt. From this we learn that she is associated with Cisti, Grēti, Rasastāt, Xvarənah, and Savah (§§ O, 62; Ys. i, 14; Sir. i, 25); that she is the daughter of Ahura Mazda and Ārmaiti, and the sister of the Aməša Spəntas, as well as of Sraoša, Rašnu, Miθra, and Daēnā (Yt. xvii, 2, 16); that she grants both wisdom and material blessings, and that an oblation to her is as one to Miθra (§§ 2, 6-14; cf. Ys. lx, 7; Yt. xviii, 3-4); that she rides in a chariot (Yt. xvii, 1, 17, 21); that the sterile and the immature may not share in her oblations (§ 54; cf. § 57); that she guards chastity (§§ 58-9); and that sacrifice was offered to her by Haošyaŋha, Yima, Graētaona, Haoma, Haosravah, Zaratuštra, and Vištāsra (§§ 24-52). Furthermore she assumes the form of a noble maiden and is invincible in battle (Yt. xiii, 107), granting victory (Yt. xix, 54); together with Pərəndi, Ham-varēti, Xvarənah, Əwāša, Dāmōiš Upamana, and the Frəvašis she accompanies Miθra and guides his chariot (Yt. x, 66, 68). She possesses healing for waters, animals, and plants, and overcomes both demonic and human enmity (Ys. lii, 2); and the Frəvašis share in these remedial agencies (Ys. lx, 4; Yt. xiii, 32; cf. Vsp. ix, 1). She is mentioned in association with Sraoša (Ys. x, 1; Vsp. xii, 1); with Sraoša and Nairyōsaŋha (Ys. lvii, 3; Yt. xi, 8); with Sraoša, Nairyōsaŋha, Āxšti, and Ātar (Vsp. xi, 16; cf. vii, 1); with Ādā (Ys. lxviii, 21); with Ādā, Cisti, and Drvatāt (Vsp. iv, 1); with Ama, Vərəraŋna, Grēti, Cisti, Paurvatāt, Uparatāt, and the Yazatas (Vsp. ix, 4); with Daēnā and Pərəndi (Ys. xiii, 1); with Rātā and Pərəndi (VYt. 8-9); with Sraoša, Rašnu, Miθra, Vāta, Daēnā, Arštāt, Cisti, Cistā, and other divine beings (Yt. xi,

<sup>1</sup> See further above, pp. 20, 29, 30.

16); and with X<sup>varənah</sup>, Savah, and Pārəndi (Sir. ii, 25). She presides over the twenty-fifth day of the month (Sir. i, 25; ii, 25; SIS xxii, 25; xxiii, 4; cf. Bd. xxvii, 24).

In the Pahlavi texts Aharīšvang (Aši Vazūhi) is the spirit of the wisdom of sovereignty, liberality, and truth who aids the righteous on their way to the best existence (Dk. IX, xliii, 6); and as an auxiliary of Spendaramat she is the genius of the paradisaal house, increasing the glory of the home and guarding the treasure of the just (Gd. Bd. xxvi, 29). She is synonymous with wealth (Bd. xxii, 4) and is associated with Rātiḥ (Dk. IX, xxx, 14). Her demonic opponent is Anāhar (Dk. VIII, ix, 3) or Varen (DD xciv, 2). The chest and back of Zaratūšt are like hers (Dk. IX, xxiv, 3); she is 'the resplendent glory of the Kayāns' and is distinguished by beauty (SIS xxii, 25; xxiii, 4).

Aši's chief exclusive epithets in the Avesta are *āfrasāhvant-* ('possessing her wish'), *darəγō-varəθman-* ('long-protecting'), *pərəθu-vīra-* ('possessing broad vision'), *bānumant-* ('shining'), *maxzū-rayi-* ('possessing great riches'), and *hvō-aiwišak-* ('well-attending'). With 'Arədvī' and Ušah she shares the epithet *xšōiθna-* ('shining'); with Miθra *dāto-saoka-* ('possessing granted [or, created] advantage'); with Ahura Mazda and Rāman *pouru(š)-x<sup>ā</sup>θra-* ('possessing much bliss [or, many blessed abodes]'); with Tištrya *vyāvant-* ('beaming'); with Drvāspā *x<sup>ā</sup>anat-čaxra-* ('possessing resounding wheels'); and with the Fravašis *x<sup>ā</sup>apāra-* ('bringing welfare').

On Indo-Scythian coins Aši, under the name (AP)ΔΟΧ<sup>βο</sup>Ο, appears as a female figure with a nimbus and modius, wearing a chiton and himation, and holding a cornucopia; or as seated *en face* on a throne with a stool beneath her feet, and holding a garland and cornucopia; or as facing right, wearing Greek costume, and with a cornucopia in each hand.<sup>1</sup> In Mithraism she was identified with Tyche-Fortuna.<sup>2</sup>

Aši was a Persian as well as an Avestan deity, her name appearing in the theophorous appellations Ἀρτιβερζάνης ('Protégé of Arti'), Ἀρτιβόλης, and Ἀρτίμυς, the latter designation probably recurring in the ארתִימִי of an Aramaic inscription and seemingly abbreviated from

<sup>1</sup> Stein, *Coins*, p. 11 and figs. xv, xvi; von Sallet, *Nachfolger*, pp. 189, 200, 208, 210, 230-1; Hoffmann, *Auszüge*, p. 147.

<sup>2</sup> Cumont, *TM* i, 151-2.

\*Arti-manah- ('Possessing the Mind of Arti').<sup>1</sup> She may also have been honoured in the city-name 'Αλιόδακα (Ptolemy, VI, ii, 12), which is variously explained as standing for \*Arti-yazdaka- ('[Place] belonging to Arti'), \*Arti-stāka- ('Place of Arti'), or as \*Arta-yazdaka, \*Arta-stāka- ('[Place] belonging to Arta').<sup>2</sup>

It is quite evident that Aši was much more important than the extant texts imply. The insistence on her giving of boons and her Indo-Scythian and Mithraic characteristics suggest that she was originally a goddess of fortune, while the 'shining' epithets applied to her hint at a celestial abode. She would seem to have been the goddess of the lucky star and so of good fortune generally<sup>3</sup>.

If this hypothesis be granted, Aši appears to have been substituted for the deity Baxta ('Fate'),<sup>4</sup> who is thrice mentioned in the Avesta (Yt. viii, 23, parallel with *sādra-*, 'woe', and *urvištra-*, 'destruction'; Vd. v, 8, as determining the death of man; and Vd. xxi, 1, as granted by divine beings; cf. also Ys. ix, 22-3; Yt. x, 108, 110; xiv, 47; VYt. 8, 34, 38, 46; and especially Ys. xxxiii, 10);<sup>5</sup> and whose name is a component of such proper names as Baxtāfrit ('Possessing the Blessing of Baxt'), Hübaxt ('Possessing Good Fortune'), and Vad-baxt ('Possessing Evil Fortune').<sup>6</sup> The 'weal-apportioning deities' (*bakīno-i-baxtārān*) are opposed to the planets, who are 'apportioners of evil' (*anīkih baxtārān*; SGV iv, 8, 29); and Destiny, which affects life, wife, and child, authority and wealth, is distinguished from action, which concerns the

<sup>1</sup> Justi, *Namenbuch*, p. 39; CIS II, i, 109; for the abbreviation cf. 'Αρτάμης for \*Arta-m(enes) and Σπιταμάς, Σπιθάμης, Spitāma beside Σπιταμένης, Justi, *op. cit.*, pp. 37, 309-10.

<sup>2</sup> F. Andreas, in *PW* i, 1496.

<sup>3</sup> According to Dhalla, however (*Theology*, p. 122), 'physically she stands for plenty, morally for piety'. Tiele, *Religion*, ii, 231-4, interprets her as the 'goddess of blessing and abundance, a sort of Fors Fortuna, and then also, like that deity, a divinity of fertility'. Darmesteter, *Ormuzd*, pp. 225, note 1; 252, note 1, regarded her as the feminine counterpart of Aša and as an incarnation of prayer; and Reichelt, *Reader*, pp. 96, 124, 126, 163, considers her to be 'the goddess who distributes the lots, especially the good ones', the protectress of matrimony, and the deity of wealth earned by piety.

<sup>4</sup> In one Avestan passage (Ys. xv, 1) we find *baŷa-* ('portion') in the sense of '(good) luck'; cf. Sanskrit *bhāga-* with the same meaning. Moulton (*EZ* pp. 169, 365, note 5) translates Aši by 'Destiny'.

<sup>5</sup> Cf. *baŷ* *baxta-* ('god-appointed'; Yt. viii, 35; Vsp. vii, 3).

<sup>6</sup> Justi, *Namenbuch*, pp. 61-2, 131, 337, 487-8.

righteousness and wickedness of priesthood, warfare, and husbandry (DD lxxii, 3-5). According to SIS xxii, 31, Destiny grants a helper to the pious and is the guardian of the (celestial) sphere for all the thirty angels. Good and evil happen through the constellations and the planets (MX viii, 17-21), and it is impossible to contend against Destiny (*barēh*; ib. xxiii, 3-9); but there are also 'Fortune' and 'Divine Fortune' (*Baxt and Bakkaxt*), the former ordained from the beginning, the latter 'that which they [the divine beings] also grant otherwise' (ib. xxiv, 5-8); and *Baxt* is 'predominant over every one and every thing' (xlvi, 7; cf. also xxvi, 10; xxvii, 10; xxxv, 8, 17; xliii, 13). This concept of the power of *Baxt* ('Fortune') is found repeatedly in the *Sāh-Nāmāh* (e.g., pp. 9.6; 15.5; 30.3; 33.16; 50.15; 54.4; 55.3; 56.7; 57.17; 61.1; 64.7; 123.17; 125.10, etc.) beside that of one's star (ib. pp. 11.11; 53.16; 60.10; 74.8; 96.12; 104.14, etc.); and it was taken over into Armenia, where Eznik polemised against it, but where it still survives under its ancient Iranian name.<sup>1</sup> Like Theodore of Mopsuestia (cited by Photius, *Bibliotheca*, lxxii, 81), who translates Ζουρονάμ (Zrvan) by Τύχη, Eznik renders Zrovan by 'Fortune' (*Baxt*) or 'Glory' (*P'ark'*).<sup>2</sup> Cambysses, as reported by Herodotus (iii, 65), declared that no man may escape 'destiny' (τὸ μέλλον γίνεσθαι); Darius lamented that the 'Fortune of the Persians' had turned Macedonian (Plutarch, *Vita Alexandri*, 30); and the Parthian prince Tiridates, addressing Nero, said: 'I have come to thee, my god, to worship thee even as Mithra, . . . for thou art my Destiny and Fortune' (μοῖρα εἰ καὶ τύχη; Dio Cassius, LXIII, v, 2). Syriac and Greek Acts of Persian martyrs speak of oaths sworn 'by the Fortune (*gad*) of the gods' and by the Fortune of the King, before whom the Christian is bidden to tremble.<sup>3</sup>

No parallel deity of fortune is known to have existed in Vedic India, and none has been found in Babylonia; but an analogous divinity, Gad, was worshipped by the pagan Arabs, Israelites, Aramaeans, Canaanites, Palmyrenes, and Phoenicians, figuring in Isaiah lxx, 11, beside Menī ('Destiny'),

1 Cf. Hübschmann, *Grammatik*, i, 115-6; Abeghian, *Volks Glaube*, pp. 51-6.

2 Eznik, tr. Schmid, p. 90; cf. Clemen, *Nachrichten*, pp. 198-7.

3 Hoffmann, *Auszüge*, p. 63; Braun, *Acten*, pp. 61, 68, 124; Delehaye, *Actes*, p. 96; Assemani, *Acta*, i, 192.



who appears in the Qur'ān (liii, 20) and elsewhere as Manāt.<sup>1</sup> With these divine beings, however, Aši had no connexion<sup>2</sup>.

### Section C.

#### ĀTAR.

According to the Gāθās (Ys. xxxi, 19; li, 9), the final judgment will be prepared through Ahura Mazda's 'red Ātar' ('Fire') and in the Haptaŋhāiti (Ys. xxxvi, 2, 3) he is termed the son of the 'Wise Lord'.<sup>3</sup> The Younger Avesta renders him special homage in the fifth Nyāišn. He is the most active of the Aməša Spəntās (Ys. i, 2); some of the Yazatas are sprung from him (Vsp. xvi, 1); and he bestows not only herds (Vsp. xix, 2), but also many other boons (Ys. lxii, 1, 4-7, 10; Vd. xix, 26-7). He grants the straightest path to those who do not deceive Miθra (Yt. x, 3), upon whom he attends together with Rašnu, Čistā, and the two Upamanas (Yt. x. 126-7). With Vohu Manah he protected Aša's creation against Aŋra Mainyu (Yt. xiii, 77-8); with the same Aməša Spənta he acts as a messenger of Spənta Mainyu, being especially opposed to Aži Dahāka, whom he overcomes (Yt. xix, 46-50); he is frequently named in company with Aša (Ys. i, 4; ii, 4; iii, 6; iv, 9; vi, 3; vii, 6; xvii, 3; xxii, 6; lix, 3; G. ii, 9, 12; Yt. ii, 4, 9; Šir i, 7; ii, 7; Āfr. iv, 2); and is constantly described as the son of Ahura Mazda (Ys. 0, 2, 11; ii, 3, 12; iii, 2, 14; iv, 2, 17, 23; etc.). He is the householder of all houses (Ys. xvii, 11), and thrice each night he issues a call to replenish the sacred fire (Vd. xix, 18-22), afflicting those who bring him improper offerings (P. 22-3) and trembling only before boiling water (P. 21). In the Old Persian calendar the ninth month was named Āriyādiya ('Fire-Honouring [Month]'), corresponding to the Eastern Iranian Ātarō (Bd. xxv, 20), whence the Cappadocian 'Aθpaz and its variants, as well as the Armenian Ahekan; and Ātar also presided over the ninth day of each Avestan month (Šir. i, 9; ii, 9; SIS xxii, 9; xxiii, 2; cf. Bd. xxvii, 24).

<sup>1</sup> L. W. King, in *ERE* v, 778; T. Nöldeke, *ib.*, i, 661-2; L. B. Paton, *ib.*, iii, 128; ix, 893; J. F. McCurdy, in *JE* v, 544-5; W. von Baudissin, in *PRE* vi, 328-36; xii, 575-7.

<sup>2</sup> See further Dhalla, *Theology*, pp. 205-8; Casartelli, *Philosophy*, pp. 9, 31-3, 86, 144; L. H. Gray, 'Fate (Iranian)', in *ERE* v, 792-3; 'Fortune (Iranian)', *ib.*, vi, 96.

<sup>3</sup> For further association of Ātar with Ahura Mazda and the Aməša Spəntas see above, pp. 21, 22, 29, 31, 32, 33, 40, 42, 43-4.

In the Pahlavi texts *Ātar*, together with *Artavahišt* and *Vohūman*, acts as *Aūharmazd*'s messenger to *Vištāsp* (Dk. VII, iv, 74-5); in company with *Artavahišt*, *Din*, and *Vāi* he routs the demons who seek to delay the rains (ib. III, cxii, 5); and with *Srōš* he welcomes the soul of *Artā-i-Vīrāf* (AVN iv, 2); but he opposes *Keresāsp* and refuses to admit his soul to heaven (Dk. IX, xv, 3; SBĒ xviii, 379). Repentance should be made before the sun and *Mitrō*, the moon and the Fire of *Aūharmazd* (MX liii, 8). His light holds the throne of the righteous in heaven, and he is distinguished for heat (SIS xxii, 9; xxiii, 2).

*Ātar* enjoys exclusive use of the Avestan epithets *ašā-aojah-* ('possessing strength through *Aša*'), *upa-surla-* ('enkindled'), *saočinavant-* ('flaming'), and *suxra-* ('red'). Like *Miθra*, *Vanant*, and *Sraoša* he is *aoxtō-nāman-* ('whose name is spoken'; probably implying that his worship as a deity receives full recognition instead of being veiled under the name of *Aša*), *pouru-baēšaza-* ('many-healing'; doubtless referring to cautery), and *raθaēšlār-* ('charioteer'). He was likewise an Old Persian deity, as is shown not only by the month-name already cited, but also by the personal appellations 'Ασιζδάρης, 'Ασιδάρης, (cf. אֲשִׁירֶת in the Elephantine Papyri, xxiv, 14), and 'Αρπαδάρης ('given [or, 'created'] by *Ātar*'); the equivalent of the Avestan *Ātərədāta* of Yt. xiii, 102; 'Αρποπάτης ('Protected by *Ātar*'; cf. the *Attarapata* of Clay, *Artaxerxes*, p. 51, and the *Ātərəpātā* of Yt. xiii, 102); and possibly *Atrumanu* ('Possessing the Mind of *Ātar*' [?])<sup>1</sup> beside such Avestan names as *Ātərəx'arənah* ('Possessing the Glory of *Ātar*').<sup>2</sup>

On Indo-Scythian coins *Ātar*, under the form *AθPO*, appears as a bearded deity, clothed in chiton and himation, with a garland in his right hand and tongs in his left (on gold coins of *Huviška* the garland is replaced by a hammer), and with flames rising from his shoulders.<sup>3</sup> In Mithraism he was identified with *Hephaistos*; *Xenophon* equated him both with *Hestia* (*Cyropaedia*, I, vi, 1; VII, v, 57) and with *Hephaistos* (ib. VII, v, 22);<sup>4</sup> and in Armenia *Agathangelus* confused him with *Miθra* (I, cx, 134) in speaking of the destruction of the temple

<sup>1</sup> Clay, *Artaxerxes*, p. 51.

<sup>2</sup> Justi, *Namenbuch*, pp. 43, 48, 49, 50, 51, 52, 486.

<sup>3</sup> Stein, *Coins*, pp. 4-5 and fig. vii; von Sallet, *Nachfolger*, pp. 188-9, 200, 207.

<sup>4</sup> Cumont, *TM* i, 133; Clemen, *Nachrichten*, p. 89.

of Mihr (Greek text, 'Ἡφαιστος'), 'whom they called son of Aramazd', at Bagayarič.<sup>1</sup>

Fire-cults are found in modern Armenia,<sup>2</sup> in the Pāmirs,<sup>3</sup> and among the Ossetes.<sup>4</sup>

The classical writers abound with allusions to the Iranian worship of fire (Herodotus, i, 131; Ctesias, frag. 57; Strabo, p. 732; Curtius Rufus, III, iii, 9; Phoenix of Colophon, cited by Athenaeus, *Deipnosophistae*, xii, 40; Nicolaus Damascenus, *De virtute et vitio*, 29; Lucian, *Jupiter tragicus*, 42; Maximus Tyrius, *Philosophia*, ii, 14; Firmicus Maternus, *De errore profanarum religionum*, 5; Pseudo-Clement, *Recognitiones*, i, 30; iv, 29; Ammianus Marcellinus, XXIII, vi, 34-5; Basil, *Epistolae*, cclviii, ad Epiphanium, 4; Evagrius, *Historia ecclesiastica*, v, 14; Priscus, *Historia Byzantina*, frag. 31; Johannes Malalas, *Chronographia*, ii, p. 37), and the same statement holds true of the Acts of martyrs.<sup>5</sup> The existence of fire-temples (πυρκαϊαί) is recorded for Cappadocia (Strabo, p. 733), Lydia (Pausanias, V, xxvii, 5-6), Persia (Socrates, *Historia ecclesiastica*, VII, viii, 7, 11; Procopius, *De bello Persico*, II, xxiv, 1-2), and Āzarbayjān (Cassiodorus, *Historia tripartita*, xi, 8). They are often mentioned in Acts of martyrs<sup>6</sup> and by mediaeval Arab geographers,<sup>7</sup> while ruined shrines of this character still exist in Persia<sup>8</sup>.

Fire was worshipped together with other elements;<sup>9</sup> it was borne on portable altars (Xenophon, *Cyropaedia*,

<sup>1</sup> Cumont, *TM* i, 104, 146.

<sup>2</sup> Abeghian, *Volks-glaube*, pp. 66-74; Ananikian, *Mythology*, pp. 54-8; Aharonian, pp. 28-34.

<sup>3</sup> C. de Ujfalvy, *Les Aryens au nord et au sud de l'Hindou-Kouch*, Paris, 1896, pp. 95-7, 329-31; J. Biddulph, *Tribes of the Hindoo Koosh*, Calcutta, 1880, p. 108; Olufsen, *Pamirs*, p. 205-6.

<sup>4</sup> M. S. Zaborowski, *Les Peuples aryens d'Asie et d'Europe*, Paris, 1908, pp. 265-7.

<sup>5</sup> e.g., Delehaye, *Actes*, pp. 23, 24, 27, etc.; Braun, *Akten*, pp. 27-29, etc.

<sup>6</sup> *AS I Nov.*, 469; Delehaye, *Actes*, pp. 92, 105, 108; Braun, *Akten*, pp. 122, 129, 139, 140, 143-4.

<sup>7</sup> Le Strange, *Caliphate*, pp. 193, 206, 208, 219, 224, 242, 245, 255, 256, 271, 341-2, 408, 409, 421-2; Schwarz, *Iran*, pp. 31, 35, 44, 54, 69, 91, 124, 337, 371, 492, 537, 610, 630-1, 638, 640, 645, 810-1.

<sup>8</sup> Jackson, *PPP* pp. 121, 133-42, 253-61, 281, 302-3, 342-3; *id.*, *Constantinople*, pp. 80, 89, 215.

<sup>9</sup> Curtius Rufus, IV, xiii, 12; xiv, 24; Epiphanius, *Expositio fidei*, 13; Delehaye, *Actes*, pp. 23, 24, 27, 29, 37, 48, 49, 52, 57, 64, 82-3, 85; Braun, *Akten*, pp. 27, 29, 100, 101, 118, 142, 180; Hoffmann, *Auszüge*, pp. 24, 53, 88.

VIII, iii, 12); and sacrifice was offered to it by 'putting on it dry logs without the bark, adding fat from above: then they kindle it from below, pouring oil over it, not blowing it, but fanning it; any who have blown it, or have laid a dead body or dung upon fire, they put to death' (Strabo, p. 732).<sup>1</sup> The sacred fire was quenched when the King died (Diodorus Siculus, xvii, 114), and was sometimes incorrectly supposed to be regarded as one of the two primal elements, water being the other (Vitruvius, *De architectura*, viii, praef. 1; Dino, cited by Clemens Alexandrinus, *Protreptica*, V, lxxv, 1; Hippolytus, *Refutationes*, I, ii, 13).

Firminus Maternus (*De errore profanarum religionum*, 5) has a division of fire into male and female, which, despite the later bifurcation of fire into *ādar* (sacred fire) and *ātāš* (profane fire),<sup>2</sup> seems to have been influenced by the feminine gender of the Semitic word for 'fire' (Syriac *nūrā*, Arabic *nār*<sup>un</sup>). In the Syriac *Acts of Mār 'Abdā* Hāšū declares that 'fire is no daughter of God, but a servant and a handmaid for Kings and men of low estate, for rich, poor, and beggars', and it was 'a goddess of the Magians'.<sup>3</sup> In Armenia, likewise, fire is held to be the sister of water, who is masculine,<sup>4</sup> although according to another version they were brothers (Lazar P'arp'i, i, 28, 39).

Ātar finds a feminine counterpart in the Scythian Tabiti, whom Herodotus (iv, 59) equates with Hestia, but the meaning of whose name is quite doubtful.<sup>5</sup> The resemblance of Ātar to the Vedic Agni is too well known to require discussion; but it should be noted that the Indo-Iranians are the only Indo-European peoples who possess real fire-deities, such divinities

<sup>1</sup> For the traditions that Cyrus endeavoured to burn Croesus and fourteen Lydians alive (Herodotus, i, 86) and that Cambyses cremated the mummy of Amasis (ib. iii, 16) see Clemen, *Nachrichten*, pp. 60, 66.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. K. M. Kateli, 'Ādar and Ātash in the Pāzand Writings', in *The K. R. Cama Memorial Volume*, Bombay, 1900, pp. 239-40.

<sup>3</sup> Braun, *Akten*, pp. 141, 231; Hoffmann, *Auszüge*, p. 35. Fire also appears as feminine in one of the tales of the *Arabian Nights* (tr. Payne, vi, 124, 143).

<sup>4</sup> Ananikian, *Mythology*, pp. 56-7.

<sup>5</sup> Like K. Zeuss, *Die Deutschen und ihre Nachbarstämme*, Munich, 1837, p. 286, and K. Müllenhoff, *Deutsche Altertumskunde*, 4 vols., Berlin, 1870-1900, iii, 108, note 4. Schrader, in *ERE* ii, 35, and *Sprachvergleichung*, ii, 485, connects Tabiti with the base \*tepe-, 'to be hot'; but Hirt, *Indogermanen*, p. 587, compares it with Carian *raßz*, 'rock', and Minns, *Scythians*, pp. 85-6, with Vogel *taūt*, *taot*, 'fire'.

as Hestia being hearth-goddesses<sup>1</sup>. In his aspect as the son of Ahura Mazda Ātar perhaps originally represented the lightning.

The five Avestan fires—Bərəzisavah, Vohu-fryāna, Urvāzišta, Vāzišta, and Spēništa—are separately mentioned as worshipful beings in Ys. xvii, 11; lix, 11 (cf. also Yt. xiii, 85; Vd. xix, 40).

### Section D.

#### DAĒNĀ.

In addition to somewhat vague lists (Ys. i, 13; ii, 13; viii, 3; xvi, 6; lxxi, 4; Yt. xviii, 8), the goddess Daēnā ('Religion, Bright' [?]) is mentioned with Hvarə, Vayu, and Čistā (Ys. xxii, 24; xxv, 5); the Aməša Spəntas, ǝwāša, Zrvan, Vayu, Vāta, and 'Arədvī' (Vd. xix, 13); Tištrya, Vanant, ǝwāša, Zrvan, Vāta, Čistā, and the Path (Ny. i, 8); the Aməša Spəntas and the Waters (Yt. ii, 12); Sraoša, Rašnu, Miθra, Vāta, Āfriti, etc. (Ys. lxx, 3); Ahura Mazda and Sraoša (VYt. 14); and Miθra and Rašnu (VYt. 52). Tištrya laments the fate which awaits Daēnā, Ahura Mazda, Waters, and Plants if Apaoša should conquer and congratulates them when the peril is averted (Yt. viii, 23, 29). She is the sister of Aši, Sraoša, Rašnu, and Miθra, and so is the daughter of Ahura Mazda and Ārmaiti (Yt. xvii, 15-6). With Aši, Pārəndi, and Zam she watches over the welfare of women (Ys. xiii, 1); she is identified with Arštāt (Vsp. vii, 2); and the entire sixteenth Yašt, though called the Dēn Yašt, is devoted to the laudation of Čistā, with whom Daēnā is elsewhere associated (Sir. i, 24; ii, 24). Her two companions, who attend upon other deities as well, are Āxsti and Həm-vainti (Yt. xi, 16); she guides victoriously on the path to Aša (VYt. 42) and prepares the way for Miθra (Yt. x, 68); and her Upamana,<sup>2</sup> together with Čistā, attends on the left of Miθra's chariot, Rašnu being on its right, and Dāmōiš Upamana and Ātar behind (?) (Yt. x, 126-7). She is rich in kine and fodder, wherein she delights (Yt. xiii, 100). Bound in fetters, she was released by Vištāspa, who set her

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Macdonell, *Mythology*, pp. 88-101; Hillebrandt, *Mythologie*, iii, 157-300; Keith, *Religion*, pp. 154-62; and for the subject generally, A. E. Crawley, 'Fire, Fire-Gods', in *ERE* vi, 26-30. For Ātar see further Dhalla, *Theology*, pp. 134-7.

<sup>2</sup> For the possible meaning of this term as indicating some subsidiary quality or aspect see below, p. 143.

in the midst as an invincible ruler on high (Yt. xiii, 100). From Ahura Mazda Haoma received her; a girdle star-adorned and spirit-fashioned (Ys. ix, 26). She is closely associated with the 'Wise Lord' (Yt. xix, 82), with whom she contracted 'next-of-kin marriage'<sup>1</sup> (Ys. xii, 9), whence she has the distinctive epithet *xʷaētʰadaša-* and perhaps also *mazdayasnya-* ('Mazda-honouring'). This reference to her wifehood receives striking illustration from a Cappadocian Aramaic inscription of the second century B.C.: "This (?) Dēn-Mazdayasniš (דנימזדיסניש), the Queen (?), the sister and wife (אחתי ואחתי) of Bēl, spake thus: "I am the wife of King Bēl". Thereupon Bēl spake thus to Dēn-Mazdayasniš: "Thou, my sister, art very wise and fairer than the goddesses; and therefore I have made thee wife of Bēl (?)".<sup>2</sup> Daēnā's blessing is manifested when she makes her abode in the home of the pious, and she is distinguished for worth (SIS xxii, 24; xxiii, 4). She presides over the twenty-fourth day of the month (Sir. i, 24; ii, 24; SIS xxii, 24; xxiii, 4; cf. Bd. xxvii, 24). According to the Haptaŋ-hāiti (Ys. xlv, 11), Armaiti will come to those to whom Daēnā is proclaimed.

In the Pahlavi texts Dīn, who was the first to appear after Vohūman (Gd. Bd. xxvi, 28), co-operates with Tištar, Satvēs, Vohūman, Arēdvīsūr, the Fravašis, Hōm, Vāṭ, and Būrj to execute the commands of Aūharmazd regarding rain, and she, with Arēdvīsūr, Vāṭ, and Ātar, routs the demons who would stay it (Dk. III, cxii, 5). She is worn as a girdle by Spendarmat (ZS xii, 4-5). Her special foe is the demon Nūṭ-dōšagih (DD xciv, 2), and she is associated with Miθrō, Rašn, Vāhrām, Vāi, and Aštāt (VN v, 3).

In the Avesta the chief exclusive epithets of Daēnā, besides the two already mentioned, are *niḍasnaibiš-* ('laying weapons down'), *fraspāyaoxədra-* ('casting forth the onslaught'), *rišpō-varəzya-* ('all-working'), *sraota-gaoša-* ('possessing an ear for hearing' [?]), and *hačat-aša-* ('having Aša following'). She shares *ahurya-* ('associated with Ahura') with Sraoša and the Aməša Spəntas; *pərəθu-frāka* ('broadly proceeding') with 'Arədvī'; *frədat-gaēθa-* ('furthering creatures') with Arštāt, Aša, Ahura Mazda, Sraoša, and Haoma; *mazišta-* ('most great') with Ahura Mazda and Miθra; and *vouru-*

<sup>1</sup> Cf. on this type of marriage L. H. Gray, in *ERE* viii, 456-9, and the references there given.

<sup>2</sup> M. Lidzbarski, in *Ephemeris für semitische Epigraphik*, i (1902), 7-9; cf. Moulton, *EZ* p. 119.

*rafnah-* ('wide-reaching') with Ahura Mazda. It is perhaps worth nothing, in view of her close association with the 'Wise Lord', that only she and Dāmi (i.e., the 'Creator', Ahura Mazda) possess an Upamana.

Besides forming a component of several other Avestan, Pahlavi, and Parsi personal names, the appellative Daēnā is found in the Armeno-Persian Varazdēn ('Professing the Religion of the Boar, i.e., Vərəθraγna), and probably in Amedines (the scribe of Darius III), as well as in the ܕܐܢܝܐ of Aramaic incantation-texts.<sup>1</sup>

The word *daēnā-* is regarded by Bartholomae<sup>2</sup> as forming two homonyms, one meaning 'religion', and the other 'individuality, ego'; but this view is rejected by Persson,<sup>3</sup> who, like Geldner,<sup>4</sup> holds that the two are identical and connected with the Avestan base *dā(y)-* (Sanskrit *dhī-*), 'to see'. While the divine name Daēnā was undoubtedly felt to be the word *daēnā-*, 'religion', it would seem, from the deity's association with the celestial divinities Sraoša, Miθra, Rašnu, and Hvarə, and particularly from her mention together with Ahura Mazda and Cistā, as well as from the description of her as a star-adorned girdle, that she was also a heavenly goddess, apparently of the sky.<sup>5</sup> If this be so, her name would seem to be a third homonym and to be cognate with the Indo-European base \**deic-*, 'light', found in Sanskrit *dī-*, 'to see', Greek *δέλος*, 'brilliant', *δῆλος* 'plain, clear', Latin *nun-dinae*, 'ninth-days', Gothic *sin-teins*, 'daily', Lithuanian *dienā*, Old Church Slavic *dinī* 'day', etc.<sup>6</sup> Originally, then, she would be 'the Bright (Lady)'. Later identified with Cistā (thus explaining her epithets *nīdāsnaidiš* and *fraspāyaoxəδra-*, which so strikingly suggest Cistā's *huamvītačina* and *hvāyaozda-*), she may have begun as the 'shining' sky-goddess, the female counterpart of the male sky-god, like the Vedic Dyauh Devī, who is thus expressly named in Rig Veda X, lix, 7, and who also appears as feminine in I, xxxv, 6, 7; lvii, 5; V, liv, 9;

<sup>1</sup> Justi, *Namenbuch*, pp. 14, 76, 82, 84-5, 131, 154, 172, 181, 213, 347, 349-50, 357, 490; Montgomery, *Incantation*, xxxii, 2; xxxv, 12.

<sup>2</sup> *AirWb.* coll. 665, 666; see also Moulton, *EZ* p. 265.

<sup>3</sup> *Beiträge*, p. 717.

<sup>4</sup> *Metrik*, p. 2.

<sup>5</sup> Dhalla, *Theology*, p. 101, however, regards her as 'religion deified', as does Reichelt, *Reader*, p. 286.

<sup>6</sup> Cf. Boisacq, *Dictionnaire*, pp. 77, 168, 169, 182; Berneker, *Wörterbuch*, i. 253-4; Trautmann, *Wörterbuch*, p. 55; and especially Hirt, *Vokalismus*, p. 190.

lxiii, 6; VI xvii, 9; VIII, xx, 6; xl, 4; IX, xvi, 3; X, lxxxviii, 3; cxi, 5; while 'some call the Sky (*Divam*), and some the Dawn (*Usasam*)', Prajāpati's daughter, of whom he became enamoured (Aitareya Brāhmaṇa, iii, 33; Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa, I, vii, 4<sup>1</sup>). A comparison of Daēnā with Prajāpati's daughter suggests that the Avesta here preserves a fragment of an Indo-Iranian sky-myth in which the sky-goddess united in marriage with her father, the Indian Prajāpati and the Iranian Ahura Mazda.

### Section E.

#### DRVĀSPĀ.

Named with Gōuš Tašan and Gōuš Urvan (Śir. i, 14), the goddess Drvāspā ('Possessing Sound Horses') is celebrated in the ninth Yašt, which describes her as giving health to cattle, friends, and children and as possessing many spies (§ 1), as having horses and a car with resounding wheels (§ 2), and as receiving sacrifice from Haošyaŋha, Yima, ərətaona, Haoma, Haosravah, Zaratuštra, and Vištāspa for all manner of boons (§§ 3-32). Her chief exclusive epithets are *drvō-apərəmāyuka-* ('possessing sound children'), *drvō-urvaŋa-* ('possessing sound friends'), *drvō-pasu-* ('possessing sound flocks'), *drvō-varata-* ('possessing a sound abode' [?]), *drvō-staora-* ('possessing sound cattle'), *drvō-staiti-* ('possessing sound standing'), *pouru-spaxšti-* ('possessing many spies'), *fšaoni-marəza-* ('touching with exuberance' [?]), *yuxta-aspa-* ('possessing yoked horses'), *varətō-raŋa-* ('possessing a rolling car'), *xʷābravana-* ('possessing well-being'), and *xʷāsaoka-* ('possessing good advantage'). She shares the epithet *ərətar-* ('protector') with Ahura Mazda, and *xʷanaŋ-čuxra-* ('possessing resounding wheels') with Aši; and like 'Arədvī', Aši, Ahura Mazda, Tištrya, the Fravašis, Vanant, Haoma, and Haptō-iringa, she is *baēšazya-* ('healing'). In the Pahlavi texts the left shoulder of the sacrificial victim is her portion (S1S xi, 4).

In Mithraism Drvāspā was identified with Silvanus and with the Gaulish horse-goddess Epona;<sup>1</sup> and another feminine divinity of horses is found in the Lithuanian Ratainiczā ('Wheel-Possessor'), whose name is connected with Lithuanian *rātas* 'wheel'.<sup>2</sup> The Avestan name has no theophoric equivalent

<sup>1</sup> Cumont, *TM* i, 147-8, 152; see also Holder, *Sprachschatz*, i, 1447-50; R. Peter, in Roscher, i, 1286-93; Keune, in *PW* vi, 228-43; and especially H. Hubert, 'Le Mythe d'Epona', in *Mélanges linguistiques offerts à M. J. Vendryes*, Paris, 1925, pp. 187-98.

<sup>2</sup> Usener, *Götternamen*, p. 100; cf. Trautmann, *Wörterbuch*, p. 238.



(Sir. i, 19; ii, 19; S1S xxii, 19; xxiii, 3; cf. Bd. xxvii, 24) as well as over the first month (Bd. xxv. 20), which recurs in Cappadocian as *Αρτζίστην*, *Αρτζα*, and several other variants.<sup>1</sup>

In the Pahlavi texts the Fravašis stand in the presence of Aūharmazd and battle against the Druj (Gd. Bd. xxvi, 35). Together with Tištar, Satvēs, Vohūman, Arēdvivsūr, Hōm, Din, Vāt, and Būrj they execute the commands of Aūharmazd concerning rain, which they and Būrj distribute (Dk. III, cxii, 5), besides helping Tištar to obtain water (Gd. Bd. xxvi, 35). They are associated with Srōš, Rašn, Aštāt, and Vāi in the cult of the dead (S1S xvii, 4); and their collective representative, Artāi-Fravart, is sent by Aūharmazd, together with Spendarmat and Arēdvivsūr, to aid the infant Zaratūšt (ZS xvi, 3). They receive the entrail fat as their portion of the sacrificial victim (S1S xi, 4); their gift is offspring, and they are distinguished for power (ib. xxii, 19; xxiii, 3).

The chief exclusive epithets of the Fravašis in the Avesta are *anū-maθwa-* ('unwaylayable'), *ayō-xaōda-* ('possessing metal helmets'), *ayō-verəθra-* ('possessing metal shields'), *ayō-zaya-* ('possessing metal weapons'), *airime-aθhaδ-* ('sitting quietly'), *arəzayant-* ('battling'), *avi-ama-* ('exceeding strong'), *aš-bərət-* ('much-bringing'), *āsnō-urvan-* ('possessing successful souls'), *uyra-zaōša-* ('strong-willed'), *urvinyant-* ('crushing'), *uzgərəptō-drafsā-* ('possessing banners lifted high'), *xrvišyant-* ('terrible'), *tušnišaδ-* ('sitting quietly'), *darəyō-rarōman-* ('long tranquillising'), *dasathavant-* ('rich in possessions'), *pərəθu-yuona-* ('possessing broad places'), *pouru-spāda-* ('possessing many armies'), *frasčandayant-* ('destroying'), *bāmya-* ('radiant'), *yāskərət-* ('making the consummation [of the world]'), *yastō-zayah-* ('having weapons girded on'), *raərəma-* ('calming'), *rənjišta-* ('most swift'), *vanat-pəšana-* ('winning in battle'), *vasō-yuona-* ('possessing abodes at pleasure'), *vərəθrayna-* ('victorious'), *vičira-* ('deciding'), *vivāyant-* ('driving hence'), *vərəzi-čašman-* ('possessing energetic eyes'), *sraotanu-* ('sturdy-bodied'), *sraoθra-* ('hearing'), *zaoyārət-* ('summons-hearing'), *hudōiθra-* ('possessing good eyes'), and *huyaona-* ('possessing good places'). They share with Miθra the epithets *aiwiθūra-* ('victorious round about'), *arədra-* ('true'), *gufra-* ('deep, mysterious'), and *bərəzyāsta-* ('high-girdled'); with Miθra and Cistā *frasrūta-* ('famous'); with Tištrya *ravō-fraoθman-* ('possessing swift flight'); with Tištrya and Ahura Mazda *dūraē-sūka-*

<sup>1</sup> J. Marquart, in *Philologus*, lv (1896), 231, note 54, derives *Aprava* from Old Persian \**varānā(m)* for \**varinām*, the proverb *fra* seeming not to have been used with *var-* in Old Persian.

('far-glancing'); with Tištrya, Vayu, and Xvarənah *uparō-kairya-* ('possessing activity on high'); with Ahura Mazda, Vāta, Sraoša, and Haoma *varəbrajan-* ('victorious'); with Haoma *tandīšta-* ('most sturdy'); with Sraoša *hamvarə-tivant-* ('capable of defending'); with Aši *xvāpara-* ('bringing welfare'); and with Ušah and Pərəndi *rayu-* ('swift, light').

Antiochus of Commagene probably refers to his Fravaši when, in his inscription at Nīmrūd Dāγ, he 'preserves a just counterfeit (μίμημα δίκαιον) of the immortal thought (φροντίς) which ofttimes stood visibly by me as a kindly helper in my kingly endeavours'.<sup>1</sup> Whether, on the other hand, they are the θεοὶ τοὶ Περσίδα γῆν λελόγχασσι of Herodotus (vii, 53) or the θεοὶ καὶ ἥρωες οἱ Περσίδα γῆν ἔχοντες of Xenophon (*Cyropaedia*, II, i, 1; cf. ἥρωες γῆς Μηδίας οἰκήτορες καὶ κηδεμόνες ib. III, iii, 22; ἥρωες οἱ Συρίαν ἔχοντες ib. VIII, iii, 24), as Clemen supposes,<sup>2</sup> is less certain. They were clearly known in Media, as is evident from the name Φραζόρτης, borne by the father and the son of Dioces, as well as by the Fravartīš who unsuccessfully rebelled against Darius I.<sup>3</sup>

The solution of the etymology of the word Fravaši is far from easy. It is evidently composed of *fra* ('before') and *vaši-*, but the latter component may represent an original *\*vrt-i-*, *\*vr-ti-*, *\*vlt-i-* or *\*vl-ti-*.<sup>4</sup> Each of these forms may be derived from any one of a number of bases: (1) *\*ure-*, *\*ure-*, 'to cover', in Sanskrit *var-*, 'to cover', Avestan *var-*, 'to cover' (also 'impregnate'), Old Church Slavic *vřeti*, 'to shut', etc.;<sup>5</sup> (2) *\*yare-*, 'to see', in Greek ὁράω, 'to see';<sup>6</sup> (3) *\*yere-*, 'to speak', in Sanskrit *vratā-*, 'command', Avestan *urvata-*, 'ordinance', Greek εἶπω, 'to say', etc.;<sup>7</sup> (4) *\*yale-*, 'to choose', in Sanskrit and Avestan *var-*, 'to choose', Latin *volo*, 'to wish', etc.;<sup>8</sup> (5) *\*yele-*, 'to be hot', in Gothic *wulan*, 'to boil', etc.;<sup>9</sup> (6) *\*yele-*

<sup>1</sup> Moulton, *EZ* pp. 107-8.

<sup>2</sup> *Nachrichten*, p. 81.

<sup>3</sup> Justi, *Namenbuch*, p. 105; for the form of the Old Persian name cf. Meillet, *Perse*, pp. 48, 163.

<sup>4</sup> See Brugmann, *Grundriss*, II, i, 166-75, 428-40; Walde-Pokorny, *Wörterbuch*, i, 263-88, 293-305.

<sup>5</sup> For further cognates see Walde, *Wörterbuch*, p. 50; Muller, *Wörterbuch*, p. 536.

<sup>6</sup> See Boisacq, *Dictionnaire*, pp. 709-10; cf. also Albanian *urte* 'prudent' (N. Jokl, *Studien zur albanesischen Etymologie und Wortbildung*, Vienna, 1911, p. 93).

<sup>7</sup> Walde, p. 820; Boisacq, pp. 229-30; Muller, pp. 538-9.

<sup>8</sup> Walde, *Wörterbuch*, p. 855; Muller, *Wörterbuch*, p. 529.

<sup>9</sup> Feist, *Wörterbuch*, p. 439.

'to break', in Latin *vello*, 'to pluck', etc.,<sup>1</sup> identical with (7) \**uele-*, 'to deceive', in Anglo-Saxon *wil*, 'wile', Lithuanian *vylus*, 'deceit', etc.;<sup>2</sup> (8) \**uzle-*, 'to turn', in Sanskrit *val-*, Greek *εἰλύω*, Latin *volvo*, 'to turn', etc.;<sup>3</sup> (9) \**uale-*, 'to be strong', in Latin *valeo*, 'to be strong', etc.;<sup>4</sup> (10) \**yerte-*, 'to turn', in Sanskrit *var-*, 'to turn, exist', Avestan *varə-*, Latin *verto*, 'to turn', Gothic *wairpan*, 'to become', Old Church Slavic *vrūtiti*, Lithuanian *vir̃sti*, 'to turn', etc.; and (11) \**yalle-*, 'to rule' (a *t*-extension of \**uale-*, 'to be strong'), in Tocharian *lānt* (for \**ylānt*), 'ruler', Old Irish *flaith*, 'kingdom', Old Church Slavic *vlatŭ*, 'giant', Lettish *valī*, Old Icelandic *valda*, Old High German *wallan*, 'to rule'.<sup>5</sup>

Of the numerous possibilities thus afforded Moulton<sup>6</sup> preferred *var-*, 'to impregnate'; Söderblom<sup>7</sup> would choose either *var-*, 'to protect', or *var-*, 'to turn', inclining toward the latter in the sense of 'ce qui s'en va'; Bartholomae<sup>8</sup> advanced no solution; Justi<sup>9</sup> held that *var-*, 'to be,' was the most probable cognate.

It would appear that the choice must lie between \**pra-var-ti* or \**pra-var-ti-*, each of which may be either a verbal abstract or an agent.<sup>10</sup> In Sanskrit *pra-var* means, *inter alia*, 'to come forth, arise, happen, continue, exist'; and Pahlavi *vaštan*, like its Modern Persian equivalent *gaštan*, signifies 'to become' as well as 'to turn' (cf. also Sanskrit *pravartaka-*, 'making manifest, causing', *pravṛtti-*, 'manifestation, origin, activity').<sup>11</sup> Comparison may further be made with Latin *vector*, 'to be engaged in, to be', Lithuanian *pavir̃sti*, 'to become something, to transform oneself into something', and especially Gothic

<sup>1</sup> Walde, *Wörterbuch*, pp. 813-4; Muller, *Wörterbuch*, p. 530.

<sup>2</sup> Falk-Torp, *Wörterbuch*, p. 1406; Trautmann, *Sprachdenkmäler*, p. 409; *id.* *Wörterbuch*, p. 354.

<sup>3</sup> Boisacq, pp. 224-5; Walde, pp. 856-7; Muller, pp. 529-30.

<sup>4</sup> Walde, *Wörterbuch*, p. 804; Muller, *Wörterbuch*, p. 518.

<sup>5</sup> Walde, *Wörterbuch*, pp. 824-5; Feist, *Wörterbuch*, pp. 417-8.

<sup>6</sup> *EZ* pp. 270-1.

<sup>7</sup> *Les Fravašis*, pp. 56-8.

<sup>8</sup> *Air Wb.* col. 995.

<sup>9</sup> *Zendsprache*, p. 199; in *Namenbuch*, p. 105 (so also in *GirP* ii, 411; cf. A. V. W. Jackson, *Avesta Reader*, Stuttgart, 1893, p. 80), he prefers *var-*, 'to choose' (cf. Jackson, *Zoroastrianism*, p. 59).

<sup>10</sup> Brugmann, *Grundriss*, II, i, 167, 428; cf. also Lindner, *Nominalbildung*, pp. 55-7, 76-9; Bartholomae, in *GirP* i, 102-3; Hirt, *Handbuch*, pp. 398-9; Lindsay, *Latin*, pp. 338-9, 340-2; Leskien, *Bildung*, pp. 84-9, 395-406; Miklosich, *Grammatik*, ii, 53-9, 165-9.

<sup>11</sup> The word *pravṛtti-* cannot be compared directly with *fravaši-*, since the Sanskrit term would give \**fravərəšti-* in Avestan (cf. Sanskrit *kṛti-*, 'a cutting', from *kart-*: Avestan *kərəšti-*).

*frawaīrīdan*, 'καταφείρομαι' (2 Tim. iii, 8), *frawardjan*, 'ἀφρνίζω' (Matt. vi, 16, 19), 'φθείρω' (2 Cor. vii, 2), *frawardeins*, 'ὄλεθρος' (1 Tim. vi, 9), as well as Old Icelandic *fyrir-verpa*, 'to vanish', Old Saxon *far-werīan*, Anglo-Saxon *for-weorpan*, Old High German *far-werdan*, 'to perish'.

To summarise the argument here set forth, the Fravašis were originally \**pra-vī-t-a-as* (Indo-European \**pro-ṽte-i-es*), 'those who existed before', i.e. the ancestors. Later they became guardian spirits, either because beneficent ancestors were naturally regarded as protective, or because the term was combined with a homonymous \**pro-ṽt-te-i-es*, 'protectors', from the base \**ṽere-*, 'to cover', which would likewise give the Avestan form *fravašayah* (cf. Sanskrit *pra-var-* 'to ward off').<sup>1</sup> The theory of a contamination of two homonyms seems best to fit all the requirements.<sup>2</sup>

Whatever etymological explanation be accepted, the Fravašis obviously belonged primarily only to human beings; their extension to the divine world being due to that analogy which has ever led man to shape the gods in his own image. They find at least partial counterparts in the Indian *pitāras* ('fathers') and the Roman *manes*, as well as in the Lithuanian *Gulbi Dewos*, the guardian spirit of each individual.<sup>3</sup>

### Section G.

#### GĀUŠ URVAN.

In the Gāthās (Ys. xxviii, 1) Zaratuštra prays for the works of Spənta Mainyu to please Vohu Manah and Gāuš Urvan ('Soul of the Kine'), and the latter makes complaint against Aēšma and

<sup>1</sup> Cf. e.g. Sanskrit *varūtār-*, *vāruka-*, 'defender', Avestan *pairi-vāra-* (Sanskrit *parivāra-*), 'protection, wall', *sāra-vāra-*, 'helmet', and especially *fra-vāra-* (Sanskrit *pravāra-*), 'bastion', Greek *ἐπύω*, 'to protect', *ἡπζρος*, 'protector, chief, king', Welsh *gwawr*, 'hero', Gothic *warjan*, 'to defend', etc. (Boisacq, *Dictionnaire*, pp. 285-6, 328).

<sup>2</sup> Tiele (*Religion*, ii, 260, note 2, 262) also suspected a confusion between two classes of spirits who derived their names respectively from \**ṽere-*, 'to cover, protect', and \**ṽele-*, 'to turn, roll'.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. W. Caland, *Altindischer Ahnencult*, Leyden, 1893; Bergaigne, *Religion*, i, 92-100, 133-5; Hillebrandt, *Mythologie*, iii, 413-23; Keith, *Religion*, pp. 425-32; A. C. Pearson, 'Heroes and Hero-Gods (Greek and Roman)', in *ERE* vi, 652-6; J. B. Carter, 'Ancestor-Worship and Cult of the Dead (Roman)', ib. i, 461-6; L. R. Farnell, *Greek Hero Cults and Ideas of Immortality*, Oxford, 1921; Mogk, *Mythologie*, pp. 20-34; MacCulloch, *Religion*, pp. 165-70; Máchal, *Mythology*, pp. 233-9; Usener, *Göternamen*, p. 91; Schrader, 'Ahnencultus', in *RL* 2d ed., i, 18-38, and in *ERE* ii, 16-31. For traces of Armenian ancestor-cults see Aharonian, *Croyances*, pp. 60-8.

the oppression to which the ox is subjected (xxix, 1);<sup>1</sup> while in the Haptaŋhāiti (Ys. xxxix, 1) honour is given to him as well as to Gōuš Tašan.

In the Younger Avesta he is usually mentioned after Gōuš Tašan (Ys. i, 2; lxx, 2; Vsp. ix, 5; Sīr. i, 14; FW vi, 1); but he is also listed with Xʷarənah, Māh, and Tištrya (Ys. xvi, 4), or with Hvarə, Māh, Tištrya, Satavaēsa, the Stars, Vanant, and Drvāspā (Sīr. ii, 11-14), and is named on an equality with Vərəθrayna (Yt. xiv, 54) or with the souls and Fravašis of the earliest adherents of the religion (Ys. xxvi, 4). He presides over the fourteenth day of the month (Sīr. i, 14; ii, 14; Sīs xxii, 14; xxiii, 2; cf. Bd. xxvii, 24), is a protector of animals, and is distinguished for swiftness (Sīs xxii, 14; xxiii, 2). In the Pahlavi texts, furthermore, Gōšūrun, an auxiliary of Vohūman, is the soul of the primeval ox, and his function is to nourish the world (Gd. Bd. xxvi, 9, 11; Bd. iv, 1-5). He was a friend of Keresāsp, whose soul he refused to allow to enter hell (Dk. IX, xv, 3; SBE xviii, 380).

Moulton suggested<sup>2</sup> that Gōus Urvan bears the same relation to cattle that the Fravašis sustain toward mankind; while Haug<sup>3</sup> held that he was 'the universal soul of earth, the cause of all life and growth... for the earth is compared to a cow'; and Tiele<sup>4</sup> regarded him as an old creator-god later specialised as the creator of cattle.

The association of Gōus Urvan with celestial deities and with Vərəθrayna must, however, cause some hesitation in accepting either of these explanations. The bull and the cow also figure as celestial beings in the Rīg Veda. A cow dwells in the house of Apām Napāt (II, xxxv, 7); Aditi is a cow (I, cliii, 3, etc.), as is Indra's mother (IV, xviii, 10; cf. X, cxi, 2); Vāyu is associated (I, cxxxiv, 4) with the 'nectar-yielding' (*sabardūghā*) cow made by the Rbhus (I, xx, 3; cx, 8; clxi, 3, 6, 7; IV, xxxiii, 4, 8; xxxiv, 9; cf. also VI, xlviii, 11; VIII, i, 10; X, lxix, 8); the Maruts are the children of Rudra by the cow Prśnī (II, xxxiv, 2; V, lii, 16; lx, 5; VI, lxvi, 3), who is usually interpreted as the rain-cloud; <sup>5</sup> and these clouds are regarded as cows. <sup>6</sup> In

<sup>1</sup> See further below, p. 82.

<sup>2</sup> *EZ* p. 346, note 6; cf. E. W. West, in *SBE* v, 20, note 2.

<sup>3</sup> *Essays*, p. 148; cf. pp. 165, note 1, 202, 297, and Dhalla, *Theology*, pp. 44-5, 125-6.

<sup>4</sup> *Religion*, ii, 133-4.

<sup>5</sup> Cf. Macdonell, *Mythology*, pp. 78, 80, 125; Keith, *Religion* p. 198. Hillebrandt, *Mythologie*, iii, 306-8, however, interprets her as the dark half of the year.

<sup>6</sup> Macdonell, *Mythology*, pp. 10, 12.

the Atharva Veda (X, x, 4, 6-8, 10-1, 14-5, 20) the cow has a thousand streams; her spouse is Parjanya; her teats are lightnings; she has given water, cultivated fields, dominion, and food, but Indra deprived her of her milk, which is kept in three vessels in the firmament; she has united with the wind and the sun; and from her teats the rays were born. The gods are frequently termed bulls in the Rig Veda: Indra (X, cxi, 2), Agni (X, viii, 1), Rudra (II, xxxiii, 4, 8, 15), Soma (IX, ii, 6, etc.), Parjanya (V, lxxxiii, 1, etc.), and Dyaus (I, clx, 3; V, xxxvi, 5; lviii, 6)<sup>1</sup>. Furthermore, the appropriateness of the association of Gəuš Urvan with Vərəθra·yana is confirmed by the latter's incarnation as a bull (Yt. xiv, 7).

All possibilities considered, it appears most probable that Gəuš Urvan represents some celestial phenomenon associated with Vərəθra·yana-Indra; and this manifestation seems most likely to have been the storm-wind. Gəuš Urvan 'howled' (*raostā*) and 'lamented' (*garzid*; Bd. iv, 1, 4; cf. ZS iii, 1, 3); but he also protects cattle (SlS xxii, 14; cf. the Pahlavi Rivāyat translated by West, in SBE xviii, 380) and nourishes the world (Bd. iv, 5; Gd. Bd. xxvi, 11).

It may be suggested that Gəuš Urvan was the Iranian counterpart of the terrible Vedic Rudra, whose name—at least to the Indians<sup>2</sup>—meant 'He who howls', an etymology which may help to explain the rather curious fact that the 'Soul of the Kine' also 'howled'. As Gəuš Urvan came to protect cattle, so Rudra, malevolent to them (RV I, cxiv, 8, 10; VI, xxviii, 7; AV XI, ii, 21; VS xvi, 3, 47), is besought to watch over them (RV I, xliii, 2, 6; cxiv, 1; AV XI, ii, 9, 21; VS xvi, 4) and later receives the epithet Paśupati ('Cattle-Lord'), which 'is doubtless assigned to him because unhoused cattle are peculiarly exposed to his attacks and are therefore especially consigned to his care'<sup>3</sup> (cf. AV XI, ii, 2, 5, 9, 11, 19; VS xi, 28, 40, etc.).

The celestial nature of the Ox further explains why the moon contains his semen, and he is doubtless the 'sole-created Ox' (*gav aēvō-dāta*) of Yt. vii, 0; Śr. ii, 12. In the Pahlavi texts this ox is killed by Ahriman, and from his body come

1 Cf. in general Macdonell, *Mythology*, pp. 150-1.

2 Macdonell, *Mythology*, p. 77.

3 ib. p. 75; for Rudra in general see ib. pp. 74-7; Keith, *Religion*, pp. 142-50; Hillebrandt, *Mythologie*, ii, 181-208. This identification seems more plausible than one with the Maruts, though they are particularly associated with Indra (Macdonell, pp. 57, 60, 80-1) or with Prīti.

grain, healing plants, and cattle (Bd. iii, 14, 17-8; iv, 1-2; x, 1-3; xiv, 1-3; xxvii, 2; ZS ii, 6-7; iii, 1; ix, 1-8; Dk. VII, ii, 67). One may perhaps question; however, whether Ahriman was the one who slaughtered the ox in the original version of the myth. Moulton has drawn attention<sup>1</sup> to implied attacks upon Miθra as tauroctonous and upon Haoma in Ys. xxxii, 10, 14; and it may be suggested that as Vohu Manah replaced Miθra in the Gāthās,<sup>2</sup> so, with the increasing sanctity of kine and the restoration of Miθra to his ancient place of honour, Ahriman was substituted for him in his tauroctonous aspect.<sup>3</sup> As early as the Gāthās, then, we may have (Ys. xxix; cf. xlv, 20; li, 14) not merely a protest against nomad onslaughts on herds, but also a veiled polemic on the Mithraic slaying of the Bull. If this be correct, the myth of the tauroctonous Miθra, so profoundly discussed by Cumont,<sup>4</sup> is far more ancient than is generally supposed.

It is even possible that, if this interpretation of Gəuš Urvan as the celestial bull originally slain by Miθra, rather than by Ahriman, be valid, we have at least a partial explanation of the primal meaning of the myth of the tauroctonous Miθra. Though we have ventured to see in Gəuš Urvan—and, we may add, in what was probably his earliest form, the 'sole-created ox'—the Iranian counterpart of the Vedic Rudra, one must remember that; terrible as the Indian deity is, he has a beneficent aspect.<sup>5</sup> The storm-cloud not only devastates, it also fertilises; and when the torrential rains have ended and the sun shines forth, earth blooms with vegetation and animal life rejoices. The storm-cloud vanquished by the sun, and nature's palingenesis—such would seem to be the meaning of the Ox slain by Miθra, while from the slaughtered Bull new life comes to the world. Though the myth possesses partial counterparts in India, its developed form would appear to be peculiarly Iranian; and its earliest version, we may suggest, was preserved by Mithraism, whereas the Avestan form, by its substitution of Ahriman, is an obscuration which would render the legend well-nigh unintelligible were it not for a few scattered allusions which escaped the notice of reformers and redactors.

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<sup>1</sup> *EZ* pp. 72, 129, 140, 357, note 1.

<sup>2</sup> See above, pp. 35-7.

<sup>3</sup> A similar suggestion is advanced by Cumont (*TM* i, 186), although he supposes Miθra to have been substituted for Ahriman, the reverse of the development suggested by the present writer.

<sup>4</sup> *TM* i, 166-72, 179-88, 305-6.

<sup>5</sup> Macdonell, *Mythology*, p. 76; Keith, *Religion*, p. 143.

## Section H.

## HAOMA.

This divinity, the counterpart of the Indian Soma and the subject of exhaustive discussion by many scholars,<sup>1</sup> is not mentioned by name in the Gāthās, since his cult was deeply disapproved by Zaratustra,<sup>2</sup> although there are a number of unfavourable veiled allusions to him and to his worship (Ys. xxix, 1 ; xxxii, 10, 12, 14 ; xlviii, 10 ; li, 4).

In the Younger Avesta Haoma is celebrated in the ninth, tenth, and eleventh Hās of the Yasna. Blessings attend on those who brew him (Ys. ix, 3-13, 17-23, 27 ; xi, 10) ; he drives foes afar (Ys. ix, 24, 28-32 ; x, 6) ; he belongs to the righteous, not to the wicked (Ys. x, 16) ; and he curses with sterility those who fail to do him honour (Ys. x, 15 ; xi, 3, 5-6). He possesses healing remedies (Ys. x, 7, 9 ; Vsp. ix, 1-2) which are associated with the bliss of Vohu Manah (Ys. x, 12) ; and he is the only drink which does not intoxicate (Ys. x, 8 [cf. 14] ; Yt. xvii, 5) but fills his worshippers with joy, making the pauper feel rich (Ys. x, 13). It was he who gave Daēnā to Ahura Mazda as a girdle decked with stars and made by spirits (Ys. ix, 26) ; and he grew primarily on Haraitī (Elburz). There he offered sacrifice to Šraoša, Drvāspā, and Mišra (Ys. x, 10 ; lvii, 19 ; Yt. ix, 17 ; x, 88), and from that height holy birds bore him everywhere, to the Iškata Upāiri-Saēna and the Starō-Sāra mountains, from the lofty mountain-wall to the white-gleaming mountains (Ys. x, 10-11).<sup>3</sup> Thus Haoma grows chiefly on the mountains (Ys. x, 3-4 ; cf. 17) ; and the southern wind flies from Vourukaša to his paths (Yt. viii, 33). He furthers Aša (Ys. viii, 9), who accompanies him (Ys. x, 8 ; Yt. xvii, 5). The portion of the sacrificial victim due him is the cheeks, the tongue, and the left eye (Ys. xi, 4-5 ; SIS xi, 4). Zaratustra honours him (Ys. ix, 16-21) ; and one passage (Ys. xi, 3), in which he curses those who 'withhold him when brewed, like a thief worthy of

<sup>1</sup> Spiegel, *Periode*, pp. 168-78, and *EA* i, 432-4 ; ii, 114-5 ; Geiger, *OK* pp. 152-3, 230-1, 470-2 ; Tiele, *Religion*, ii, 234-40 ; Dhalla, *Theology*, pp. 119-22 ; J. J. Modi, 'Haoma in the Avesta', in his *Anthropological Papers*, i (Bombay, 1911 [?]), 225-43, and *The Religious Ceremonies and Customs of the Parsees*, Bombay, 1922, pp. 300-16. For the Indian Soma see Macdonell, *Mythology*, pp. 104-15, and the references there given, to which Keith, *Religion*, pp. 166-72, may now be added.

<sup>2</sup> Moulton, *EZ* pp. 71-3, 358, note 1 ; 379, note 8.

<sup>3</sup> The 'lofty mountain-wall' is probably Elburz ; the 'white-gleaming mountains' are perhaps the western Hindū-Kūš and Ghoraband, north of Kābūl (Bartholomae, *AirWb.* coll. 398, 1599).



death', may perhaps be interpreted as a protest against the ban placed upon him in the Gāthās.

In the Pahlavi texts Hōm co-operates with Tištar, Satvēs, Vohūman, Arēdvīvsūr, the Fravašis, Dīn, Vāt, and Būrj in executing the commands of Aūharmazd concerning rain (Dk. III, cxii, 5); and he also collaborates with Tištar, together with Vohūman and Būrj (Bd. vii, 3; ZS vi, 3).

The chief Avestan epithets peculiar to Haoma are *ašavazah-* ('furthering Aša'), *huxratu-* ('possessing good wisdom'), and *pouru-sarəda-* ('possessing many sorts'), the last of which implies that Haoma was not a single specific plant. He alone is *zanru-paiti-* ('lord of the district'); but he shares with Ātar the epithet *nmānō-paiti-* ('lord of the house'); he and Miθra are *dairəhu-paiti-* ('lord of the land') and *vīspaiti-* ('lord of the village'); and these two, like 'Aredvī', are *anāhita-* ('undefiled').

In Mithraism Haoma was identified with Bacchus,<sup>1</sup> and he is doubtless the *δρῶμι* offered to the underworld-god (Plutarch, *De Iside et Osiride*, 46).<sup>2</sup> On the other hand, his appellation is almost wholly lacking in Iranian proper names.<sup>3</sup> In two Aramaic papyri of Elephantine, dating from 459 B.C., the name *הומרת* ('Given by Haoma'; cf. Sanskrit Somadatta) occurs;<sup>4</sup> but other supposed instances, as the *המרתה* of Esther iii, 1, etc.,<sup>5</sup> and the Sakā Haumavargā of the Old Persian inscriptions (NR a, 25),<sup>6</sup> are too doubtful to be cited in this connexion.

The nature of Haoma as a divinity is too thoroughly established to require detailed discussion.

<sup>1</sup> Cumont, *TM* i, 146-7.

<sup>2</sup> See Moulton, *EZ* pp. 399-400; Clemen, *Nachrichten*, pp. 158-60.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. Justi, *Namenbuch*, p. 126.

<sup>4</sup> Cowley, *Papyri*, C (=9), 2; D (=8), 2 (pp. 22, 23, 26, 27).

<sup>5</sup> The meaning 'Given (or, Created) by Haoma' is proposed by Benfey, *Monatsnamen*, p. 199, and by St. Clair Tisdall, in *Jewish Quarterly Review*, new series, iv (1913), 101, but is highly uncertain (Septuagint *Ἀμαδάθου* and variants). For other views see Brown, *Lexicon*, p. 241; L. B. Paton, *A Critical and Exegetical Commentary on the Book of Esther*, Edinburgh, 1908, p. 69, and in *Old Testament and Semitic Studies in Memory of William Rainey Harper*, Chicago, 1909, ii, 16, 47; P. Jensen, cited by Justi, *Namenbuch*, p. 126; Scheftelowitz, *Arisches*, i, 43.

<sup>6</sup> So Tolman, *Lexicon*, p. 131; but see Hillebrandt, *Mythologie*, is 102-3; Justi, *Geographie*, ii, 22; Moulton, *EZ* p. 73; and the reference, given by Bartholomae, *AirWb.* col. 1735. The reading may equally well be Humavarkā (the Babylonian version has Umurga, and the Elamitic has Umurka). They were the Σκούρι Ἀμύργιοι of Herodotus vii, 64, and lived in the region corresponding to the modern Bādashān and Tuxāristān, i.e. outside the haoma-area.

## Section I.

## HVARE.

The nature of Hvarə ('Sun') is too obvious to require establishment. The sixth Yašt, written in his honour, states that he purifies the earth and all things therein, which otherwise the demons would destroy; and that whosoever venerates him venerates Ahura Mazda and every other sacred being, these words being repeated in the first Nyāišn, also composed in praise of the sun. He is repeatedly mentioned in the Avesta. He is the fairest of Mazda's forms (Ys. xxxvi, 6) and is his eye (Ys. i, 11; lxviii, 22), just as the Vedic Sūrya is the eye of Mitra and Varuṇa (RV I, cxv, 1; VI, li, 1; VII, lxi, 1; lxiii, 1; X, xxxvii, 1; cf. I, 1, 6).<sup>1</sup> His chariot is led by Bāmyā (Yt. x, 143); demons work only after he has set (Yt. iv, 8); and he, like Moon and Stars, goes on his path through the glory of the Fravašis, who showed them these ways whereas hitherto they had remained stationary (Yt. xiii, 16, 57). Hvarə presides over the eleventh day of the month (Sīr. i, 11; ii, 11; SIS xxii, 11; xxiii, 2; cf. Bd. xxvii, 24). His blessing frees the righteous from suspicion, and he is distinguished for powers of observation (SIS. xxii, 11; xxiii, 2), while repentance should be made before the Sun and Mitrō, the Moon and the Fire of Aūharmazd (MX liii, 8).

Hvarə's only Avestan epithets, apart from *xšaēta*-('shining', whence the usual Modern Persian word for 'sun', *xuršīd*), are *aməša*-('immortal') and *raēva*-('radiant'), which are exclusively his; and *aurvaṭ-aspa*-('possessing swift horses'), which he shares with Apam Napāt.

One of the chief Old Persian deities was Ἡλῖος (Herodotus, i, 131; Strabo, p. 732; cf. Evander [toward the end of the third century B.C.] as cited by Zenobius, 'Επιτομή ἐκ τῶν Ταρπίου καὶ Διδύμου παροιμῶν, v, 78; Aristides [in the reign of Antoninus Pius], *Apologia*, vi, 1), to whom prayer was made by Xerxes (Herodotus, vii, 54), Miθra and Fire often being conjoined with him in invocation (Curtius Rufus, IV, xiii, 12; cf. xiv, 24). He had sacred horses (Xenophon, *Anabasis*, IV, v, 35; Curtius Rufus, III, iii, 11; Ovid, *Fasti*, i, 385-6; Justin, I, x, 5; Philostratus, *Vita Apollonii*, i, 31) and a chariot (Xenophon, *Cyropaedia*, VIII, iii, 12; Dio Chrysostom, *Orationes*, xxxvi, 39); while

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Macdonnell, *Mythology*, pp. 23, 30; Keith, *Religion*, pp. 96, 104. For the Iranian deity see Dhalla, *Theology*, pp. 126-7, 241; and for traces of solar cult in Armenia cf. Abeghian, *Völkerglaube*, pp. 41-7; Ananikian, *Mythology*, pp. 47, 49-52; Aharonian, *Croyances*, pp. 36-41.

Flavius Vopiscus (*Aurelianus*, v, 5) even speaks of a temple and of a royal priestess of the Sun. It was forbidden to expose the person before sun or moon (Pliny, *Historia naturalis*, XXVIII, vi, 69), and 'white leprosy' was regarded as punishment for sin against the sun (Herodotus, i, 138). Procopius (*De bello Persico*, I, iii, 20) alludes to worship of the rising sun, which was one of the principal requirements laid upon Christian martyrs (Sozomen, *Historia ecclesiastica*, II, ix, 5; x, 3).<sup>1</sup>

Hvarə, whose Sanskrit etymological equivalent is *svār*- ('sun'), finds his Indian counterpart in the Vedic *Sūrya*,<sup>2</sup> and the cult of the sun-god was once clearly of great importance in India,<sup>3</sup> where, at a later period, the Iranian cult was introduced,<sup>4</sup> the belief that the sun-god healed leprosy even forming the traditional motive for the composition of Mayūra's *Sūryaśataka*.<sup>5</sup>

The sun was one of the principal objects of Scythian worship under the name *Οιόσσυρος* (Herodotus, iv, 59) or, as Hesiychius writes it, *Γαιτόσσυρος*, perhaps for \**Γαιτόσσυρος*\*, to which may be added the variants *Οιόσσυρος* in manuscripts of Herodotus and *Γογγόσσυρος* in Origen (*Contra Celsum*, vi, 39).<sup>7</sup> The meaning is wholly uncertain. Marquart<sup>8</sup> explains it as for *gaēṣa-sūra*-,

<sup>1</sup> See also Delehaye, *Actes*, pp. 23, 24, 27, 29, 37, 42, 47, 48, 49, 51, 52, 57, 58, 64, 75, 82, 85, 86, 89, 90, 95, 96, 98, 99, 113; Hoffmann, *Auszüge*, pp. 24, 29, 51, 53, 75, 88; Braun, *Akten*, pp. 1, 2, 22, 27, 30, 42, 66, 67, 94, 100, 101, 111, 118, 142, 152, 167, 170, 182.

<sup>2</sup> See Macdonell, *Mythology*, pp. 30-2; Keith, *Religion*, pp. 104-5.

<sup>3</sup> R. G. Bhandarkar, *Vaiṣṇavism, Śaivism and Minor Religious Systems* (Strasbourg, 1913), pp. 151-3.

<sup>4</sup> R. G. Bhandarkar, *Vaiṣṇavism, Śaivism and Minor Religious Systems* (Strasbourg, 1913), pp. 153-5; cf. also A. Weber, 'Über die Magavyakti des Kṛishṇadāsa Miṣra', in *SBAW* 1879, pp. 446-88, and 'Über zwei Parteschriften zu Gunsten der Mage, resp. Śākadavīpiya Brāhmaṇa', ib. 1880, pp. 27-78; T. Bloch, 'Eine indische Version der iranischen Sage von Sām', in *ZdmG* lxiiv (1910), 733-8; E. W. Clark, 'Śākadavīpa and Śvetadvīpa', in *JAOS* xxxix (1919), 209-42; W. Kirfel, *Die Kosmographie der Inder*, Bonn, 1920, pp. 101, 103, 114, 120, 130.

<sup>5</sup> G. P. Quackenbos, *The Sanskrit Poems of Mayūra*, New York, 1917, pp. 23-4, 26-7, 29-30, 31-2, 35-8.

<sup>6</sup> For initial  $\gamma = \varphi$  in Hesiychius see G. Meyer, *Griechische Grammatik*,<sup>3</sup> Leipzig, 1896, pp. 314-5; G. N. Hatzidakis, *Einleitung in die neugriechische Grammatik*, do., 1892, pp. 116-8.

<sup>7</sup> *Philologus*, Supplementband x (1905), 90.

<sup>8</sup> An inscription purporting to have been found in Italy to  $\Sigma[\epsilon]\lambda[\eta]\eta\eta[\eta]$   $\text{Οἰτοσκύρα καὶ Ἀπόλλων[ι] Οἰτοσκύρω}$  is regarded as spurious (*Corpus Inscriptionum Graecarum*, xiv [Berlin, 1890], 114\*). For the relation of Hvarə to Xvarənah both etymologically and mythologically see below, p. 123.

‘herd-mighty’; assuming an initial *ḥ*, it might conceivably be connected with the obscure Sanskrit *vētana-* (if for *\*voitō-no-*), ‘reward’, so that the god would be ‘reward-mighty’; or if it really began with *O*, one might possibly combine it with Avestan *aēta-*, ‘shining’, and *sūra-*, ‘mighty’. Obviously no conclusion can be reached with the material at hand.

### Section J.

#### MĀH.

Māh (‘Moon’), the lunar god, is celebrated in the seventh Yašt, which is practically identical with the third Nyāišn; but the only important statement which it contains is that he is the abode of the Aməša Spəntas, who thence ‘apportion glory to the earth created by Ahura’ (Yt. vii, 3=Ny. iii, 5). The Pahlavi gloss on Ny. iii, 1, states that Māh is formed from Vohūman, and from Māh Gōšūrun is shaped; and also (§ 4) that the waxing moon ‘accepts deeds and merit of the earthly beings, and the reward and recompense of the heavenly beings’, while in its waning ‘it consigns the deeds and merit to the heavenly beings, and reward and recompense to the earthly beings’, adding (§ 7) that the epithet *īštavant-* (‘wealth-possessing’) means that ‘it gives fecundity to cattle’, and *saokəwant-* (‘advantageous’) that ‘it gives fruition to water-plants’.

Māh is frequently mentioned in lists of celestial divinities (Ys. i, 11, 16; ii, 11; cf. xvi, 4; lxxi, 9; G. iii, 6; Yt. x, 145; xii 33; Sīr. i, 12; ii, 12). Like sun and stars he goes in his path through the glory of the Fravašis, who have revealed this road (Yt. xiii, 16, 57); with these celestial bodies he speeds the righteous soul on its way to paradise (Vd. vii, 52); and he rises above Haraiti on the path created by Mazda, in the place appointed by the divinities (Vd. xxi, 9). He presides over the twelfth day of the month (Sīr. i, 12; ii, 12; SIS xxii, 12; xxiii, 2; cf. Bd. xxvii, 24).

In the Pahlavi texts repentance must be made before the Sun and Mitrō, the Moon and the Fire of Aūharmazd (MX liii, 8); and Māh grants an assistant to champions, being himself a noteworthy protector (SIS xxii, 12; xxiii, 2). Weal is transmitted by Mitrō, aided by Sōk, from the world on high through Māh to Arēdvīvsūr, who delivers it to heaven (*spihr*), and so to earth (Gd. Bd. xxvi, 13). The right eye of the sacrificial victim is Māh’s portion (SIS xi, 4), but he is injured by the gaze of a menstruous woman (AVN lxxii, 6).

The chief Avestan epithets peculiar to Māh are *afnahvant-* ('rich in possessions'), *ištavant-* ('wealth-possessing'), *gaočīθra-* ('possessing the seed of the kine'), *baēšaza-* ('healing'), *saokavant-* ('advantageous'), and *zairimiyāvant-* ('possessing [fixed] abode'); with Tištrya, Miθra, and Xvarənah he shares *yaoxštīvant-* ('skilful'), and *varəčahvant-* ('energetic') with Tištrya and Xvarənah.

In Old Persian proper names Māh(i) forms a component in *Mzdārzs* or *Mzīdārzs* ('Given [or, Created] by Māh') as well as in the Thracian *Μισιάδης* ('Mighty through Māh'),<sup>1</sup> other theophorous appellations of interest in this connexion being *Māhāfrīd* ('Blessing of Māh'), *Māhbāčāi* ('Possessing the Arm of Māh'), *Māhbōδ* ('Having One's Mind on Māh'), *Māhduxtī* ('Daughter [Given by] Māh'),<sup>2</sup> *Māhyār* ('Friend of Māh'), *Māhmāt* ('Wise through Māh'), *Māhpanāh* ('Protected by Māh'; cf. *Μηράτης*), *Māhsād* ('Rejoicing in Māh'), *Māhvin-dāt* ('Found by Māh'), *Μηβουζάτης* ('Having Salvation through Māh') and *Μηίφρυγος* ('Having Fortune through Māh').<sup>3</sup>

Herodotus states (i. 131) that the moon was one of the chief objects of Persian worship (cf. Strabo, p. 732; Evander, cited by Zenobius, *Ἐπιτομή ἐκ τῶν Τερπζίου καὶ Διδύμου περὶ ἱερῶν*, v, 78; Aristides, *Apologia*, vi, 3; Epiphanius, *Expositio fidei*, 13); and his adoration was occasionally required of Christian martyrs,<sup>4</sup> especially as he was considered a son of Hōrmīzd.<sup>5</sup> In Mithraism the moon was identified with Selene-Luna:<sup>6</sup> and on Indo-Scythian coins he appears, under the name MAO(O), as a diademed male deity facing left, wearing chiton and himation, and girded with a sword, with a crescent behind his shoulders, and with his right hand advanced, while in his left is a long sceptre with a pendent banderole.<sup>7</sup> He may likewise be the MANAOBAFO of Huvīška's coins, where he is represented as a

<sup>1</sup> For the second component see Kretschmer, *Einleitung*, pp. 215-6.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. the Aramaic forms Mahdūx and Maiduxt (Montgomery, *Incantation*, xii, 11; xiv, 2; xvi, 3; xxxv, 2).

<sup>3</sup> See Justi, *Namenbuch*, pp. 184-8.

<sup>4</sup> Delehay, *Actes*, pp. 57, 82; Hoffmann, *Auszüge*, pp. 24, 29, 88; Braun, *Akten*, pp. 28, 111.

<sup>5</sup> Braun, *Akten*, pp. 66, 67, 152, 167.

<sup>6</sup> Cumont, *TM* i, 121 sqq.

<sup>7</sup> Stein, *Coins*, p. 3 and fig. iv; von Sallet, *Nachfolger*, pp. 196, 202, 208; Hoffmann, *Auszüge*, p. 145.

four-armed divinity facing left, with a crescent on his shoulders.<sup>1</sup> He also figures as a goč (*yazd*) in Manichaeism.<sup>2</sup>

In the Rig Veda there is no specific moon-deity corresponding to the Iranian Māh, but from the Atharva Veda (I. iii, 4; II, xxii; IV, xxxix 7; V, xxiv, 10; VI, lxxxiii, 1; VIII, ii, 15; XIX, xix, 4; xxvii, 5; xliii, 4) onward Candra or Candramās is worshipped as the moon. In Armenia Valarsak, the founder of the Arsakid dynasty, built a temple at Armavir, adorning it with images of the sun and moon, as well as of his ancestors;<sup>3</sup> and traces of lunar cult survive among the modern Armenians;<sup>4</sup> while other instances of divinities of the moon are found in the Roman Luna and in the Lithuanian Mēnuo.<sup>5</sup>

### Section K.

#### MITRA.

After the masterly study of the *Textes et monuments figurés relatifs aux mystères de Mithra* by M. Franz Cumont it might seem almost presumptuous to discuss this deity;<sup>6</sup> yet a renewed and independent investigation of the Avestan evidence and of some material which has become available since M. Cumont's work appears not merely further to elucidate the subject, but to give additional depth and confirmation to his conclusions.

1 Stein, *Coins*, p. 12 and fig. xix; von Sallet, *Nachfolger*, p. 201; Hoffmann (*Auszüge*, p. 148), however, considers this deity to be Manō Vohu, while T. Bloch (in *ZdmG* lxiv [1910], 742-3) regards him as \*Manahō Bayō, 'God of the (Pious) Mind', and identifies him with Šiva.

2 Müller, *Handschriften-Reste*, pp. 17, 39.

3 Moses of Khoren, ii, 8, 12, 14, 49, 77.

4 Abeghian, *Folksglaube*, pp. 45-9; Anunikian, *Mythology*, pp. 47-8, 51-2; Aharonian, *Croyances*, pp. 41-2.

5 Wissowa, *Religion*, pp. 315-7; Usener, *Götternamen*, pp. 95-6. Brückner, *Mitologia*, pp. 154-5, interprets the pagan Russian Choraś as the moon.

6 Cf. A. Meillet, 'Le Dieu indo-iranien Mitra', in *JA* X, i (1907), 143-59; Dhalla, *Theology*, pp. 103-11; Moulton, *EZ* pp. 62-7, 72,

*Misteri*, pp. 220-81 ('Misteri persiani'); L. H. Gray, 'Deux étymologies mithriaques', in *Le Muséon*, 1915, pp. 189-92. For the Indian Mitra see Macdonell, *Mythology*, pp. 29-30; Hillebrandt, *Mythologie*, iii, 53-9; Keith, *Religion*, pp. 96-8, 103-4. Of older studies reference may still be made to F. Windischmann, *Mithra*, Leipzig, 1857; A. Eggers, *Der arische (indo-iranische) Gott Mitra*, Dorpat, 1894.

Miθra (‘Sun’) is celebrated at length in the tenth Yašt (cf. also Ny. ii). He was created by Ahura Mazda equal with the ‘Wise Lord’ himself (Yt. x, 1);<sup>1</sup> he is accompanied by Vāta and Dāmōiš Upamana (§ 9) or by Aši, Pārēndi, Hām-varēti, Kavaēm Xvarēnah, @wāša, Dāmōiš Upamana, and the Fravašis (§ 66); on his right is Sraoša, on his left is Rašnu, and around him are Waters, Plants, and the Fravašis (§ 100); when he goes forth to battle Rašnu is on his right, Cistā and Daēnayā Upamana are on his Left, while Dāmōiš Upamana (in his boar form), Kavaēm Xvarēnah, and Ātar likewise attend him (§§ 126-127). He is associated with Rašnu and Sraoša (§ 41) or with Sraoša and Nairyō-saŋha (§ 52). He has received his dwelling from Rašnu (§§ 79, 81); he makes appeal to Ahura Mazda (§§ 53-6, 73-4), by whom he is honoured (§ 123) and appointed to guard the good creation (§ 103); and Haoma offers sacrifice to him (§§ 88-90). Miθra possesses horses and a chariot (§§ 76, 124-32, 136), the latter, star-adorned and spirit-made, being fashioned by Spenta Mainyu (§ 143), and guided by Bāmyā (§ 143) or by Aši (§ 68). His paths were prepared by Daēnā; he is sped on his way by Dāmōiš Upamana (§ 68); he is preceded by Vərəθraŋna in boar form (§§ 70-2); and it was he who created the bonds between men (§§ 116-7).

Elsewhere in the Younger Avesta Miθra is named in connexion with Rašnu (Vd. iv, 54-5); with Rašnu and Daēnā (VYt. 52); with Ahura Mazda, Rašnu, and Ārmaiti (Yt. xiii, 3); and very frequently with Rāman. With Vərəθraŋna and Rašnu he goes to and fro between the opposing armies (Yt. xiv, 47), and fellowship (*haecōdra-*) with him is the best of all fellowships in the wide space between sun and moon (Ny. i, 15; Yt. vi, 5). A sacrifice to Aši is equivalent to one to him (Yt. xvii, 2); and she, like Daēnā, is his sister, while Sraoša and Rašnu are his brothers, all being children of Ahura Mazda and Ārmaiti (Yt. xvii, 16). When he is said to have a thousand ears and ten thousand eyes (Ys. i, 3, etc.), the Pahlavi gloss of Ys. i, 3, explains this as meaning that ‘five hundred spirits sit upon his head and do a thousand of the work of his ear...and five thousand spirits sit upon his head’.

The epithets of Miθra are more numerous and distinctive than those of any other deity in the Iranian pantheon, being an even hundred, or two more than those of Ahura Mazda, including the latter’s list of seventy-four names. Of those pecu-

<sup>1</sup> In their reply to the edict of Mihrnerseh, on the contrary, the Christian bishops declared that Mihr was born of a human mother and, in fact, of incestuous relations with his own mother (Eliseus, ii).

liar to him the most noteworthy are *ayrya-* ('foremost') *aḍao yamna-* ('undeceivable'), *aḍairi-dahyu-*, *antarə-dahyu-*, *aipi-dahyu-*, *aiwi-dahyu-*, *ādahyu-*, *upāiri-dahyu-*, *pairi-dahyu-* ('[dwelling] beneath, within, behind, round about, and above the country'), *anaiwi-druxta-* ('undeceived'), *auruša-* ('white'), *aurušāspa-* ('possessing white horses'), *arš-vačah-* ('possessing right words'), *aštraŋhād-* ('guiding by the goad'), *āzuiti-dā-* ('giving fatness'), *uparō-nmāna-* ('possessing a house on high'), *karšō razah-* ('[giving] laws to the furrow'), *xšabro-dā-* ('kingdom-giving'), *xšvivi-ššu-* ('possessing swift arrows'),<sup>1</sup> *gayō-dā-* ('life-giving'), *darəya-arštaya-* ('possessing a long spear'), *parō-kavid-* ('far-reaching'), *puθrō-da-* ('son-giving'), *pərəθu-vaēdayana-* ('possessing a broad look-out'), *fraxšti-dā-* ('giving fulness'), *frat-ūp-* ('water-filling'), *baēvarə-čašman-* ('possessing ten thousand eyes'), *baēvarə-spasana-* ('possessing ten thousand spies'), *vasō-gayoyaoiti-* ('possessing fields at pleasure'), *vahmō-sandah-* ('prayer-fulfilling'), *vaθwō-dā-* ('herd-giving'), *vindaṭ-spāda-* ('army-finding'), *vouru-gayoyaoiti-* ('possessing wide pastures'), *spas-* ('watcher'), *sruṭ-gaosa-* ('possessing a hearing ear'), *zaēnahvant-* ('watchful'), *hazaŋra-gaoša-* ('possessing a thousand ears'), *hurāhya-* ('possessing a good chariot'), *huzāēna-* ('possessing good weapons'), *hvaspa-* ('possessing good horses'). Among the epithets which Mišra shares with other divinities the following may be mentioned: *ahura-* ('lord') with Apām Napāt and Ahura Mazda; *anāhita-* ('undefiled') with 'Arədvī' and Haoma; *aḍaoya-* ('undeceivable'), *axʷafna-* ('sleepless'), *xšayant-* ('ruling'), and *višpō-vīdvant-* ('all-knowing') with Ahura Mazda; *vyāxana-* ('eloquent') with Atar and Nairyō-saŋha; *aorīō-nāman-* ('whose name is spoken') with Atar, Vanant, and Sraoša; *raθaēštar-* ('warrior') with Atar and Sraoša; *xšayamna-* ('ruling'), *rāma-šayana-* ('possessing a peaceful abode'), and *hušayana-* ('possessing a good abode') with Tištrya; *hazaŋra-yaoxšti-* ('possessing a thousand faculties') with Dahāka (!); *aredra-* ('true') and *gufra-* ('deep, mysterious') with the Fravašis; *uxšat-urvara-* ('plant-increasing'), *taṭ-āp-* ('possessing falling water'), and *zavanō-srūt-* ('summons-hearing') with Sata-vaēsa; *tanu-māθra-* ('whose body is the Spell') with Sraoša; *daiŋhu-paiti-* and *višpaiti-* ('lord of the land' and 'of the village') with Haoma; and *axʷafnya-* ('sleepless') and *jayāur-vah-* ('alert') with Ham-varəti.

In the Pahlavi texts Mitrō, aided by Sōk, transmits weal from the world on high through Māh to Arədvīvsūr, who passes

<sup>1</sup> In Mithraic art Mišra is occasionally represented with a bow and quiver (Cumont, *TM* i, 183; cf. ii, 211 [with fig. 38], 231).



it to heaven (*spihr*), and so to earth (Gd. Bd. xxvi, 13); and assisted by Sōk, he rules the world with justice (ib. §§21, 22). He keeps daily record of man's thoughts, words, and deeds concerning others (DD xiv, 2-5); with Rašn he makes up the soul's account and reckoning at the Cinvat Bridge (SD i, 4; xviii, 16; c, 2); and the pair, together with Srōš, are present at the final judgement (MX ii, 118-20; cf. Dk. IX, xxxix, 9, 10, 16). Repentance must be made before Mitrō and the Sun, the Moon and the Fire of Aūharmazd (MX liii, 8). Mitrō is associated with Rām (Dk. IX, ix, 7); Aštāt (ib. IX, xx, 4); and with Rašn, Vahrām, Vāi, Aštāt, and Dīn (AVN v, 3); and he is also mentioned together with Vohūman and Srōš (Dk. IX, xxviii, 3), as well as with Srōš, Rašn, Vahrām, Aštāt, and the Xvarənah of the Mazdayasnian Religion (BYt. iii, 32). He is the judge of the righteous and is distinguished for his judicial powers (SIS xxii, 16; xxiii, 3).

According to the Turfān fragments Miθra is, furthermore, 'a liberator and benefactor' (בֹּרֵתֵר אֶחָד בְּנוֹבְאֵר); he is associated with Frēdōn and all the angels; he comes from the west, clothed in wind, water, and fire; and he is a son of God.<sup>1</sup>

The Mithraic monuments<sup>2</sup> show a very decided preference for the epithet *invictus* (thrice with the Greek equivalent ἀνίκητος); but Miθra is also *dīkaios* (cf. *arədra-*, 'true') or *δίκαιος καὶ δίκαιος*; *ἐπήκοος* (cf. *vahmō-səndah-*, 'prayer-fulfilling'; *srutgaoša-*, 'possessing a hearing ear'; *zavanō-srūt-*, 'summons-hearing'; *zavanō-svan-*, 'hearing at summons'; and *hazara-gaoša-*, 'possessing a thousand ears'); *genitor* (cf. *āzuiti-dā-*, 'giving fatness'; *uxsaṭ-urvara-*, 'plant-increasing'; *gayō-dā-*, 'life-giving'; *puθrō-dā-*, 'son-giving'; *fraxšti-dā-*, 'giving fulness'; and *vaθwō-dā-* 'herd-giving'), *incorruptus* (cf. *anā-hita-*, 'undefiled'); *indeprehensibilis* (cf. *gufra-*, 'deep, mysterious'); *insuperabilis* (cf. *amiθwa-*, 'incomparable'); and *summus* (cf. *ayrya-*, 'foremost'; *bərazant-*, 'high'; *mazišta-*, 'most great'). He likewise has the name Navarze or Nabarze, which the present writer<sup>3</sup> has explained as standing for \*Nava-varz- ('Making Anew'), comparing it with Mithra's epithet *salutaris*.

The association of Miθra with kine and agriculture is implied by his Avestan epithets *aštraθhād-* ('guiding by the

<sup>1</sup> Müller, *Handschriften-Reste*, pp. 20, 39, 55; cf. also pp. 18, 77; Le Coq, *Manichaica*, ii, 5, 6.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. the epithets collected by Cumont, *TM* ii, 532-3.

<sup>3</sup> In *Le Muséon*, 1915, p. 191-2. A fantastic etymology (\*Māhi-brzāna) is proposed by G. Hüsing, *Die iranische Ueberlieferung und das arische System*, Leipzig, 1909, p. 21.

goad'), *karšō-razah-* ('[giving] laws to the furrow'), *vasō-gaoyaoiti-* ('possessing fields at pleasure'), *vouru-gaoyaoiti-* ('possessing wide pastures'), and *vaθwō-dā-* ('herd-giving'). His association with the celestial ox which, combined with the earthly sacrifice of oxen in his honour, apparently gave rise to the myth of the tauroctonous Mithra, has already been discussed.<sup>1</sup>

In the light of the epithet *gufra-* ('deep, mysterious'), which Mithra shares with the Fravašis, and of his 'fellowship' (*haxədra-*), one may suggest that the confraternities found in historic Mithraism<sup>2</sup> existed in the Iranian period; and in the epithet *aortō-nāman-* ('whose name is spoken'), used often of him and only rarely of Ātar, Vanant, and Sraoša, one may perhaps see an allusion to his return from the banishment pronounced upon him in the Gāthās: he might now appear in his true form, and his own name might now be uttered, so that he need no longer be disguised as Vohu Manah.<sup>3</sup>

Although Mithra is formally mentioned in the Achaemenian inscriptions only by Artaxerxes II and III in association with Auramazdā and Anāhita (Art. Sus. a, 4-5 [Babylonian and Elamitic]; Ham. 5-6) or with Auramazdā alone (Art. Pers. a, 25; b, 33) —of which an echo may be found in the command of Chosroes II that the Christians should worship 'Jupiter, Apollo, and Diana'<sup>4</sup>—his popularity in this period is shown by such personal names as *Μίθροβζιος*, *Μίθροβζρξάνης*, *Μίθροβάρης*, *Μίθροβονζάρης*, *Μίθρζδάρης*, *Μίθραφέργης* (cf. Mitrafarrē ['Possessing the Glory of (or through) Mithra'] in the Paikūli inscription),<sup>5</sup> *Μίθρζιος*, *Μίθρηνης*, *Μίθρζξος*, *Μίθροπαύστης*, *Μίθρζύστης*, *Ίθζμίτρης*, *Προμίτρης*, *Σιρομίτρης*, *Σειομίτρης*, and *Σουοζμίτρης*.<sup>6</sup> In Babylonian documents of this epoch we find the names Mitirryadada or Mitradāti (cf. מִתְרַת in the Elephantine Aramaic papyri xxvii 2, 7; xc, 7),<sup>7</sup> Mitrātu, and Mitraen (cf. *Μίθρήνης*),<sup>8</sup> and מִתְרַסְרָא (\*Mithra- sāra-, 'Having Mithra

<sup>1</sup> Above, pp. 81-2.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. Cumont, *TM* i, 50-1, 326-8, and see above, p. 37.

<sup>3</sup> See above, pp. 35-7.

<sup>4</sup> *AS* V Jun. 166.

<sup>5</sup> E. Herzfeld, *Paikuli*, i, 83.

<sup>6</sup> Cf. Justi, *Namenbuch*, pp. 208-17, 143, 260, 303, 318, 503, and especially Cumont, *TM* ii, 76-85.

<sup>7</sup> Cowley, *Papyri*, pp. 89, 190.

<sup>8</sup> Clay, *Documents*, p. 28; *Artaxerxes*, p. 63; *Darius*, p. 55.

as Head')<sup>1</sup> Other names of interest are Artamitra ('True Miθra'),<sup>2</sup> Mitradastās ('Possessing the Hand of Miθra' [?]),<sup>3</sup> the Armenian Mehrevandak ('Servant of Miθra'), Mehrūzan ('Mighty through Miθra'), etc.,<sup>4</sup> Mihrhormizd (מִיְהִרְהוֹרְמִיזְד) on an Aramaic incantation-bowl;<sup>5</sup> Mehrūdan ('Knowing Miθra') on a similar Mandaean bowl;<sup>6</sup> Miθravahišt (מִיְתְרָוּהִישֵׁת, 'Miθra is best') in an Aramaic papyrus from Egypt;<sup>7</sup> and Mihrjān in the *Arabian Nights*.<sup>8</sup>

The name Μήρπρζαθης, the leader of the Lydians at Salamis (Æschylus, *Persae*, 43), is particularly interesting as showing that the Persians of the Achaemenian period honoured Miθra by Gāθās.<sup>9</sup> His importance at this time is further indicated by the name of the seventh month of the Old Persian calendar, Bāgayādi ('God-Worship'; Bh. i, 55), which recurs in the Sogdian Fayāz, Bayakānj,<sup>10</sup> and which is equivalent to the Avestan month Miθra (Āfr. iii, 10; Bd. xxv, 20), the Cappadocian Μῆρρ and its variants, and the Armenian Mehekan.<sup>11</sup> He likewise presided over the sixteenth day of each Avestan month (Sīr. i, 16; ii, 16; Sīs xxii, 16; xxiii, 3; cf. Bd. xxvii, 24) and over the eighth day of each Armenian month; and it should especially be noted that in both the Iranian year and month he ruled the commencement of the second half. In Persia, then, Miθra was regarded as the 'god' (βαγα-) κατ' ἐξοχήν.<sup>12</sup>

1 Cowley, *Papyri*, E (=13), 18 (pp. 38, 40).

2 De Morgan, *Numismatique*, p. 306; F. Parruck *Sāsānian Coins*, Bombay, 1924, p. 274.

3 E. Littmann, *Lydian Inscriptions*, Leyden, 1916, pp. 84, 85.

4 Hübschmann, *Grammatik*, i, 52-4.

5 Montgomery, *Incantation*, xxxiv, 1; cf. Justi, *Namenbuch*, p. 216.

6 Pognon, *Coupes*, no. 17; cf. Justi, *Namenbuch*, p. 205. Boccaccio (*Decameron*, X, iii) records the name Mithridanes as that of a Levantine.

7 CIS II, i, 144; Cowley, *Papyri*, lxx, 1.

8 Tr. Payne, v, 156-8; tr. Burton, vi, 123-9. etc.

9 Justi, *Namenbuch*, p. 213.

10 Al-Birūnī, *Chronology of Ancient Nations*, tr. E. Sachau, London, 1879, pp. 56, 82; F. W. K. Müller, in *SBAW* 1907, p. 465.

11 Cf. L. H. Gray, in *JAOS* xxviii (1907), 338.

12 F. Justi, in *ZdmG* li (1897), 247; Bartholomae, *AirWb.* coll. 952-3; cf. also J. Marquart, in *Philologus*, lv (1896), 232-3, and Supplementband x (1905), 129, 132-4, although these latter passages should be used with caution.

A portion of south-western Media was called Mihrjān-qaḍaq as late as the Middle Ages ;<sup>1</sup> Mihrjān and Mihrābād appear on modern maps of Persia ;<sup>2</sup> and a village named Mihr, as well as a Kūh-i-Mihr and an Āb-i-Mihr, lies between Miāndašt and Sabzavar.<sup>3</sup>

In Mithraism Miθra was, Plutarch says (*De Iside et Osiride*, 46), termed *Μεσίτης* (‘ Mediator ’) as being the deity of the region intermediate between sky and earth.<sup>4</sup> We have just seen that in the Iranian year and month his place was half-way between the beginning and the end ; and on Mithraic monuments he seems to represent the noonday sun.<sup>5</sup> It may be suggested, moreover, that before the transformation of ‘ Āθra Mainyu ’ from an earth-god and underworld-deity into a devil<sup>6</sup> there was a triad of ‘ Ahura Mazda ’ (sky), Miθra (sun as symbolical of the intermediate space), and ‘ Āθra Mainyu ’ (earth).

Classical writers frequently mention Miθra. Oaths were sworn by him (Xenophon, *Oeconomicus*, iv, 24 ; *Cyropaedia*, VII, v, §3 ; Plutarch, *Vita Artaxerxis*, 4 ; *Vita Alexandri*, 30 ; Ælian, *Varia historia*, i, 33 ; Claudian, *De consulatu Stilchonis*, i, 63) ; he had a sacred chariot (Xenophon, *Anabasis*, IV, v, 35 ; *Cyropaedia*, VIII, iii, 12 ; Curtius Rufus, III, iii, 11 ; Dio Chrysostom, *Orationes*, xxxvi, 39-48 ; cf. Herodotus, viii, 40) ; and appeal was made to him for victory (Pseudo-Callisthenes, iii, 34). An ox was sacrificed on the altar of the Sun (Pseudo-Plutarch, cited by Stobaeus, *Florilegium*, vii, 63) ; and Miθra was equated with the Sun (Proclus, *Paraphrasis in Ptolomaeum*, ii, 3) or with Apollo (Pseudo-Clemens, *Homiliae*, vi, 10 ; *Acta Sanctorum*, V Jun., 166) or even with Hephaistos (Scholion on Lucian, *Jupiter tragicus*, 8).<sup>7</sup> He was probably the ‘ Ἥλιος to whom, with ‘ Zeus and the other gods ’, Cyrus made offering (Xenophon, *Cyropaedia*, VIII, vii, 3), though the two are elsewhere differentiated (Curtius Rufus, II, xiii, 12 ; Evander, quoted by Zenobius, *Ἐπιτομή ἐκ τῶν Τραπεζίων καὶ Διδόμων προοιμιῶν*, v, 78 ; cf. Pseudo-Callisthenes, i, 36). His festival was renown-

<sup>1</sup> Marquart, *Erānšahr*, p. 20 ; Schwarz, *Iran*, pp. 470-3 ; Le Strange, *Caliphate*, p. 202.

<sup>2</sup> Map in Sykes, *History*, 7, 1 ; 4, n ; International Millionth Map, North H—39 (Bushire), xi, b.

<sup>3</sup> Jackson, *Constantinople*, pp. 214-6.

<sup>4</sup> Cf. Cumont, *TM* i, 303, 306-7 ; Clemen, *Nachrichten*, pp. 157-8 ; Bousset, *Gnosis*, pp. 122-3 ; Legge, *Forerunners*, ii, 249.

<sup>5</sup> Cf. Cumont, *TM* i, 209.

<sup>6</sup> See below, pp. 178-9.

<sup>7</sup> Cf. Cumont, *TM* i, 98, 104, 146, 199-200 ; ii, 23.

ed (Duris [after 281 B.C.], cited by Athenaeus, *Deipnosophistae*, x, 45; Strabo, p. 530), and gave its name to the Armenian month Mehekan already mentioned;<sup>1</sup> while the divinity's appellation was probably the origin of the Armenian *mehean*, 'pagan temple, heathen altar, idol'.<sup>2</sup> In the inscription of Antiochus I of Commagene at Nîmrûd Dâ'y Miθra is identified with Apollo-Helios-Hermes;<sup>3</sup> and on Indo-Scythian coins he appears, under the form MIIPO or MIOPO as a sun-god.<sup>4</sup> In Armenia Mihr, 'whom they called son of Aramazd' (Greek version, 'Ἡφαιστῶν λεγομένου υἱοῦ τοῦ Διός'), had a temple at Bagayariēn (or Bagayarinj), the modern Pekarich, four hours north of Mamakhatur.<sup>5</sup>

The earliest mention of Miθra is almost universally held to be the *mi-it-ra-aš-ši-il (ilāni)* of the Boyaz-kōi documents, dating from the middle of the second millennium B.C., where he is named in association with *a-ru-na-aš-ši-el (ilu)*, who is commonly supposed to be Varuṇa, although doubts have been cast upon this view.<sup>6</sup>

The etymology of the Avestan Miθra-, Sanskrit Mitrá-, is a matter of much dispute. Besides its use as a divine name, the word in Sanskrit means as a masculine 'companion, friend, sun', and as a neuter 'friendship, friend'; while in Avestan it denotes 'contract, agreement'. From these earlier connotations come, on the one hand, Pāli *mitta*-, 'friend', Jaina Prākṛit *\*mitta*-, 'friend, sun', and, on the other hand, Modern Persian *mīhr*, 'sun, friendship'. Unless one is to assume homonyms, of which there seems to be no need here, the problem is to find a base from which the meanings 'compact', 'friend', and 'sun' may be derived by a natural and unstrained semantic development.

<sup>1</sup> Hübschmann, *Grammatik*, i, 53, 194; for the feast see L. H. Gray, in *ERE* v, 872-3, and for its connexion ib. pp. 874-5.

<sup>2</sup> Hübschmann, *Grammatik*, i, 194; A. Meillet, in *REA* i (1921), 233-4.

<sup>3</sup> Cumont, *TM* i, 131; ii, 90.

<sup>4</sup> Stein, *Coins*, pp. 2-3 and figs. i, ii; von Sallet, *Nachfolger*, pp. 196-7, 202-3, 208.

<sup>5</sup> Agathangelus, I, cx, 134; cf. Cumont, *TM* ii, 4; Gelzer, *Götterlehre*, p. 103; A. Carrière, *Les huit Sanctuaires de l'Arménie payenne*, Paris, 1899, pp. 12, 16, 19; Hübschmann, *Ortsnamen*, p. 287; *Murray's Handbook for Travellers in Asia Minor*, London, 1895, p. 253. For the Armenian Mihr in general see Ananikian, *Mythology*, pp. 33-5.

<sup>6</sup> W. E. Clark, 'The Alleged Indo-Iranian Names in Cuneiform Inscriptions', in *AJSL* xxxiii (1917), 261-82 (in the present connexion especially pp. 278-9).

Of the various etymologies which have been proposed<sup>1</sup> the most plausible seems to be one which derives the word from \**mi-trā-*, i.e., from the zero-grade of the Indo-European base \**mē-*, 'to measure', so that \**mitrā-* would represent an original \**ma-trō-* (cf. Sanskrit *mitā-*, 'measured', Albanian *mate*, 'measure') the full-grade of the same base appearing in Sanskrit *mātra-*, 'measure', Greek *μητρῆς*, 'wisdom, craft' (cf. Sanskrit *māti-*, 'measure, exact knowledge', Albanian *mot*, 'year, temperature', Anglo-Saxon *maēð*, 'measure, degree, proportion'), etc. It is impossible, however, to compare *mitrā-* directly with Greek *μέτρον* 'measure', because of the latter's accent, which, were the connexion justified, should be \**μετρόν*. Hence *μέτρον* is, rather, for \**μεδ-τρον* and is connected with Greek *μέδομαι*, 'to provide for, think upon', etc., so that the base \**mēde-* is in origin an enlargement of the base \**mē-*, the words thus being actually, though remotely, akin.<sup>2</sup>

The Sanskrit *mitrām* (neuter) probably survives in the Prākṛit *mitta-*, *metta-*, 'measure'.<sup>3</sup> This neuter *mitrām* is doubtless earlier than the masculine *mitrás*; but changes of *-tro-* formations from neuters to masculine through concretising and personification are frequent in the Indo-European languages, and Brugmann expressly cites this word as one of many.<sup>4</sup>

It would appear that from *mitrām*, originally meaning 'measurement', was developed *mitrás*, 'measurer', apotheosised as Mitrás-Miṭrah, the 'Measurer' of (a) the day (i.e., the sun) and (b) of (right) relations between men (i.e., the deity of compacts, and hence of justice and friendship). The present writer is, therefore, strongly inclined to regard Mitrás-Miṭrah as primarily a solar deity whose special function was measuring the day; and to hold that, as in the case of the Vedic Varuṇa, the ethical

<sup>1</sup> Cf. C. Uhlenbeck, *Kurzgefasstes etymologisches Wörterbuch der alt-indischen Sprache*, Amsterdam, 1899, p. 223; H. Reichelt, in *KZ* xxxix (1906), 10; Brugmann, *Grundriss*, i, 635; Hirt, *Ablaut*, p. 30 (cancelled by *Handbuch*, pp. 192, 359, and *Vokalismus*, pp. 36, 73-4); F. de Saussure, in *MSL* vi (1889), 248 = *Recueil de publications scientifiques*, Geneva, 1922, pp. 422-3; A. Meillet, in *JA* X, i (1907), 143-59; Walde-Pokorny, *Wörterbuch*, ii, 241.

<sup>2</sup> For further cognates of the entire group see Boisacq, *Dictionnaire*, pp. 618-9, 630-1, 635; Walde, *Wörterbuch*, pp. 471-2, 482, 489-90; Feist, *Wörterbuch*, pp. 273-4; Berneker, *Wörterbuch*, ii, 50, 54. Walde-Pokorny, *Wörterbuch*, ii, 237-8, 259-60; Muller, *Wörterbuch*, pp. 259-60, 263, 266, 270.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. R. Pischel, *Grammatik der Prakrit-Sprachen*, Strasbourg, 1900, p. 91 (where, however, the vocalism is incorrectly explained).

<sup>4</sup> *Grundriss*, II, i, 345; for the whole subject see ib. pp. 339-47.

aspects of the divinity were developed after his physical character had become fixed.<sup>1</sup>

Mitrás-Miśrah as the sun, the 'measurer' of the day, finds a distant relative in the Sanskrit *mās-*, Avestan *māh-*, Greek *μῆν*, Gothic *mēna*, Lithuanian *mēnuo*, and Old Church Slavic *měsēcŭ* 'moon', from a base *\*mēn(e)s-*, also developed ultimately from *\*mē-*, 'to measure.'<sup>2</sup> The names of the two great luminaries, sun and moon, accordingly both come, in the last analysis, from a common base meaning 'to measure', as do such time-words as Armenian *amīs*, Latin *mensis*, Old Irish *mí* 'month', Albanian *mot*, 'year', *muai*, 'month', and Lithuanian *mėtas*, 'year'.

The view has already been advanced in these pages<sup>3</sup> that Miśra was disguised as the Aməša Spənta Vohu Manah; but it seems possible to go even further. It would appear that the cult of Miśra was very extensively developed at a much earlier period than is generally supposed, and that Mithraic confraternities and Miśra's association with the ox were of great antiquity. From a survey of all the evidence he would seem to have been at one time the most important deity of the entire pantheon, though later obscured by the rise of Ahura Mazda. One may with some reason advance the theory that Miśra was primarily the chief god of south-western Iran, while Ahura Mazda held a like pre-eminence in the northern part of the plateau.<sup>4</sup>

If the hypothesis here proposed be valid, the Mithraic cult, so profoundly investigated by M. Cumont, takes on a still deeper significance. It was not due merely to the intensely ethical attributes of the sun-god, but in even greater measure to the continuance, the development, and the extension of a peculiar type of Iranism, centred in Persis, fostered to the north and

<sup>1</sup> The writer cannot accept the view of M. Meillet (*loc. cit.*), who regards the base of *mitrá-* as *\*mei-*, 'to exchange' and who connects Varuna with Sanskrit *vrāt-*, 'divine will, law', whereas the writer associates it rather with the group of Sanskrit *vār(i)-*, 'water' (see above, p. 26). Meillet accordingly considers the ethical aspects of the two deities to be the earlier, and their celestial identifications to be the later stages of their development.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. further Boisacq, *Dictionnaire*, p. 633; Walde, *Wörterbuch*, p. 477; Walde-Pokorny, *Wörterbuch*, ii. 271-2; Feist, *Wörterbuch*, p. 267 (doubts as to the etymology currently accepted); Berneker, *Wörterbuch*, ii. 51.

<sup>3</sup> See above, pp. 35-7.

<sup>4</sup> Tiele (*Religion*, ii, 213, note 2, 241) regarded Miśra as 'the national god of the Medo-Persians'; Huart (*Perse*, p. 98), on the other hand, held that he was introduced into the Achaemenian cult at the end of the fifth century B.C.

west by the Achaemenian Empire, and carried to Europe by the Roman conquests. Toward the east and north-east, on the contrary, it was checked by the Mazdayasnian form of Iranism which finally became dominant in all Iran, thus constituting an added factor in the expulsion of Mithraism, as a distinct cult and religion, from its home-land to foreign soil, where it renewed the ever-unsuccessful battle of the Orient against the Occident. This is merely an hypothesis, it is true, but one which seems to merit some degree of serious consideration.

### *Section L.*

#### RAŠNU.

The divinity Rašnu ('Righteousness [?], Brightness [?]) appears in association with Sraoša and Arštāt (Ys. i, 7; ii, 7; iii, 9; iv, 12; vi, 6; vii, 9; xvii, 6; xxii, 9); with Miθra (Vd. iv, 54); with Miθra and Daēnā (VYt. 52); with Ahura Mazda, Miθra, and Ārmaiti (Yt. xiii, 3); with the Fravašis, Miθra, and Dāmōiš Upamana (Yt. xiii, 47); and with many other deities (cf. Ys. xvi, 5; lxv, 12; lxx, 3; Yt. x, 139; xi, 16-7; xiii, 85-6; Vsp. vii, 2; xi, 6). He is the son of Ahura Mazda and Ārmaiti, and the brother of Sraoša, Miθra, Daēnā, and Arštāt (Yt. xvii, 16); with Vərəθraγna and Miθra he goes to and fro between the opposing hosts to give victory to the right (Yt. xiv, 47); he drives back the foe while Miθra drives them forward and Sraoša drives them all to defeat before the lines of the Yazatas (Yt. x, 41). Rašnu has given a dwelling to Miθra (Yt. x, 79, 81) and attends him on his left, while Sraoša is on his right, and the Waters, Plants, and Fravašis surround him (Yt. x, 100); or, according to another version (ib. §§ 126-7), Rašnu, 'who best wards off the foe', is on Miθra's right, Čistā and Daēnayē Upamana being on the left, and Dāmōiš Upamana, Ātar, and X'varənah being in attendance.

The twelfth Yašt is composed in Rašnu's honour. Like Ahura Mazda, he and Urvašā are invited to come to the sacrifice, at which he is present together with Vāta, Dāmōiš Upamana, X'varənah, and Savah (§ 6); he aids the innocent and strikes down the thief (§§ 7-8); he is in all parts of the terrestrial and celestial worlds (§§ 9-37); and Zaratuštra prays that Vištāspa may possess the right law like Rašnu (ĀZ. 7). He presides over the eighteenth day of the month (Šīr. i, 18; ii, 18; SIS xxii, 18; xxiii, 3; cf. Bd. xxvii, 24).



According to the Pahlavi version of Ys. i, 7, Rašnu receives his name 'because that from him there is justice and truth', and he is the genius of right (Gd. Bd. xxvi, 37). He is associated with Aštāt, and one of the three sacred cakes consecrated at dawn on the fourth day after a death must be in his honour, the second being for Rām, and the third for the Fravaši of the deceased (SIS xvii, 4; SD lxxxvii, 2; cf. DD xxx, 2; Dk. IX, ix, 6). He is an auxiliary of Amerōdaŋ (Gd. Bd. xxvi, 36) and is especially associated with the judgment of souls, which he counts (Gd. Bd. xxvi, 39) or weighs (AVN v, 5; MX ii, 118-22) at the Činvaŋ Bridge. Together with Srōš (DD xiv, 4; lviii, 5), or Mitrō (SD i, 4; xviii, 16; c, 2), or Aūharmazd, Vohūman, Mitrō, and Srōš (DD xxxi, 11), he makes up the soul's account. In company with Mitrō, Vāi, Vāhrām, Aštāt, and Dīn he aids Artā-Vīrāf in his journey to the other world (AVN v, 3); and with Mitrō, Srōš, Vāhrām, Aštāt, and Dīn he was sent by Aūharmazd to assist Pēšyōtanū (BYt. iii, 32). He guides the righteous to heaven and is distinguished for justice (SIS xxii, 18; xxiii, 3). The lost Nikātūm and Ganabā-sar Nijaŋ Nasks of the Avesta contained further details concerning him (Dk. VIII, xx, 153, 157-8; xxii, 23). His appellation occasionally occurs in proper names, as in Rašnōi and Rašnuyah, and Rašnu is the name of a witness in the Āvramān Papyrus<sup>1</sup>.

Besides the colourless epithet *amavant-* ('mighty'), which he has in common with several other divinities, Rašnu shares *bərəzant-* ('lofty') with Apəm Napāt, the Aməša Spəntas, 'Arədvī', Aši, Ahura Mazda, Ahura-Miθra, Tištrya, the Fravašis, Miθra, Sraoša, and Haoma; *spəništa-* ('most holy') with the Fravašis; *dūraēdarəštəma-* ('most far-seeing') with Ahura Mazda; and *razišta-* ('most upright') with Čistā; while his exclusive Avestan epithets are *arə-ŋkaēša-* ('orthodox'), *upa-raodīšta-* ('most restraining'), *parakavistəma-* ('farthest reaching'), *vəēdišta-* ('most wise'), and *vičōišta-* ('best deciding').

The original nature of Rašnu is not wholly clear. Bartholomæ and Dhalla<sup>2</sup> regard him as the deity of truth, so that he might be considered the male counterpart of Arštāt. On the other hand, his special association with Miθra suggests some connexion with the sun, and his epithet *berezant-* also seems to

<sup>1</sup> Montgomery, *Incantation*, viii, 4; Pognon, *Coupes*, nos. 12, 17, 30; cf. Justi, *Namenbuch*, p. 259; Herzfeld, *Paikuli*, i, 83 (Āvramān Parchment, l. 5).

<sup>2</sup> Bartholomæ, *AirWb.* col. 1516; Dhalla, *Theology*, p. 111; cf. Reichelt, *Reader*, p. 115.

imply a celestial nature. If he was a solar god rather than the deity of truth, the currently accepted etymology of his name, from *raz-*, 'to direct', might appear to make him the divinity who directs the sun in his course toward the west, whence Rašnu's function as one of the judges of the dead was later developed. Yet it is equally possible that his name is connected, not with *raz-*, 'to direct', but with the base *\*areǵ-* found in Sanskrit *ṛjiká-*, 'glittering', *árjuna-*, 'white, bright', Greek *ἀργός*, 'shining, bright, glistening', Latin *argentum*, 'silver', Old Irish *airget*, 'white', etc.<sup>1</sup> He would then be 'Bright(ness)' rather than 'Righteous(ness)'. On this hypothesis he finds a partial analogue in the Vedic solar god Pūṣan, who, abiding in heaven, moves onward beholding the universe (RV II, xl, 4-5; VI, lviii, 2); who is a lord of paths, guiding the dead on the far path to the Pitaras (VI, xvii, 6; xlix, 8; liv, 9; X, xvii, 3-5; liii, 1; lix, 7) and dispersing foes (I, xlii, 7-8; lxxxix, 5; VI, xlviii, 19; liii, 4); and who is 'all-pervading' (II, xl, 6), with the distinctive epithet *ághr̥ni-* ('glowing, radiant'; RV I, xxiii, 13, 14; cxxxviii, 4; III, lxi, 7; VI, xlviii, 16; liii, 3, 8, 9; lv, 1, 3; VII, xl, 6; VIII, iv, 17, 18; IX, lxvii, 12; X, xvii, 5.)<sup>2</sup>

### Section M.

#### SPĒNTA MAINYU.

Frequently mentioned together with Ahura Mazda, with whom he seems sometimes to be identical, and from whom he is sometimes distinct, Spēnta Mainyu ('Holy Spirit') is one of the most perplexing figures in the whole Iranian pantheon<sup>3</sup>. The material concerning him in the Gāthās and Haptaŋhāiti is as follows:

(a) *Spēnta Mainyu alone.* He clothes himself with the firmest heavens as his garment (Ys. xxx, 5); paradise is received through him (xliii, 2); and 'at the first of life' he addresses Aŋra Mainyu (xlv, 2). He was one of the two primal spirits and chose Aša (xxx, 5), but the wicked fall away from him (xlvii, 4).

<sup>1</sup> For further cognates see Boisacq, *Dictionnaire*, pp. 74, 75; Walde, *Wörterbuch*, pp. 59-60; Müller, *Wörterbuch*, p. 44; Walde-Pokorny, *Wörterbuch*, i, 82-3.

<sup>2</sup> Macdonell, *Mythology*, pp. 35-7; Hillebrandt, *Mythologie*, iii, 362-72; Keith, *Religion*, pp. 106-8.

<sup>3</sup> P. Volz, 'Der heilige Geist in den Gathas des Sarathuschtra', in *ETXAPIΣTHPION, Studien zur Religion und Literatur des Alten und Neuen Testaments Hermann Gunkel . . . dargebracht*, i (Göttingen, 1923), 323-45.

(b) *Spənta Mainyu and Ahura Mazda.* Ahura Mazda will come with Spənta Mainyu and other divine beings (xlili, 6), and through the 'Holy Spirit' Zaratuštra seeks to know the 'Wise Lord' as the creator of all (xliv, 7). Ahura Mazda, who is entreated to hear through Spənta Mainyu (xlv, 6), has promised the best to the righteous through the 'Holy Spirit', who is his son (xlvii, 3).

(c) *Spənta Mainyu, Ahura Mazda, and Ādā.* Ahura Mazda is besought to give strength through Spənta Mainyu by Ādā (xxxiii, 12).

(d) *Spənta Mainyu, Ahura Mazda, and Ātar.* The righteous approach Ahura Mazda through Ātar and Spənta Mainyu (xxxvi, 1).

(e) *Spənta Mainyu distinct from Ahura Mazda.* In addition to the passages cited in b-d, Spənta Mainyu is expressly differentiated from Ahura Mazda elsewhere in the Gāthās. With Xšaθra and Ārmaiti, Ahura Mazda will give Haurvatāt and Amərətāt for Spənta Mainyu, and Vohu Manah according to Aša (xlvii, 1); through the 'Holy Spirit' and Ātar, with the aid of Ārmaiti and Aša, the 'Wise Lord' will apportion final rewards (xlvii, 6; cf. xxxi, 3); and through Spənta Mainyu, Ahura Mazda created kine, water, and plants, Amərətāt and Haurvatāt (li, 7; in xlvii, 3. Spənta Mainyu, after consulting Vohu Manah, creates kine and forms Ārmaiti to give pasture; cf. xxviii, 1).

(f) *Spənta Mainyu and Ātar.* Once (xxxvi, 3) the 'Holy Spirit' seems to be identified with Ātar.

(g) *Spənta Mainyu and Gəuš Tašan.* In one passage (xxxii, 9) the 'Wisdom of the Spirit' is identified with Gəuš Tašan (cf. xlvii, 3).

(h) *Spənta Mainyu and Vohu Manah.* In several passages (xxxiii, 6; xxxiv, 2; xlv, 5) Bartholomae and Moulton<sup>1</sup> regard Spənta Mainyu as practically synonymous with Vohu Manah.<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Bartholomae, *Gathas*, pp. 40, 74, 93; Moulton, *EZ* pp. 97, 111.

<sup>2</sup> For further association of Spənta Mainyu with Ahura Mazda and other divine beings in the Gāthās see Sections on Vohu Manah, *d, n, r, y, dd*; Aša, *f, h*; Haurvatāt and Amərətāt, *b*; and concerning him generally cf. Dhalla, *Theology*, pp. 24-5, 85-6, 225; P. Volz, 'Der heilige Geist in den Gathas der Zarathushtra', in *EYXAPIΣTHPION, Studien zur Religion und Literatur des Alten und Neuen Testaments Hermann Gunkel . . . . dargebracht* i (Gottingen, 1923), 323-45.

Like Vohu Manah, Aša, Xšaθra, and Ārmaiti, Spənta Mainyu is a mediator. Through him Ahura Mazda is besought to give strength (xxxiii, 12); through him Zaratuštra seeks to know the 'Wise Lord' as creator of all (xliv, 7); through him instruction is derived (xxxiii, 6; cf. xxviii, 11); through him Ahura Mazda is implored to hear (xlv, 6); through him the 'Wise Lord' has promised the best to the righteous (xlvii, 5) and has created kine, water, and plants, Haurvatāt and Amərətāt (li, 7), though elsewhere (xlvii, 3) the 'Holy Spirit' himself creates cattle and forms Ārmaiti to give them pasture.

In the Younger Avesta it is noteworthy that, unlike Ahura Mazda and all other beings divine and human, Spənta Mainyu has no Fravaši and receives no worship from man. If in Vsp. xii, 4, and Yt. xiii, 28, he may perhaps be regarded as identical with the 'Wise Lord', elsewhere he is clearly a separate being, for Ahura Mazda sacrifices to Vayu that he himself may smite down the creation of Aθra Mainyu, not that of Spənta Mainyu (Yt. xv, 2-3); and if the Fravašis had not aided Ahura Mazda, Aθra Mainyu would have conquered Spənta Mainyu (Yt. xiii, 12-13). The 'Holy Spirit' sustains the Fravašis (Yt. xiii, 29), and he alone, except Ahura Mazda, is termed 'creator' (*daδvah-*; Yt. x, 143). The good creation, accordingly, belongs to Spənta Mainyu, and he formed it as Aθra Mainyu shaped the evil creation (Ys. lvii, 17; Yt. xiii, 76; xv, 3, 43-4; cf. Ys. i, 16; xxvii, 2; Yt. vi, 2; viii, 48; x, 142; Vd. v, 33; xiii, 1-2, 5-6, 16, 28). Vayu is one of his creations (Yt. xv, 42), and to him Spənta Mainyu has given part of himself (Ys. O, 9; xxii, 24; xxv, 5; lxxii, 10; Yt. xv, 5, 57, 58; Šir. i, 21; ii, 21). The stars also were created by him (Ys. i, 11; iii, 13; iv, 16; vii, 13; xxii, 13; Yt. xii, 32). The wicked are to be removed from his creation (Ys. viii, 6; xi, 13; cf. VYt. 51), and he is, as already implied, the special antagonist of Aθra Mainyu (Yt. xix, 44, 46; cf. VYt. 47). His messengers are Vohu Manah, Aša, and Ātar (Yt. xix, 46). He it was who fashioned Miθra's star-decked chariot (Yt. x, 143), and he with the Aməsa Spəntas created Maθra Spənta (Vd. xix, 9), while all holy things are dedicated to him (Ys. lviii, 6). He is the holier of the twin primal spirits (Ys. xix, 9); but, very possibly in conscious distinction from him, Ahura Mazda is 'the most holy spirit' (Ys. i, 1; xix, 1; Yt. i, 1; xiv, 1, 34, 42; Āfr. iv, 4; Vd. ii, 1; vii, 1; ix, 1; x, 1; xiv, 1; xviii, 14).

The Pahlavi texts add little to our knowledge of Spēnāk Mānōg. He is the source of all virtue (Dk. III, ccxvi, 3), giving man the qualities which make him good and successful (ib. III,

cevi, 4; ccxii, 2-3, 5-6). Accordingly he who possesses the power of Spēnāk Māinōg successfully opposes Ahriman (ib. III, cxlviii, 2-3), and he who rejects Spēnāk Māinōg absorbs the nature of Ahriman (ib. III, lxxxv, 2). The 'Holy Spirit' is described as separate from Aūharmazd (ib. III, xl, 2; cxxxviii, 2), and his creation is frequently mentioned (e.g. ib. III, clxii, 2; cciii, 15; cccclxxvii, 3). He produces Vohūman and intelligence (ib. III, ccxii, 3) and gives man divine wisdom (ib. III, cccii, 2), while the Mazdayasnian religion is derived from his innate intelligence (ib. III, cccc, 16). His special foe is Ahriman, whom he will conquer (e.g. ib. III, lxxxvii, 2; clxii, 2; cccxix, 2; cccclxxvii, 3); and he will banish evil from the world (ib. III, cciii, 17).

Spēnta Mainyu may possibly be represented by the Monuhmōd Vazurg ('Great Soul') mentioned in two Pahlavi Manichaean fragments and described as coming from the earth from the south,<sup>1</sup> or by the 'Living Spirit' (Ruḥā Hayyā, Ζών Πνεύμας, Spiritus Vivens), called into existence, according to Theodore bar Kḥōnī, by Ban,<sup>2</sup> and in his turn producing five bright emanations, rescuing Primæval Man from Darkness, and making sun, moon, and stars, as well as the circles of wind, fire, and water.<sup>3</sup>

Whether Spēnta (Mainyu) forms a component of the Old Persian proper name Σπενδαδάτης and the Avestan proper name Spəntōdāta, as Justi held,<sup>4</sup> as well as of the Avestan mountain-name Spəntō-dāta (Yt. xix, 6; cf. Bd. xii, 2, 23),<sup>5</sup> is not wholly certain; and the same statement holds concerning the \*Spəntasdaēva (!) (אספנדסדינא) described as 'the jinn (גִּינָא) of Solomon, son of David', on a magic bowl-inscription.<sup>6</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Reitzenstein, *Psyche*, pp. 4, 5.

<sup>2</sup> For this deity cf. below, p. 147, and see Jackson, *Mani*.

<sup>3</sup> See Cumont, *Cosmogonie*, pp. 20-5, 29, 31. The nature of the 'Living Spirit' will be fully discussed by Jackson in his *Mani*.

<sup>4</sup> *Namenbuch*, p. 308.

<sup>5</sup> So Bartholomae, *Air Wb.* col. 1622; West, in *SBE* v, 34, 39, reads the name Spəndyāt.

<sup>6</sup> H. Hyvernat, 'Sur un vase judéo-babylonien du musée Lyeklama de Cannes,' in *Zeitschrift für Keilschriftforschung*, ii (1885), 116, with the emendations of M. Grünbaum and T. Nöldeke, ib. pp. 224-5, 297. Dīv may be used, however, with a good sense in the proper names Dēvdāš ('Given by the Dēv') son of Dēvdast ('Possessing the hand of the Dēv'); T. Nöldeke, in *Zeitschrift für Indologie und Iranistik* ii [1923], 318; cf. Justi, *Namenbuch*, p. 85; Hübschmann, *Grammatik*, i, 37.

It is by no means easy to determine the original nature of Spēta Mainyu; but it would appear that he was primarily distinct from Ahura Mazda, with whom he was often blended or identified in the later period. Three hypotheses might be advanced for this close association: (1) an amalgamation of two different mythologies, one ascribing the creation of all things to Ahura Mazda, and the other *quasi*-dualistic with separate creators for good and evil, the good creator, in the amalgamated system, being subordinated to (and frequently confused with) the original creator of all, and the exact relation of the evil creator to the all-creator being left vague;<sup>1</sup> (2) in the effort to reach a monotheistic position a single First Cause was set above the dualism of a good and an evil creator, thus paving the way for Zorvanism; (3) Spēta Mainyu was invented as a demiurge for Ahura Mazda. None of these explanations is very satisfactory. Bartholomae<sup>2</sup> thought that the ambiguity of the relation of Spēta Mainyu to Ahura Mazda comes from the fact that 'Zarathuštra's doctrine was not reasoned out in purely dualistic fashion, but elevated the divinity of Ahura Mazda above the two primal and equal spirits of dualistic thought. Thus the Holy Spirit, when placed in relation to Ahura Mazda, became a servant and a mediator of Ahura Mazda quite like Aša, Vohu Manah, etc., and a new antithesis was then afforded by Ahura Mazda and Aŋra Mainyu'. For Meillet on the other hand, he is 'le principe actif de tout ce qu'il y a de bon, de profitable dans la personne d'*Ahura Mazdā*... la force immanente de *Ahura Mazdā*'.<sup>3</sup>

To the present writer it would seem that the most noteworthy function of Spēta Mainyu is that of a creator, not only in general, but in particular of Vayu, the stars, and the chariot of Mišra, especially as, unlike any other divine being except Ahura Mazda, he is once expressly termed 'creator' (*dađvah-*; Yt. x, 143). It would appear most probable that he was originally a creator-god like the Indian Prajāpati or Viśvakarman,<sup>4</sup> and that he may have been the later ethicised disguise of the older 'Zrvan'.<sup>5</sup> The resemblance of his name 'Holy Spirit' to the Hebrew רוח הקדש is best regarded as merely fortuitous,<sup>6</sup> and 'Spēta Mainyu' was probably at first nothing more than

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Casartelli, *Philosophy*, p. 17.

<sup>2</sup> *AirWb.* col. 1139.

<sup>3</sup> *Conférences*, pp. 59, 60.

<sup>4</sup> Cf. Macdonell, *Mythology*, pp. 118-9; Keith, *Religion*, pp. 206-8.

<sup>5</sup> See below, pp. 124-9.

<sup>6</sup> Cf. Moulton, *EZ* p. 299.

a cultic epithet of an ancient creator-deity whose functions were absorbed by Ahura Mazda as the 'Wise Lord' rose to be the supreme divinity of the pantheon, reducing a once mighty god to an obsolescent though confusing phantom of a deity.

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*Section N.*

SRAOŠA.

The Gāthās give the following material concerning the important deity Sraoša ('Obedience'): Zaratuštra presents Xšaθra and Sraoša to Ahura Mazda and Aša (Ys. xxxiii, 14); at the 'Wise Lord's' bidding Sraoša and Vohu Manah will come to the righteous (xliv, 16); Sraoša will attend with Aši to apportion rewards and punishments (xliii, 12); and at the Consummation Zaratuštra will invoke Sraoša as 'greatest of all' (xxxiii, 5).

The two chief Younger Avestan texts in honour of this divinity are the fifty-seventh Hā of the Yasna and the eleventh Yašt. From the former we learn that Sraoša was the first of Ahura Mazda's creation to offer prayer and to spread the *barsom* and to chant the Gāthās (Ys. lvii, 2, 6, 7); after sunset he builds a mighty house for the poor and beats down Aēšma with his mace (§ 10), returning victorious to the Aməša Spəntas after every battle (§ 12). He repels evil from the pious and brings the wicked low (§§ 14-5); bearing an uplifted weapon, he has kept sleepless watch over the universe of Ahura Mazda since the creation, battling day and night—but especially after sunset—with the demons, whom he drives back into darkness (§§ 16-8). Haoma made sacrifice to him on Mount Haraiti (§ 19), where he has a victorious mansion with a thousand pillars, lighted by its own radiance within and adorned by stars without (§ 21). Through his might the Aməša Spəntas descend to earth; and he is the best teacher of the religion, giving the righteous protection, both in terrestrial and in celestial life, to conquer the fiends, as well as health and strength to overcome earthly foes (§§ 23, 25-6). He is drawn through the air by four bright, swift steeds with golden hoofs; they cannot be overtaken, but themselves overtake all, so that Sraoša seizes his foe wheresoever he be (§§ 27-9). Thrice each day and night, protecting Ahura Mazda's creation, he goes throughout the earth with his weapon to smite the demons; and he is ever victorious (§§ 30-3), so that those houses receive honour which he guards and in which he is made welcome (§ 34).

The eleventh Yašt contains less information. It states, however, that Sraoša is the best protector of the poor (§ 3) and that he is besought for help (§ 8). He observes the treaty existing between the Most Holy (Ahura Mazda) and the Druj (§ 14; cf. Bd. i, 6, 19); and he was instructed in the religion by Ahura Mazda himself (§ 14), who created him to overcome Aēšma (§ 15). Like other sacred beings he has Āxšti and Ham-vainti as his companions (§ 16).

Elsewhere in the Younger Avesta, Sraoša is associated with Rašnu and Arštāt (Ys. i, 7; ii, 7; iii, 9; iv, 12); with Rašnu and Miθra (Yt. x, 41); with Miθra and Nairyō-saŋha (Yt. x, 52); with Aši and Nairyō-saŋha (Ys. lvii, 3; Vsp. xi, 16; Yt. xi, 8); with Aši alone (Vsp. xii, 1); with Aši, Nairyō-saŋha, and Āxšti (Vsp. vii, 1); with Aršti (Ys. lvii, 33); with Ātar and Nairyō-saŋha (Yt. xiii, 85); with Ātar and the Fravašis (Vsp. xvi, 1); with the Aməša Spəntas, Nairyō-saŋha, Ātar, and Xvarənah (VYt. 40); with Ahura Mazda and Maθra Spənta (Yt. xiii, 146); with Ahura Mazda and Miθra (Vd. xix, 15); with Ahura Mazda and Daēnā (VYt. 14); with Ahura Mazda and the Fravašis (Yt. i, 9); with Ahura Mazda, the Aməša Spəntas, the Fravašis, and Ātar (Ys. iv, 2; cf. iv, 23; xxii, 4); with Ahura Mazda, Miθra, Rašnu, the Fravašis, Vərəθraŋna, Rāman, and Vāta (Ys. xvi, 5; cf. lxx, 3); and with Waters, Lands, Plants, the Aməša Spəntas, the Fravašis, Miθra, Rašnu, Ātar, and Apam Napāt (Ys. lxxv, 12). He is invoked to honour the Waters (Ys. lvi, 3), and Ātar asks his aid in the last third of the night (Vd. xviii, 22). He holds colloquy with the Druj (Vd. xviii, 30-59), is entreated to overcome the demon Kunda (Vd. xix, 41), and conquers Asrušti (Ys. lx, 5). He attends on the right of Miθra (Yt. x, 100), and is brother to him and Rašnu, Aši and Daēnā being his sisters (Yt. xvii, 16). Zərəuštra desires that Vištāspa may be tall and victorious like Sraoša (ĀZ. 6). His sacred bird is the cock (Vd. xviii, 14-5, 23).

In the Pahlavi texts Srōš is chiefly associated with the souls of the dead. After he has remained with the soul three days (SD lviii, 4, 7-9), it comes by his aid to the Činvat Bridge (Gd. Bd. xxvi, 17; MX ii, 124), where he is associated with Mitrō and Rašn (MX ii, 118-20), with Vāi the Good and Vāhrām opposing Astō-Vīdāt, Vāi the Bad, Frazīšt, Nizīšt, and Aēšm (ib. ii, 115). With Ātar he welcomes and escorts Artā-Vīrāf through heaven and hell (AVN iv, 2, etc.) Mentioned in company with Mitrō, Rašn, Vāhrām, Aštāt, and the Glory of the Mazdayasnian Religion (BYt. iii, 32), he is associated with Rašn, Aštāt, Vāi, and the Fravašis in the cult of the dead (SIS



xvii, 4; cf. DD xxviii, 5-6; xxx, 2-4; xxxi, 11); and a ceremony is to be performed in his honour when a child dies at the age of seven (SD xlvii, 1). He keeps demons from the righteous and is distinguished for vigour (SIS xxii, 17; xxiii, 3).

Srōš is an auxiliary of Artavahišt and has received from Aūharmazd the protection of the material world, which he rules (Gd. Bd. xxvi, 15, 17). He is lord of Airān Vēj (MX xlv, 35) and 'dwells mostly in Arzah and afterwards also in Savah and the whole world' (i.e., chiefly in the west and only later in the east; MX lxii, 25; cf. Bd. v. 8; xi, 3). Together with Neryōsang he is a messenger of Aūharmazd (BYt. iii, 25, 26, 59-60),<sup>1</sup> and with Vohūman he aids the infant Zartūšt (ZS xvi, 9). He is also associated with Vohūman and Mitrō (Dk. IX, xxviii, 3); his chief foe is Ačšm (Bd. xxx, 29; Dk. III, cxxiv, 2; VI, i, 4-7; VIII, ix, 3); and he is primarily concerned with the words of men rather than with their thoughts or deeds (DD iii, 13-4). He presides over the seventeenth day of every month (Sir. i, 17; ii, 17; SIS xxii, 17; xxiii, 3; cf. Bd. xxvii, 24). The Pahlavi version of Ys. i, 7, also describes him as 'the promoter of the world', and he is once associated with Mānī in a Turfān fragment.<sup>2</sup> Under the form Su-lu-ša-lo-yi he appears in the Chinese *Po sseu kiao ts'ang king* as 'the King who judges matters',<sup>3</sup> and he may be the Thirdate of Manichaeism.<sup>4</sup>

The importance of Sraoša is implied by the abundance of his epithets in the Avesta. Omitting such general adjectives as *aojahvant-* ('possessing strength'), *amavant-* ('mighty'), *taxma-* ('sturdy'), *sūra-* ('mighty'), and *hu-raoša-* ('well-formed'), he shares the epithet *ašivant-* ('possessing rewards') with Hašiš; *āsu-* ('swift'), *tanu-maθra-* ('whose body is the Spell'), and *bāzuš-aojah-* ('possessing strength of arm') with Miθra; *āhuirya-* ('associated with Ahura') with the Aməša Spentas and Daēnā; *frādat-gaēša-* ('furthering creatures') with Arštāt, Aša, Ahura Mazda, Daēnā, and Haoma; and *friša-* ('beloved') with Ārmaiti. His warlike nature finds expression in the epithets *raθaēštar-* ('warrior'), which he shares with Ātar and Miθra; *varəθrajan-* ('victorious') like Ahura Mazda, the Fravašis, Vāta, and Haoma; and *ham-varəitivant-* ('capable of defending') in common with the Fravašis. He is *barəzant-* ('lofty') like Apam Napāt, the Aməša Spentas, 'Arədvī', Aši

<sup>1</sup> Cf. *Šāh-Nāmāh*, tr. J. Mohl, Paris, 1876-78, i, 21, 22; vii, 134.

<sup>2</sup> Müller, *Handschriften-Reste*, p. 75.

<sup>3</sup> Chavannes-Pelliot, *Traité*, pp. 521-2, 523, 530, 545, 553, 567.

<sup>4</sup> Legge, *Forerunners*, ii, 327 (cf. also pp. 331, 341, note 2).

Ahura Mazda, Ahura-Miθra, Tištrya, the Fravašis, Miθra, Rašnu, and Haoma; and like Ātar, Miθra, and Vanant he is *aoxtō-nāman*- ('whose name is spoken'). His exclusive epithets are *aīya*- ('pious'), *daršīta*- ('bold'), *daršī-dru*- ('possessing a bold mace'), *frya*- ('dear'), *barāzi-dā*- ('possessing lofty sight'), *vanaitivant*- ('victorious'), and *vispā-mazīšta*- ('all-greatest'). On the other hand, his appellation scarcely ever occurs as a component of proper names.<sup>1</sup>

The interpretation of Sraoša is by no means easy. Moulton suggested<sup>2</sup> that he was originally the seventh Aməša Spənta; Spiegel<sup>3</sup> regarded him as a god of light; and Tiele<sup>4</sup> considered him to be the personified abstraction of obedience. From the evidence of the Iranian texts he was evidently a celestial deity (cf. Ys. lvii, 27, where his chariot is drawn through the air, and his frequent epithet *barāzant*-, 'lofty', as well as *barāzi-dā*-, 'possessing lofty sight'). It is also significant that his brothers are Miθra and Rašnu, and his sisters Aši and Daēnā, who, I have suggested,<sup>5</sup> were respectively the Sun and another solar deity, the Lucky Star and the Sky. He is, however, active by night rather than by day (Ys. lvii, 10, 16), so that his house is star-decked (Ys. lvii, 21); and it is noteworthy that his aid is asked by Ātar particularly in the last third of the night (apparently to re-enforce the glow of the dying embers; Vd. xviii, 22). It is appropriate, then, that his bird should be the cock (Vd. xviii, 14-5, 23), whose apotropaic functions are well known,<sup>6</sup> whence Sraoša is especially a victor over demons. It may also be suggested that his uplifted weapon (Ys. lvii, 16) is the upright torch borne in Mithraic art by Caut, one of the two figures standing beside the tauroctonous Miθra; and that Caut (perhaps 'the Burner')<sup>7</sup> was another name (or possibly the original appellation) of Sraoša. It seems most probable, on the whole, that Sraoša was primarily the morning star, corresponding to the Greek Phaethon and Phosphoros,<sup>8</sup> the Lithuanian Ausrinė ('Morning [Star]')<sup>9</sup>, one of the divine twins represented by the

<sup>1</sup> Justi, *Namenbuch*, pp. 105, 310-1.

<sup>2</sup> EZ p. 99; cf. pp. 241, 252.

<sup>3</sup> EA ii, 89.

<sup>4</sup> *Religion*, ii, 207-8; so also Reichelt, *Reader*, p. 155, who terms him 'priest god', ib. p. 163.

<sup>5</sup> See above, pp. 97-8, 101, 64-5, 72-3.

<sup>6</sup> Cf. L. H. Gray, 'Cock', in *ERE*, iii, 694-7.

<sup>7</sup> Cf. L. H. Gray, in *Le Muséon*, 1915, pp. 189-91.

<sup>8</sup> Gruppe, *Mythologie*, pp. 42, 960; G. Knaack, in Roscher, iii, 2175-2202; P. Weiszäcker, ib. iii, 2444-53.

<sup>9</sup> Usener, *Götternamen*, p. 86.

Lettish 'sons of God' who woo the daughter or the daughters of the Sun,<sup>1</sup> and the Vedic Ašvins.<sup>2</sup>

Outside Iranian the only close cognates of the word Sraoša are found in Slavic (e.g. Old Church Slavic *sluchŭ*, 'ákoň, auditus').<sup>3</sup> The term has so little reference to the original nature of the deity that it seems best to regard it as having been primarily a member of a compound possessive adjective (cf. Avestan *a-sraoša-*, 'unhearing', *dərətō-sraoša-*, 'audible'<sup>4</sup>) given to a divinity who later became amnestonymous. Whether his original name, now wholly lost, survived in the Mithraic Caut (Avestan \*Kaot-ar- [?]) is altogether uncertain.

### Section O.

#### Tīr.

Neither the Avestan nor the Old Persian texts mention Tīr ('Arrow' [?]), although evidently he was among the chief figures of at least one of the Iranian pantheons. In Pahlavi writings he appears as the planet Mercury (Bd. v, 1; BYt. iii, 4; SGV iv, 30, 36, 42; Kārnamak iii, 6) and as the opponent of Tištrya (Bd. v, 1; SGV iv, 36); but in later texts the rivals are actually confused (cf. SIS xxii, 13, with xxiii, 2).<sup>5</sup> Originally he presided over the fourth month of the Avestan calendar (June-July of the ideal year; Afr. iii, 8; Bd. vii, 2; xxv, 20), whence were derived the Cappadocian *Ἰηρι*, *Τειρα*, etc., as well as the Chorasmian Cīri and the Sīstānian Tīryakān-vā. The thirteenth day of each month was also primarily named in his honour (Sīr. i, 13; ii, 13; SIS xxii, 13; xxiii, 2; cf. Bd. xxvii, 24), though in the case both of months and of days his name was replaced in the Avesta by that of his rival. The Armenian name Trē for the corresponding month is probably Iranian in origin;

<sup>1</sup> W. Mannhardt, 'Die lettischen Sonnenmythen', in *Zeitschrift für Ethnologie*, vii (1875), 73-104, 209-44, 261-330.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. Macdonell, *Mythology*, p. 53; Hillebrandt, *Mythologie*, iii, 379-96; Keith, *Religion*, pp. 113-9. Against this interpretation one may cite the statement of MX lxii, 25, that Srōš dwells chiefly in the west, and only afterward in the east.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. also Trautmann, *Wörterbuch*, p. 308.

<sup>4</sup> Bartholomae's translation of this word (*AirWb.* col. 741) by 'holding fast to obedience, firm in obedience', seems less appropriate; cf. such Sanskrit analogues as *dhṛtakleśa-*, 'grieving', *dhṛtagarbhā-*, 'pregnant', *dhṛtadhanu-*, 'archer', *dhṛtavrata-*, 'firm-vowed', *dhṛtāśrī-*, 'fortunate'.

<sup>5</sup> Cf. E. W. West, in *SBE* xviii, 418, note 3; Spiegel, *Avesta*, iii, pp. xxi-xxii; Justi, *Namenbuch*, p. 326; and the passage from Gd. Bd. iii, tr. E. Blochet, in *RHR* xxxii (1895), 105: 'Tīr (is) Tištar.'

in Kurdish Tîr-ma is still sometimes used for July;<sup>1</sup> and in Northern Balōči Tîrband is the name of the constellation Orîon.<sup>2</sup> Tîr's importance is further shown by the festival of Tîragān, celebrated on the thirteenth day of the fourth month (i.e. the day Tîr of the month Tîr) and probably mentioned in 'Abîōd<sup>h</sup>ā Zārā (i) under the form טיירקיי. The feast was held at the summer solstice,<sup>3</sup> and, according to al-Bîrûnî,<sup>4</sup> had its origin in the arrow shot by Āriš from Ṭabaristān to the furthest frontier between that land and Faryāna, thus delimiting the boundary between the territories of Afrāsyāb and Minūcihr.

In Armenia Tîr seems to have become the deity Tiur, 'the scribe of Ormizd', whose oneiromantic shrine was situated at Erazamoin, between Valaršapat and Artašat Agathangelus, i, 129).<sup>5</sup> The Greek text here translates *Tiur diē* by Ἀπόλλων; and the Ἡρμῆς of Acts xiv, 2, is glossed by Tiur in the margin of some old manuscripts of the Armenian New Testament.<sup>6</sup> It would appear, moreover, that it was Tîr rather than Tištrya (as is commonly supposed) who was represented, under the name TEIPO, on a gold coin of the Indo-Scythian Huviška which portrays him, under the influence of the Greek Artemis as a deity of the chase, as a goddess (!) clothed in a long chiton and himation, holding a bow in the right hand, and with the left drawing an arrow from a quiver.<sup>7</sup>

The appellation of the god may be found in the Avestan proper name Tîrō-nakaθwa (Yt. xiii, 126);<sup>8</sup> and certainly forms a component of many Old Persian and Armenian names, notably Tîrziōs ('Relating to Tîr'), Tîrziōχus ('Possessing the Seed of Tîr'), Tîrīβxζos ('possessing the Arm of Tîr'), and Tîrīdārtis ('Given by Tîr');<sup>9</sup> as well as in the Tîra, Tîripirna (\*Tîrafarnah, 'Possessing the Glory of Tîr'), and Tîriyāma ('Twin of Tîr')

<sup>1</sup> Lagarde, *Abhandlungen*, p. 9; F. Macler, in *ERE* iii, 70; A. Jaba, *Dictionnaire kurde-français*, Petrograd, 1879, p. 111.

<sup>2</sup> M. L. Dames, *A Sketch of the Northern Balochi Language*, Calcutta, 1881, p. 63; W. Geiger, *Etymologie des Balūči*, Munich, 1890, p. 45, and A. Götze, in *KZ* li (1923), 146-53, are scarcely correct in connecting this word with Tištrya.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. L. H. Gray, in *ERE* v, 872, 874, 875.

<sup>4</sup> *Chronology of Ancient Nations*, tr. E. Sachau, London, 1879, p. 205.

<sup>5</sup> Gelzer, *Götterlehre*, pp. 109-11; cf. Lagarde, *Abhandlungen*, p. 294.

<sup>6</sup> Ananikian, *Mythology*, p. 31; for Tiur generally see *ib.* pp. 29-33, and Sandaljian, *Histoire*, pp. 743-4.

<sup>7</sup> Stein, *Coins*, pp. 6-7 and fig. x.

<sup>8</sup> Bartholomae, *AirWb.* col. 651.

<sup>9</sup> Justi, *Namenbuch*, pp. 323, 325, 326-7; Hübschmann, *Grammatik*, i, 88.

[?] of Babylonian business documents of the Achaemenian period;<sup>1</sup> the תירוח (\*Tiravohu [?]) and תיריבר (evidently compounded with Tīr) of Elephantine papyri;<sup>2</sup> the תרדה (an appellation of Ahasuerus) of *Esther Rabba* on i, 3;<sup>3</sup> the Tirin of the Āvamān Parchment (l.1)<sup>4</sup>; and the Armenian Trdat.<sup>5</sup> Whether the name appears in the Tirindira of RV VIII, vi, 46, is very doubtful;<sup>6</sup> but it may be part of the designation of the village of Tīrūda (near Khair), said to have been the birth-place of Artašīr Pāpakān,<sup>7</sup> and also of the town of Τηριδάρα (variant Τεριδάρα) which once existed on a bank of the Euphrates (Ptolemy, V, xviii, 7).

Attempts to derive the name Tīr from Tištrya or from Avestan *tiyri-*, 'arrow', must be deemed unsuccessful.<sup>8</sup> It would seem to be a reduced-zero grade of the base \**terēi-*, \**terōu-*, 'to pierce'. The Sanskrit lexicographers (Hemacandra, *Abhidhānaśāntamāṇi*, 780; Puruṣottama, *Trikāṇḍaśeṣa*, II, viii, 53) mention *tīra-* and *tīri-* as terms for 'arrow'; and the Iranian \**tīra-*, granting that it also means 'arrow', may be cognate with the group of Sanskrit *turá-*, 'wounded, diseased' (only in RV VIII, lxxix, 2), Greek *τορός*, *τρανής*, 'piercing', *τρητός*, 'pierced', *τέρετρον*, 'auger', *τετραίνω* to pierce, *τερηδών*, 'wood-worm', Latin *terebrā*, 'auger', *tero*, 'futio' (Plautus, *Captivi*, 888; Propertius, IV, x, 30; Petronius, 87), Old Irish *tarathar*, Old Breton *tarater*, 'auger' (from this group are derived Old French *tarere*, Modern French *tarière*, Spanish *taladro* [by dissimilation from \**taradro*], 'auger', Italian *tara-*

<sup>1</sup> Clay, *Documents*, p. 65 (together with some other possible instances); id. *Artaxerxes*, p. 72.

<sup>2</sup> A. Ungnad, *Aramäische Papyri aus Elephantine*, Leipzig, 1911, pp. 14, 19 (vii, 5, 9; x, 13); Cowley, *Papyri*, pp. 51, 52, 133, 134, 135.

<sup>3</sup> M. Jastrow, *Dictionary of the Targumim*, London, 1903, pp. 1221-1696.

<sup>4</sup> Herzfeld, *Paikuli*, i, 83.

<sup>5</sup> Justi, *Namenbuch*, pp. 325, 326; Hübschmann, *Grammatik*, i, 89. Armenian names like Tirair seem to be connected rather with Armenian *tār*, 'lord' (from \**ti-āir*, 'man of?'; Meillet, *Esquisse*, p. 24; cf. H. Hübschmann, in *Festgruss an Roth*, Stuttgart, 1893, p. 104).

<sup>6</sup> Macdonell-Keith, *Index*, i, 310-1.

<sup>7</sup> Nöldeke, *Tabari*, p. 3.

<sup>8</sup> Cf. Lagarde, *Abhandlungen*, p. 262; Horn, *Etymologie*, p. 91; Hübschmann, *Studien*, p. 49; and especially the very full discussion by T. Nöldeke, in *SWAW* cxvi (1888), 417-20. The connexion is defended, though scarcely with success, by A. Götze, in *KZ* li (1923), 146-53.

*dore*, 'wood-worm'), Low German *drillen*, Swedish *drilla*, English *drill*, 'to bore'.<sup>1</sup>

Support is lent to the etymology here proposed by Tir's representation as a deity with arrows; and the name may have been an abbreviation of some word compounded with \**tira*-, 'arrow', this lost compound having been a cultic epithet substituted for the deity's real name, which had vanished at an early date.

As the lord of the planet Mercury Tir would correspond to the Babylonian Nabu, the god of wisdom,<sup>2</sup> thus explaining his functions in Armenia. Nabu, however, has no connexion with arrows, his symbol being a staff which is interpreted both as a writer's stylus and as a ruler's sceptre. As the divinity of the fourth month Tir's counterpart in the Semitic calendar was Tammūz, a solar divinity presiding over spring vegetation and personifying agricultural activity, with a famous festival which was celebrated at the coming of the summer solstice<sup>3</sup> and was possibly the origin of the Persian Tirāgān.

The only epithet implying association of arrows used of an Iranian deity is *xšvivi-išū*- ('possessing swift arrows') once applied to Miθra (Yt. x, 102; cf. §§ 101, 129); and as the sun-god Miθra has arrows, so Apollo possesses them in his solar capacity.<sup>4</sup> Tir's connexion with arrows might, moreover, suggest that he was the divinity of the zodiacal sign Sagittarius or Arcitenens (the Greek Τοξότης and the Sanskrit Dhanu), rising to prominence when, in the procession of the equinoxes, the summer solstice fell in the sign of the Archer.<sup>5</sup>

The closest analogue of Tir, however, is the divine archer of Mithraism who shoots an arrow which strikes a rock, causing

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Hirt, *Ablaut*, p. 81; Boisacq, *Dictionnaire*, pp. 948-9; V. Henry, *Lexique étymologique . . . du Breton moderne*, Rennes, 1900, p. 260; Meyer-Lübke, *Wörterbuch*, p. 646; Falk-Torp, *Wörterbuch*, pp. 155-7; Holder, *Sprachschatz*, ii, 1729.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. Jastrow, *Religion*, pp. 124-30, 228-30, 371; A. Jeremias, in *PRE* xiii, 690-2.

<sup>3</sup> Jastrow, *Religion*, pp. 58, 547, 588, 682-3; T. G. Pinches, 'Tammuz', in *ERE* xii, 187-91; W. von Baudissin, 'Tammuz', in *PRE* xix, 334-77.

<sup>4</sup> Gruppe, *Mythologie*, p. 1244.

<sup>5</sup> Cf. Moulton, *EZ* pp. 435-7, and the study by Mrs. E. W. Maunder there cited.

abundant water to leap forth.<sup>1</sup> Cumont<sup>2</sup> identifies this archer with Miθra himself; but though this was doubtless true in the period of the Mithraic monuments, the antithesis shown by such proper names as Μιθραδάτης and Τιριδάτης gives rise to some doubt whether it was so in the beginning. One does not lightly differ from M. Cumont,<sup>3</sup> but it may be suggested that Tīr was an ancient deity who survived in the Avestan 𐬔𐬀𐬭𐬀𐬎𐬌, 'the best archer of the Aryans', who shot an arrow on which Ahura Mazda, Waters, and Plants had breathed, for which Miθra prepared a path, and which was followed by Aši and Pārēndi (Yt. viii, 6-7, 37-8). 𐬔𐬀𐬭𐬀𐬎𐬌, whose name Justi<sup>4</sup> compares with Sanskrit *ṛkṣā-* ('bald'), is mentioned by later writers under the form Āriššibātīr ('Āriš the Swift-Arrowed'); and Āriš, as we have already seen, figures in al-Bīrūnī's account of the origin of the feast of Tīragān, where his bolt strikes a gigantic nut-tree somewhat as the Mithraic archer's shaft hits a rock.<sup>5</sup> In the Avesta 𐬔𐬀𐬭𐬀𐬎𐬌, like Miθra (the only other divine being to bear the term), has the epithet *xšvivi-išu-* (Yt. viii, 6, 37).

Whatever may have been his original name, 'Swift-Arrowed Bald-Pate' would seem to have been primarily a divinity of considerable importance: probably a phase of the sun shooting rays like arrows, and apparently, from the connexion of Tīr's festival with the summer solstice, the god of mid-summer, a deity mighty to aid agriculture, but also dangerous to those who unwisely ignored his burning beams. Later this special solar divinity was absorbed into the great sun-god Miθra, and survived only in the vague 𐬔𐬀𐬭𐬀𐬎𐬌-myth, in proper names, and—through a late identification with the Babylonian Nabu for some reason no longer clear—as the planet Mercury.

In the Vedas Rudra and the Maruts are termed archers, but their shaft is the lightning; and Agni is likewise a bowman.<sup>6</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Cumont, *TM* i, 165-6, 306; ii, 231 (and fig. 62), 273, 295 (and fig. 150), 298 (and fig. 154), 300 (and fig. 156), 301 (and fig. 158), 306 (and fig. 163), 307 (and fig. 164), 309 (and fig. 167), 311 (and fig. 168) 313 (and figs. 170-1), 318 (and fig. 179), 322 (and fig. 188), 338 (and fig. 213), 342 (and fig. 216), 343, 346 (and plate V), 350 (and plate VI), 364 (and plate VII), 380 (and fig. 293), 383 (and fig. 295), 515 (and plate IX).

<sup>2</sup> *ib.* i, 165, 220, 306, 343.

<sup>3</sup> *TM* i, 166, note 1.

<sup>4</sup> *Namenbuch*, pp. 88-9.

<sup>5</sup> In addition to the Oriental references given by Justi, *loc. cit.*, see Darmesteter, *Etudes*, ii, 220-1; R. von Stackelberg, 'Die iranische Schützensage', in *ZdmG* lviii (1904), 853-8.

<sup>6</sup> Cf. Macdonell, *Mythology*, pp. 74, 79, 89.

None of these, however, is analogous to the Iranian deity ; nor has Tir any resemblance with the Vedic Kṛśānu, the Keresāni of Ys. ix, 24, who is closely associated with the Soma-myth,<sup>1</sup> and who apparently survives in the Avesta as the deity of the malign aspect of the burning sun.<sup>2</sup>

### *Section P.*

#### TIŠTRYA.

This deity is honoured by the eighth Yašt, from which we learn that he is a star who grants happy homes (§2), for whom men and beasts and cattle, like all creations of Ahura Mazda, yearn (§§5, 36, 41-2), who flies like an arrow through the air to Vouru-kaša (§§6, 37), and who overcomes sorcery and the constellations that bring drought (§§8, 39). During the first ten nights of the month he appears as a young man, during the second ten as a bull, and during the third ten as a stallion ; he battles three days and three nights before conquering Apaoša (§§ 13-29 ; cf. Bd. vii, 4-13 ; ZS vi, 4-14) ; and after his victory he comes to Vouru-kaša in the form of a horse, making the sea boil, and rousing the rain-giving mist and wind (§§30-3 ; cf. §§8, 40, 46-7). Ahura Mazda made him lord of all stars, and no evil can harm him (§44) ; he was created equal in honour to the ' Wise Lord ' himself, for otherwise sorcery would have prevailed, and especially the fiend Dužyāiryā, whom he conquers (§§50-5). His proper sacrifice is a sheep, either wholly black or wholly white, and worship of him wards off the foe ; but if the wicked partake of the oblation cooked for him, flood and hostile armies overwhelm the land (§§56-61). Like other Yazatas, he particularly desires to be called by his own name (§§11, 23-5).

Elsewhere in the Avesta Tištrya is mentioned together with Ahura-Miθra, the Stars, Māh, Hvarə, and Miθra (Ys. i, 11 ; iii, 13 ; vii, 13) ; or with Ahura Mazda, the Waters, Hvarə, Māh, and Gōuš Urvan (Ys. xvi, 4) ; or with other celestial divinities (Ny. i, 8) ; or with Vāta and X'arənah (Yt. xviii, 5, 7) ; or with Vərəθrayna (Vd. xix, 37). He is likewise associated with a group of stars called Tištryaēnīs (Ny. i, 8 ; Yt. viii. 12).

<sup>1</sup> See Macdonell, *Mythology*, p. 112 ; Spiegel, *Periode*, pp. 223-5 ; M. Bloomfield, 'The Myth of Soma and the Eagle', in *Festgruss an Roth*, Stuttgart, 1893, pp. 149-55.

<sup>2</sup> See below, pp. 207-8.



In the Pahlavi texts Tištar is chieftain of the east (Bd. ii, 7) and co-operates with Vohūman, Hōm, and Būrj (Bd. vii, 3; ZS vi, 3). He is the opponent of Tīr (Bd. v, 1), although, as we have seen,<sup>1</sup> there is much confusion between the two; and he is likewise the foe of Spēnžagar (SGV iv, 52; cf. Bd. vii, 12; xxviii, 39). As being especially associated with rain, he, with Satvēs, Vohūman, Arēdvīsūr, Vāt, Hōm, Dīn, Būrj, and the Fravašis, executes the commands of Aūharmazd concerning rain; and he is the chief, though he works with Satvēs, draws the water with the aid of Vāt, and moves the clouds with the assistance of Vohūman and Vāt (Dk. III, cxii, 5). He is the first of stars, so that prosperity and the fertility of the world are in his path (MX xlix, 5-6; cf. lxii, 41-2). He is an auxiliary of Horvadāt and produces rain (Gd. Bd. xxvi, 32-3), or, according to a slightly different version (ib. iii, tr. E. Blochet, in RHR xxxii [1895], 105), during his battle with Apaōš he carries water to the Fravašis, who give it to Vāt, who distributes it to the seven Kēšvars of the earth.

The Avestan epithets peculiar to Tištrya are *afščiθra-* ('containing the seed of water'), *āsu-xšvaēva-* ('swift-swinging'), *xšvivi-vāza-* ('possessing swift flight'), *drvō-čašman-* ('possessing sound eyes'), *jrādərəsra-* ('forth-shining'), and *rāmanivant-* ('peaceful'). The principal epithets which he shares with other deities are the following: *uparō-kairya-* ('possessing activity on high') with the Fravašis, Vayu, and X<sup>v</sup>arənah; *xšayamna-* ('ruling'), *rāma-šayana-* ('possessing a peaceful abode'), and *hušayana-* ('possessing a good abode') with Miθra; *dūraē-sūka-* ('far-glancing') with Ahura Mazda and the Fravašis; *baēšazya-* ('healing') and *bərəzant-* ('high') with many other divinities; *yaoxštivant-* ('skilful') with Māh, Miθra, and X<sup>v</sup>arənah; *raēvant-* ('radiant') with Ahura Mazda, Māh, Miθra, and Satavaēsa; *raoxšna-* ('shining') with Ātar; *ravō-fraoθman-* ('possessing swift flight') with the Fravašis; *varə-čahvant-* ('energetic') with Māh; *vyāvant-* ('beaming') with Aši; and *x<sup>v</sup>armahvant-* ('possessing glory') with Ahura Mazda, Māh, and Satavaēsa. Tištrya is a component of the Manichaean proper name Tišfarn ('Glory of Tištrya') and of the late Parsi Tištara-yār ('Friend of Tištrya').<sup>2</sup>

Plutarch confirms the Avestan data when he says (*De Iside et Osiride*, 47) that Horomazes 'established one star, Sirius, before all as a watchman and scout'.

<sup>1</sup> See above, p. 110.

<sup>2</sup> F. W. K. Müller, 'Ein Doppelblatt aus einem manichäischen Hymnenbuch', in *ABAW*, 1912, p. 33; Justi, *Namenbuch*, p. 328.

Scholars are generally agreed that Tištrya represents Sirius.<sup>1</sup> The Indian equivalent seems to be Tiṣya, a star or constellation whose deity in the Taittirīya Saṃhitā (IV, iv, 10<sup>1</sup>) is Bṛhaspati.<sup>2</sup> Under the name of Σείριος the dog-star enjoyed a degree of religious awe in Greece.<sup>3</sup>

### Section Q.

#### Vərəθraϑna.

The deity Vərəθraϑna ('Victory') was clearly one of the most important of the entire Iranian pantheon. The fourteenth Yašt is written in his honour, and from it we learn that he is the best-armed of all the Yazatas (§ 1); that, in the form of Vāta, he brought glory, healing, and strength (§ 2); that he conquers demons (§ 4); and that he assumes the forms of a bull with golden horns, of a white horse with golden ears and bridle, of a rutting camel, of a wild boar, of a handsome youth, of a Vārəgan-bird,<sup>4</sup> of a wild ram, of a wild goat, and of a warrior (§§ 7, 9, 11, 15, 17, 19, 23, 25, 27). Zaraθuštra prayed to him for victory in debate, and Vərəθraϑna bestowed upon him strength of body and marvellous keenness of vision (§§ 28-33). He broods over the house which is rich in kine (§ 41); and when battle is in suspense, the army which first invokes him and Ama, who accompanies him in at least two of his incarnations (§§ 7, 9), gains the victory (§§ 43-4). With Miθra and Rašnu he goes to and fro between the opposing hosts (§ 47), and if the proper sacrifice—a cooked sheep all of one colour (§§ 49-50)—is offered

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Spiegel, *EA* ii, 70-3; Geiger, *OK* pp. 308-11; Dhalla, *Theology*, pp. 129-31, 241-2; Moulton, *EZ* pp. 23-6, 436-7. Tiele (*Religion* ii, 227-30), however, held that the association of Tištrya with Sirius was not original, maintaining that Tištrya was primarily the sky-god who in the storm sets free the waters held back by evil beings, his three metamorphoses representing respectively spring, summer, and autumn. Darmesteter, *Ormazd*, pp. 126, 129, 138, 143-4, 158, 248, 275-7 regarded him as a storm-god and a doublet of Vərəθraϑna.

<sup>2</sup> Macdonell, *Mythology*, p. 103; Macdonell-Keith, *Index*, i, 312; Keith, *Religion*, p. 163.

<sup>3</sup> Gruppe, *Mythologie*, pp. 945-8, 954; Gundel, in *PW*, 2 series, v, 334-9; for the etymology of Σείριος ('brilliant, shining') see Boisacq, *Dictionnaire*, p. 857.

<sup>4</sup> Cf. Bartholomae, *AirWb.* coll. 1411-12; for the magic power of the feathers of this bird, whose shape is also assumed by Kavaēm Xvərənah (Yt. xix, 35), see Yt. xiv, 34-40. Jackson (*PPP* p. 76, with citation of older theories) suggests that it may be the raven, less probably the peregrine falcon.

him, the land need fear no enemy (§ 48). If, however, the wicked partake of this oblation, all manner of evils will befall the country (§§ 51-3). He is associated with Gəuš Urvan (§ 54) and with Uparatāt (§ 64); and is victorious over every foe, human and demonic (§§ 62-3; cf. ĀZ 7).

Elsewhere in the Younger Avesta Vərəθrayna is associated with Hušiti, Ama, and Uparatāt (Ys. i, 6; ii, 6; iii, 8; iv, 11; vii, 8); or with Ama and Uparatāt (Sir. i, 20; ii, 20); or with Uparatāt alone (Vsp. i, 6; ii, 8); or with Saošyant (Ys. lix, 28); or with Ahura Mazda, Miθra, Sraoša, Rašnu, the Fravašis, Rāman, and Vāta (Ys. xvi. 5); or with Saokā, the Fravašis, and Tīštrya (Vd. xix, 37). In his boar-form he accompanies Miθra (Yt. x, 70-2). He presides over the twentieth day of the Iranian month (Sir. i, 20; ii, 20; SIS. xxii, 20; xxiii, 2; cf. Āfr. iii, 11; Bd. xxvii, 24), and over the twenty-seventh day of each Armenian month.

Vərəθrayna shares with a number of other Iranian deities the colourless epithets *amavant-* ('mighty') and *mazda-dāta-* ('created by Mazda'); and like Čistā he is *hvāyaona-* ('possessing a good place'). His exclusive Avestan epithets are *ahura-dāta-* ('created by Ahura'), *barō-xʰarənah-* ('bearing glory'), *vərəθravan-* ('victorious'), and *hvāxšta-* ('possessing good pacification'). His appellation is used very frequently as a component of proper names,<sup>1</sup> and he is also honoured in the Armenian names Varazdat ('Boar-Given'), Varazdēn ('Having the Religion of the Boar'), etc.<sup>2</sup>

In the Pahlavi texts Vāhrām is identified with the planet Mars (Bd. v, 1) and is associated with Mitrō, Rašn, Vāi the Good, Astāt, and Din (AVN v, 3), or with Mitrō, Srōš, Rašn, Astāt, and the Glory of the Mazdayasnian Religion (BYt. iii, 32). He is an auxiliary of Artavahišt and is the standard-bearer of the celestial Yazatas (Gd. Bd. xxvi, 18), besides being 'the stimulator of the warlike' (SIS. xxii, 20; cf. xxiii, 3). At the fourth dawn after death he, together with Srōš and Vāi the Good, aids the soul on its journey to the future world (MX ii, 115). He presides over a fire named in his honour (Bd. xvii, 1, 2, 9; BYt.

<sup>1</sup> Justi, *Namenbuch*, pp. 361-5; Hübschmann, *Grammatik*, i, 77-8; Nöldeke, *Tabari*, p. 46, note 3.

<sup>2</sup> Justi, *Namenbuch*, pp. 349-50; Hübschmann, *Grammatik*, i, 81-2. To these may be added the Varāgortē ('Boar-Hero') of Paikuli 45 (Herzfeld, *Paikuli* i, 119, 171). It is worth noting, also, that the Sumerians had a deity 'Lord of the Wild Boar' (Nin šakh), the warlike prototype of Ninib (Jastrow, *Religion*, pp. 92-4).

ii, 26, 37; DD xxxi, 7; lxxxi, 18; ZS xxii, 7; MX xxxvi, 9; liii, 5; Dk. VIII, xxv, 2; xxix, 17). this fire being flame in absolute purity as contrasted with such as may have been used for any purpose whatever. Each province should have one of these fires, which must be made from 1001 fires taken from fifteen sorts of fire.<sup>1</sup>

Under the form ΟΡΑΑΓΝΟ Vərəθrayna appears on Indo-Scythian coins as a deity bearing a lance in his right hand and in his left the pommel of a sabre which is attached to his belt, and wearing a helmet surmounted by a bird.<sup>2</sup> In Mithraism he was identified with Herakles;<sup>3</sup> Antiochus of Commagene equated him, under the name Ἀράγνης, with Herakles-Ares;<sup>4</sup> he was perhaps analogous to the Scythian divinity termed Herakles by Herodotus (iv, 59); as Vahagn he was an important figure in the Armenian pantheon;<sup>5</sup> and Mandaeanism has a baptism in the name of Bahrām 'son of یرربیا'.<sup>6</sup> Vereθrayna, rather than Miθra or Zaratuštra, would seem to be the divine figure appearing in a Sāsānian sculpture at Ṭāq-i-Bustān representing the triumph of Artāšīr I and Šāhpūhr I over Artabanus V.<sup>7</sup>

Moulton<sup>8</sup> regarded Vərəθrayna as the god of war, and such he doubtless was in the Avestan period; though it would appear that this was a later development and that he was originally the Iranian counterpart of the Vedic Indra.<sup>9</sup> It may further be suggested that the epithet \*vohu-xšaθra ('possessing a good realm'), early applied to him but later abandoned, was evolved into his Gāētic counterpart, the Aməša Spənta Xšaθra (Vairya)<sup>10</sup>.

<sup>1</sup> Darmesteter, *ZA* i, 157.

<sup>2</sup> Stein, *Coins*, p. 5 and fig. viii; cf. von Sallet, *Nachfolger*, p. 198.

<sup>3</sup> Cumont, *TM* i, 143, 236.

<sup>4</sup> *ib.* i, 131; ii, 90.

<sup>5</sup> Hübschmann, *Grammatik*, i, 75-7, 508-9; Gelzer, *Götterlehre*, pp. 107-96 Sandaljian, *Histoire*, pp. 760-3; Ananikian, *Mythology*, pp. 42-6, 363-; (where, however, he is erroneously regarded as a fire-god).

<sup>6</sup> W. Brandt, *Die mandäische Religion*, Leipzig, 1889, pp. 105, 225.

<sup>7</sup> See Sir J. Coyajee, 'The Supposed Sculpture of Zoroaster on the Tak-i-Bostan', in *Journal and Proceedings, Asiatic Society of Bombay*, new series, xxii (1926), 391-408.

<sup>8</sup> *EZ* p. 69. Cf. H. W. Magoun, 'Agni Vṛtrahan and the Avestan Verethraghna', in *Studies in Honor of Maurice Bloomfield*, New Haven, U. S. A., 1920, pp. 197-210.

<sup>9</sup> Cf. Reichelt, *Reader*, pp. 118-9, who, however, thinks that both were originally thunder-gods. Darmesteter, *Ormazd*, pp. 125, 276, considered Vərəθrayna to have been primarily the victorious storm-god.

<sup>10</sup> See above, pp. 46-7.

*Section R.***X<sup>v</sup>ARĒNAH.**

The worshipful being X<sup>v</sup>arēnah ('Glory') is associated with Uši-darēna and other mountains (Ys. i, 14; ii, 14; iii, 16; iv, 19; vi, 13; vii, 16; xvii, 14); with Hvarē (Vsp. xix, 2); with Ātar, Savah, and holy mountains and lakes (Ny. v, 5-6; Sir. i, 9; ii, 9); with Aši, Āisti, grēti, Rasāstāt, and Pārēndi (Sir. i, 25; cf. ii, 25); with Saokā and holy rivers, as well as with Aša, Ama, etc. (Yt. i, 21-2); with Tištrya, Waters, the Ox, and the Fravaši of Zaratuštra (Yt. viii, 2); with Apām Napāt, Vāta, and the Fravašis (Yt. viii, 34; cf. xix, 51); with Aši, Tištrya, and Vāta (Yt. xviii, 4-5; cf. 7); and with the Aməša Spəntas, Sraoša, Nairyō-saərəha, and Ātar (VYt. 40).

He is possessed by the Aməša Spəntas, who apportion him to earth (Ny. iii, 5; Yt. vi, 1; vii, 3; xiii, 24, 41, 134; VYt. 34, 46); and he dwells in the midst of Vouru-kaša (Yt. v, 42; xiii, 65; xix, 51, 56-63) or in the waters (Yt. viii, 34). Miθra, to whom X<sup>v</sup>arēnah belongs (Yt. x, 141), also apportions him (Yt. x, 108); or he is brought by Vərəθrayna (Yt. xiv, 2; cf. 36); or Aši, with whom he is closely associated (Yt. xviii, 4), gives him (Yt. xvii, 6). He conquers fiends (Yt. xviii, 1-2) and, together with Aši, Tištrya, and Vāta, makes plants grow (Yt. xviii, 6).

The nineteenth Yašt is almost entirely devoted to X<sup>v</sup>arēnah. He is possessed by Ahura Mazda, who is thus able to create living beings (§§ 10-1), and also by the Aməša Spəntas (§ 15) and the Yazatas (§ 22). Associated with Haošyaərəha Para-dāta, Urupi, ərəštaona, Kərəsāspa, Kavāta, Aipi-vaərəhu, Usa-dan, Aršan, Pisinah, Byaršan, Syāvaršan, Haosravah, Zaratuštra, and Vištāspa, he gave them their power (§§ 26, 28-9, 36, 38, 71-2, 77, 79, 84); and he caused Yima to prosper until the monarch's sin caused X<sup>v</sup>arēnah to depart from him (§§ 31-8). He will abide in the Saošyants (§§ 22, 66, 89); but possession of him was sought in vain by the evil Fraərəsyan (§§ 56-63, 82; Yt. v, 41-3). Spənta Mainyu and Aərə Mainyu strove with each other to win him (§§ 45-50); and he is the protector of the Aryan lands, of animals, of righteous men, and of the Mazdayasnian Religion (§ 69). He can assume the shape of the Vərə-gan bird<sup>1</sup> (§§ 35, 36, 38); and with Vāta, Dāmōiš Upamana, and Savah he accompanies Ahura Mazda or Rašnu to the sacrifice (Yt. xii, 4, 6). Together with Aši, Pārēndi, Həm-varēti, ərəwāša,

<sup>1</sup> See above, p. 117.

Dāmōiš Upamana, and the Fravašis he escorts Miθra (Yt. x, 66): or with Ātar he follows Miθra, on whose right is Rašnu, on whose left are Čistā and Daēnayō Upamana, and who is also attended by Dāmōiš Upamana (Yt. x, 126-7). He seems to be identified with the light of the sun (Yt. vi, 1) and of the moon (Ny. iii, 5; Yt. vii, 3). The 'Huzvareš' equivalent of X<sup>v</sup>arənah is sometimes *gadman* (Hebrew גַּדְמָן Aramaic *gaddā*, 'fortune, luck', Arabic *jadd*, 'fortune, luck, glory'), as in the Pahlavi version of Ny. iii, 5 (cf. AVN v, 3; ci, 28; Bd. xvii, 5; xxxiv, 4).

In addition to the rather colourless Avestan epithets *uyra* ('strong') and *mazdaḍāta-* ('created by Mazda'), which he has in common with many other divinities, X<sup>v</sup>arənah shares *uparō-kairya-* ('possessing activity on high') with Tištrya, the Fravašis, and Vayu; *θamnahvant-* ('careful') with Tištrya; *pouru-x<sup>v</sup>arənah-* ('possessing much glory') with Ahura Mazda, Ātar, and the Yazatas; *yaoxšivant-* ('skilful') with Tištrya, Māh, and Miθra; and *varəcəhvant-* ('energetic') with Tištrya and Māh. His exclusive epithets are *aš-vandra-* ('receiving much praise'), *ax<sup>v</sup>arəta-* ('unseized'), *gaomavant-* ('milk-possessing'), *pouru-išta-* ('desired by many'), *pouru-zaθwa-* ('possessing many herds'), and *baraḡāya-* ('victory-bearing' [?]).

His name occurs in the Old Persian Φαρνάβαζος ('Possessing the Arm of X<sup>v</sup>arənah'), Φαρνζάβης ('Born of X<sup>v</sup>arənah'; cf. the form Pirrinazata in a Babylonian document of the reign of Darius II and the later form Farruxzād), Φαρνόζαρος ('Possessing the Realm through X<sup>v</sup>arənah' [?]), Φαρναπάρης ('Protected by X<sup>v</sup>arənah'), Farnbag ('[Possessing (?)] the Glory-God'), Faruxbuxt ('Redeemed by X<sup>v</sup>arənah'), Farruxbundād ('Possessing Foundation through X<sup>v</sup>arənah'),<sup>1</sup> Farruxdād ('Given [or, Created] by X<sup>v</sup>arənah'),<sup>2</sup> פֶּרִיבֶּסֶר(א)וּ ('Possessing Fame through X<sup>v</sup>arənah'),<sup>3</sup> Farnbām ('Radiance of X<sup>v</sup>arənah')<sup>4</sup> and perhaps in the פֶּרִינִין בֶּר פֶּרִינִין of an Aramaic incantation, 'before whom [trembles the sea, and behind whom tremble the mountains]'.<sup>5</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Justi, *Namenbuch*, pp. 92, 93, 94, 96-8, 103; Clay, *Darius*, p. 60.

<sup>2</sup> Braun, *Akten*, p. 210 (cf. Justi, *Namenbuch*, p. 96).

<sup>3</sup> M. Lidzbarski, in *Ephemeris für semitische Epigraphik*, i (1902), p. 100.

<sup>4</sup> F. W. K. Müller, 'Ein Doppelblatt aus einem manichäischen Hymnenbuch' in ABAW, 1912, p. 35.

<sup>5</sup> Montgomery, *Incantation*, vii, 12.

Under the name ΦΑΡ(P)O the deity appears on gold Indo-Scythian coins as a male divinity facing right, with diadem, nimbus, chiton, and himation, holding a lance in his left hand and fire in his right, other coins showing variations of little moment in the present connexion.<sup>1</sup>

The original nature of Xvarenah has been explained by Spiegel<sup>2</sup> as 'the most spiritual form of fire...and an emanation of primeval light'; by Darmesteter<sup>3</sup> as 'the supernatural light which is the expression of all virtue, all might, all felicity'; by Moulton<sup>4</sup> as the external soul; and by Wilhelm<sup>5</sup> as the deity of fortune. It is evident that he was a divinity of light, and in the historic period very often a god of royal fortune, so that it was probably he who was invoked in the oaths frequently sworn 'by the Fortune of the King.'<sup>6</sup>

A study of Xvarenah's divine associates and of the etymology of his name, together with his epithets, seems, however, to lead a little further. From his companions in the pantheon, as listed above, it becomes obvious that he was a celestial divinity. The epithets *xvarənahvant-* ('possessing glory'), *xvarənō-dū-* ('glory-giving'), *xvarenah-* ('glory'), and *xvarənarəhan-* ('glorious') are used only of the celestial deities Ahura Mazda, Tištrya, Māh, Miθra, Vayu and Satavaēsa; while *aiwi-xvarenah-* ('possessing glory round about') is used of Vayu; *aš-xvarenah-* ('possessing much glory') of Məθra Spənta; *barō-xvarenah-* ('bearing glory') of Vərəθraγna; and *vindi-xvarenah-* ('glory-finding') of Vayu.<sup>7</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Stein, *Coins*, p. 5 and fig. vi; Hoffmann, *Auszüge*, p. 149; von Sallet, *Nachfolger*, pp. 198, 206.

<sup>2</sup> *EA* ii, 42-5; cf. his 'Die Lehre von der Majestät im Avesta', in *KB* v (1868), 385-96; see also Bousset, *Gnosis*, pp. 147-51, 199, 202.

<sup>3</sup> *ZA* i, 7, note 2; cf. de Harlez, *Avesta*, p. cii.

<sup>4</sup> *EZ* pp. 275-7.

<sup>5</sup> 'Hvarenō', in *Sir Jamsatjee Jejeebhoy Madressa Jubilee Volume*, Bombay, 1914, pp. 159-66.

<sup>6</sup> Delehay, *Actes*, p. 96; Hoffmann, *Auszüge*, p. 63; Braun, *Akten*, pp. 68, 124; Moses of Khoren, iii, 42.

<sup>7</sup> We also find *ušta-xvarenah-* ('possessing desired glory' [?]) as the name of a mountain (*Yt.* xix, 5) and *duš-xvarenah-* ('possessing evil glory') as an epithet of Aθra Mainyu, Aēšma, and an evil man, while *vispō-xvarenah-* ('possessing all glory') is applied either to the man or to the house visited by Xvarenah (*Yt.* xviii, 4). There was also a river Xvarenahvaiti (*Yt.* xix, 67) which is identified with the modern Harūt emptying into the Hāmūn.

The word *xʷarənah-* (Old Persian *farnah-*) appears in Modern Persian as *farr*, *xʷarra*, 'beauty, light, glory', and is borrowed in Armenian as *p'ark*, 'glory'.<sup>1</sup> It is cognate with Avestan *hvar-*, Sanskrit *svár-*, *sūrya-*, 'sun', *svargá-*, 'sky, heaven', Albanian *íal*, 'star', Greek *ἥλιος* (Doric *ἄλιος*, Cretan *ἀβέλιος* < \**σᾶφελιος*), Latin *sōl* (\**sauel*), Welsh *haul*, Gothic *sauil*, *sunno*, Lithuanian *saulė*, 'sun';<sup>2</sup> and it finds still closer cognates in Sanskrit *svarnara-*, 'ether, mid-air, bright', and especially in Old Church Slavic *slŭnice*, 'sun' (Russian and Slovenian *solnce*), a diminutive of \**slŭno* < \**sl-no* < \**sl-nes-* (cf. Old Church Slavic *beslŭnŭnŭ*, 'sunless'), which appears in the full-grade in Russian *solnopŭkŭ*, 'place exposed to the sun', *solnosyadŭ*, 'west', *solnovschodŭ*, 'sunrise'.<sup>3</sup> The Russian \**solno* seems to correspond exactly to the Avestan *xʷarənah-*, which is a neuter abstract meaning 'light'.<sup>4</sup>

The bulk of the evidence from the mythology, the epithets and the etymology of *Xʷarənah* appears to indicate that he was originally an abstract deity of light, especially of the sun, but also of *Ātar* and *Aša*, *Aši*, *Miθra*, *Vərəθrayna*, *Tiθtrya*, *Rašnu*, *Čistā*, and *Māh*, this likewise explaining his association with the sky-deities *Ahura Mazda*, *Daēnayā Upamana*, and *Dāmōiš Upamana*. He is, accordingly, the nimbus which surrounds the heads of Kings in Sāsānian art, and the 'Kingly Glory' (*Kavaēm Xʷarənah*) so frequently mentioned in the Avesta.<sup>5</sup> The original concept of light developed into those of radiance, brilliance, glory, fortune, etc., until 'Light', becoming 'Glory', lost nearly every trace of his primary function, though he was still associated with *Uši-darəna*, the mountain of the dawn, and fled (to the west) for refuge in *Vourukaša*, the terrestrial Caspian and the celestial sea.

<sup>1</sup> Horn, *Etymologie*, p. 180; Hübschmann, *Studien*, pp. 83, 187, 259, and *Grammatik*, i, 89, 254.

<sup>2</sup> Brugmann, *Grundriss*, II, i, 303, 310, 360, 582, 687; Boisacq, *Dictionnaire*, p. 321; Walde, *Wörterbuch*, pp. 720-1; Feist, *Wörterbuch*, pp. 311, 347; Trautmann, *Wörterbuch*, p. 251; Persson, *Beiträge*, pp. 370-1, 578-9; Müller, *Wörterbuch* p. 404; Walde-Pokorny, *Wörterbuch*, ii, 446-7.

<sup>3</sup> Bartholomae, *AirWb.* col. 1873; Miklosich, *Grammatik*, ii, 320-1; id. *Lexicon*, p. 861; id. *Wörterbuch*, p. 334; cf. Meillet, *Slave*, pp. 343, 356-61.

<sup>4</sup> For other examples of this formation in Indo-European see Brugmann, *Grundriss*, II, i, 525-6.

<sup>5</sup> See the references given by Bartholomae, *AirWb.* coll. 1871-2.



## Section S.

## ZRVAN.

The divinity Zrvan ('Time') and the system of Zarvanism connected with his name have repeatedly received exhaustive discussion.<sup>1</sup> In the Avesta he is associated with Rāman, Vayu, and ʔwāša (Ys. lxxii, 10; Sīr. i, 21; ii, 21), or with Tiṣtrya, Vanant, ʔwāša, Vāta, Čistā, Daēnā, the Path, Zarənumant, and Saokenta (Ny. i, 8); with the Aməša Spəntas, ʔwāša, Vayu, Vāta, and Ārmaiti (?) he is called to earth by Zarašuštra (Vd. xix, 13); he created the path which leads to the Činvat Bridge (Vd. xix, 29); and in him Spənta Mainyu created Maθra Spənta (Vd. xix, 9). He shares with Vayu the epithet *darəyō-xvādāta*- ('long-autonomous') and has exclusive use of the term *akarana*- ('boundless'). His appellation occurs as a component of the proper names Zarvāndād ('Given [or, Created] by Zarvān') and Zrvanduxt ('daughter of Zrvan'),<sup>2</sup> perhaps also in the Armenian Zruandašt ('Plain of Zrvan' [?]), the name of the traditional founder of the city of Anazarba.<sup>3</sup>

In the Pahlavi texts Aūharmazd is declared to have existed independently of Zōrvān (Bd. i, 3), whom he created (Dk. III, cclxvii, 2-6; IV, xxi; ZS i, 24); but the Zarvanite doctrine was proclaimed by the demon Arašk (Dk. IX, xxx, 4-5) and was taught by a sect called Daharīs ('Timists'; SGV vi, 6).<sup>4</sup> Together with Māh, Gōš, Rām, and Spihr, Zōrvān was created

<sup>1</sup> Spiegel, *EA* ii, 4-12, 176-87; Darmesteter, *Ormazd*, pp. 314-38; Casartelli, *Philosophy*, pp. 5, 6-11, 12-4, 29, 53; Moulton, *Treasure*, pp. 26-7, 189, 226, 237; Dhalla, *Theology*, pp. 151-2, 364-5; Pettazzoni, *Religione*, pp. 165-6, 189-90, 206, 207, 219; Bousset, *Gnosis*, pp. 44-6, 55, 139-44, 236-7; S. A. Pallis, *Mandaëische Studien*, i (Copenhagen, 1919), 116-21; H. Junker, 'Ueber iranische Quellen der hellenistischen Aion-Vorstellung', in *Bibliothek Warburg*, i (1923), 125-78; I. F. Blue, 'The Zarvanite System', in *Indo-Iranian Studies . . . in Honour of . . . Sanjana*, London 1925, pp. 61-81; E. Edwards, in *ERE* xi, 346-7; L. Mariès in *REA* iv (1924), 151-66. According to the somewhat unsafe evidence of the seventeenth-century *Dābistān* (tr. D. Shea and A. Troyer, Paris, 1843. i, 354), the Abādiān sect maintained that Ahriman was produced by Time.

<sup>2</sup> Justi, *Namenbuch*, pp. 383-4; cf. also p. 387; Hübschmann, *Grammatik* i, 42.

<sup>3</sup> *Zeitschrift für armenische Philologie*, i (1903), 190.

<sup>4</sup> This name suggests the heterodox Muhammadan sect of Dahriyya (cf. Arabic *dahr*, 'time'), who taught the eternity of time (M. Horten, *Die philosophischen Systeme der spekulativen Theologen im Islam*; Bonn, 1912, pp. 81-3). Traces of Zarvanite doctrine are seen by E. Browne (*Literary History of Persia*, London, 1902, p. 414) in the eighth degree of the Ismā'ili initiation.

to aid Vohūman (Gd. Bd. iii, tr. E. Blochet, in RHR xxxii [1895], 104; cf. p. 108), and he is the weapon of Aūharmazd (Gd. Bd. xxvi, 13). On the other hand, Aūharmazd is said (MX viii, 8-9; xxvii, 10) to have produced creation 'from that which is his own splendour, and with the blessing of unlimited time... because the affairs of the world of every kind proceed through destiny [*brīh*] and time [*zamānak*] and the supreme decree [*brīnō*] of the self-existent eternity [*zōrvān*]. the king and long-continuing lord'. The shorter '*Ulama-i-Islām*' states that 'God created everything except [or, from] Time [*az zamān*], and Time is the Creator [*afrīdgār zamān ast*]... eternal Time revealed Ormazd the Lord' [*zamān-i-dirang xudāy Ōrmazd pēdā kard*].

In Iranian Manichaean fragments Mānī seems to term himself a son of the god (*bay*) Zarvān; blessings and victory, joy and health, come from Zarvān, who is lauded with Light, Might, and Goodness, and who is a father, though the idea of Ōharmīzd and Aḥarmēn as brothers is rejected.<sup>2</sup> In Turkish Manichaean documents Zrvan, under the name Äzrua, is clothed with five light-gods; he is the elder brother and the elder sister of all the gods of the light-heaven; as the princely King of the gods he has a daughter; and he is the father and King of the gods.<sup>3</sup>

Antiochus I of Commagene, in his inscription at Nimrūd Dāy, refers to 'boundless Time' (ἀπειρος χρόνος, ll. 43, 112-3);<sup>4</sup> and in Mithraism Zrvan was identified with Kronos-Saturn.<sup>5</sup> Traces of the concept may exist in the Mandaean doctrine that Mānā Rabbā ('Great Vessel') and the Prince of Darkness both derive their origin from Pirā Rabbā ('Great Fruit');<sup>6</sup> and it may be suggested that the meaningless epithet ܢܨܢܝܢܢܢܢܢܢܢ applied to ʿTahmūrat in the Mandaean *Sidrā*

<sup>1</sup> Ed. J. Mohl, *Fragments relatifs à la religion de Zoroastre*, Paris, 1829, p. 2; tr. J. A. Vullers, *Fragmente über die Religion des Zoroaster*, Bonn, 1831, pp. 44-5, 46.

<sup>2</sup> Müller, *Handschriften-Reste*, pp. 29, 55, 56, 74, 94, 102.

<sup>3</sup> Le Coq, *Manichaica*, i, 4, 22; ii, 25; iii, 15 (incidental references ib. iii, 5, 12, 30); Chavannes-Pelliot, *Traité*, pp. 542-3 (cf. pp. 586-7, 125-6); R. Reitzenstein, *Das mandäische Buch des Herrn der Größe und die evangelische Ueberlieferung*, Heidelberg, 1919, p. 52; Legge, *Forerunners*, ii, 342-3. The matter will be fully discussed by Jackson in his *Mani*.

<sup>4</sup> W. Dittenberger, *Orientalis Graecae inscriptiones selectae*, Leipzig, 1903-5, no. 383; cf. Moulton, *EZ* pp. 107-8; L. H. Gray, in *ERE* viii, 750.

<sup>5</sup> Cumont, *TM* i, 19, 78, 294, 296, 301; cf. also pp. 20, 86, 316.

<sup>6</sup> W. Brandt, *Die mandäische Religion*, Göttingen, 1889, p. 194.

*Rabbā*<sup>1</sup> should be read **רַבִּי זְרְוַנִיטָא** ('the Zarvanite'), particularly as Perso-Arabic tradition regards this monarch as the King in whose reign idolatry, especially of the astrological type, was most rampant.<sup>2</sup> It is also possible that Zarvanism exercised some slight influence on Gnosticism, especially in the system of the younger Euchites who, between the eighth and tenth centuries, were transported to Thrace from their original home in the eastern provinces of the Byzantine Empire (Armenia, Mesopotamia, and northern Syria).<sup>3</sup>

Zrvan's existence is possibly implied in the Gātic passages Ys. xxx, 3-6; xlv, 2.<sup>4</sup> Eudemus of Rhodes (c. 300 B.C.), as quoted by Damascius (*Dubitaciones et solutiones*, 125 bis), clearly refers to him under the name *χρόνος*; St. Basil the Great (*Epistolae*, cclviii, 4) expressly names *Ζερούαν*; and Theodore of Mopsuestia, cited by Photius (*Bibliotheca*, lxxii, 81), describes *Ζουρανάμ* (also called *Τύχη*) as the 'ruler of all' (*ἀρχηγὸν πάντων*).<sup>5</sup>

Armenian literature frequently mentions Zrvan.<sup>6</sup> Moses of Khoren (i, 6) identifies him with Shem and makes Zradašt term him 'prince and father of the gods', while his reference to the *Oracula Sibyllina* (iii, 105) implies another identification with Kronos.<sup>7</sup> He is also mentioned by the Pseudo-Agathangelus,<sup>8</sup> and by Thomas Artsruni, who tells the stock tradition of the birth of Ormizd and Ahrmn from Zrvan,<sup>9</sup> his account following the one given in the decree said to have been addressed to the Armenians by Mihrnarses, the minister of Yazdigird II.<sup>10</sup> Zrvan

<sup>1</sup> Ed. S. Ochser, in *Zeitschrift für Assyriologie*, xviii (1904), 74; tr. M. Lidzbarski, *Ginza*, Göttingen, 1925, pp. 411-2.

<sup>2</sup> Windischmann, *Studien*, pp. 206-7.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. O. Zöckler, in *PRE* xiii, 758-9. The text pertinent in this connexion is Psellus, *De Operatione Daemonum*, ii (most conveniently ed. by J. B. Migne, *Patrologia Graeca*, cxx, 824-5), to which attention has been called by Darmesteter, *Ormazd*, p. 322. For other possible influence on Gnosticism (notably Pseudo-Clemens, *Homiliae*, xx, 2-3, and Philo, *In Genesisim*, i, 100) see Bousset, *Gnosis*, pp. 136-44, 45, note 1.

<sup>4</sup> Cf. Darmesteter, *ZA* i, 221, note 10; Moulton, *Treasure*, pp. 26-7.

<sup>5</sup> Cf. Clemens, *Nachrichten*, pp. 131-3.

<sup>6</sup> Hübschmann, *Grammatik*, i, 42, 506.

<sup>7</sup> Uxtanes of Urha (tr. M. Brosset, *Deux historiens arméniens*, Petrograd, 1870, p. 212) identifies Zrvan with Ham.

<sup>8</sup> Tr. Langlois, *Collection*, i, 196.

<sup>9</sup> Tr. M. Brosset, *Collection d'historiens arméniens*, Petrograd, 1874-5, i, 19-22.

<sup>10</sup> Elisaeus (tr. Langlois, *Collection*, ii, 190); Eznik, tr. Schmid, pp. 89-93; cf. H. Gelzer in *Zeitschrift für armenische Philologie*, i (1903), 152-3; L. Mariès, in *REA* iv (1924), 161-2.

was likewise known to the Syriac writers, the notable texts here being the polemic in the *Acts of Ādur-hōrmîzd* and *Anāhêd*,<sup>1</sup> the statement in the *Acts of Pūsai* that 'Hōrmîzd is the brother of Satan',<sup>2</sup> the evidence of Theodore bar Khōnî,<sup>3</sup> and an allusion in a commentary of Mar Abbā on the rules of marriage.<sup>4</sup> The most dispassionate Oriental account of the Zarvanite system is given by Sahrstānî,<sup>5</sup> and the fullest polemic against it is presented by Eznik.<sup>6</sup>

In modern Armenian folk-belief *Žuk* ('Time') rules the regular course of day and night;<sup>7</sup> and the concept of *Zamān* ('Time') as a mighty sovereign is frequent in the *Šāh-Nāmāh* (e.g. pp. 78. 13; 211. 4-9; 324. 10; 482. 5; 503. 3-4; 574. 9-10; 589. 8; 874. 2; 909. 5; 960. 7; 981. 6; 991. 3; 1009. 11; 1011. 3). In the *Atharva Veda* (XIX, liii-liv) and in the *Upaniṣads* (*Svetāśvatara*, i, 2; vi, 1, 6 [cf. *Gauḍapāda*, *Kārikā*, i, 7-8]; *Maitri*, vi, 14-16), as well as in the *Mahābhārata* (e.g. I, i, 243-8; V, li, 56-8; VI, iii, 51-6; VII, clix, 69; VIII, li, 19; XI, ii, 24; XII, cccxiv; cccxvii; XVI, viii, 23), *Kāla* ('Time') appears as the cosmic factor Fate. The pagan Arabs had a deity 'Aud ('Time'),<sup>8</sup> and traces of Time as a cosmic principle are found in Greece.<sup>9</sup>

The word *zrvan-*, which, as the metre shows,<sup>10</sup> is to be read *zruvan-*, and which is glossed in the *Frahang-i-Oīm*<sup>11</sup> by *zamān* ('time'), is doubtless connected with the Avestan *zaurvan-*, 'old age, infirmities of senility', and *zaurura-*, *zarata-*, 'weak because of age'; while among its Iranian cognates are Modern Persian *zōl*, Yüdyā *zōr*, Afyān *zōr* (\**zarta-*, cf.

<sup>1</sup> T. Nöldeke, 'Syrische Polemik gegen die persische Religion', in: *Festgruss an Rudolf von Roth*, Stuttgart, 1893, pp. 34-8.

<sup>2</sup> Braun, *Akten*, p. 67.

<sup>3</sup> Tr. Pognon, *Coupees*, p. 111.

<sup>4</sup> O. Braun, 'Ein Beitrag zur Geschichte der persischen Götterlehre', in *ZdmG* lvii (1903), 562-5.

<sup>5</sup> *Religionspartheien und Philosophen-Schulcn*, tr. T. Haarbrücker, Halle, 1850-1, i, 277-30.

<sup>6</sup> Tr. Schmid, pp. 89-112.

<sup>7</sup> Abeghian, *Volksglauhe*, pp. 52-3.

<sup>8</sup> J. Wellhausen, *Reste arabischen Heidentums*, 2d ed. Berlin, 1897, p. 66; T. Nöldeke, in *ERF* i, 661-2; cf. Qur'ān, xlv, 23.

<sup>9</sup> For the texts see H. Diels, *Fragmente der Vorsokratiker*, 2d ed., Berlin, 1906-10, pp. 13, 86, 276, 277, 476, 477, 506-7.

<sup>10</sup> Geldner, *Metrik*, p. 23.

<sup>11</sup> Ed. H. Reichelt, Vienna, 1900, p. 28; ed. Hoshangji Jamsipji and M. Haug, Bombay, 1867, p. 30.

Avestan *zarāta-*), 'old man', Modern Persian *zarmān*, 'old man', Ōrmuī *zarkā*, 'woman', and Ossetic *zāronđ*, 'old'.<sup>1</sup> Here belong, further, Modern Persian *zar*, Armenian *cer* (\**gero-*), 'old man', and the entire group is cognate with Sanskrit *jar-*, 'to make old', *jarās-*, 'old age, decrepitude', Greek γέρων, 'old man', Old Church Slavic *zrěti*, 'to ripen', etc.<sup>2</sup>

The basal form of the Avestan word is \**ġereuan-*, which in the double zero-grade becomes \**gr̥uan-*, for which one would expect \**zərəvan-*; while the first full-grade appears in Avestan *zarvan-* (written *zaurvan-*) and, with *man-* and *nt-*formatives respectively, in Modern Persian *zarmān* and Ossetic *zāronđ* (cf. respectively Sanskrit *jarimānam* [accusative singular], 'old age, decrepitude'; and *jārant-*, 'old'). The base of the entire series is the Indo-European \**ġerē-*, 'to become old'.<sup>3</sup>

Following Spiegel and Darmesteter, Cumont has expressed the view<sup>4</sup> that Zrvan and Zarvanism are Babylonian in origin: and it is clear that in the historic period the deity was regarded as a god of fate, as when Theodore of Mopsuestia translated his name by Τύχη, or when Eznik rendered it by *bart* ('fortune') and *p'ark'* ('glory'), this obviously being the conception taught by MX xxvii, 10.

On the other hand, it seems perhaps more probable that he was a genuinely Iranian divinity. His associates in the pantheon are mostly celestial (cf. also Vd. xix, 13) and he is a creative god (Vd. xix, 29) besides being the father of Abura Mazda and Azura Mainyu. It would not appear unreasonable to compare him with Zeus as πτήρ ἀνδρῶν τε θεῶν τε (*Iliad*, i, 544; iv, 68; etc.; cf. Hesiod, *Theogony*, 47, 457, 468) and θεῶν πάντων πτήρ (Euripides, frag. 594, Nauck; cf. Sophocles, *Trachiniae*, 275; Aeschylus, *Choephora*, 764-5).<sup>5</sup> or even, following the example of Moses of Khoren, with Kronos, who is termed γέρων in

<sup>1</sup> P. Horn, in *GirP* I, ii, 52; G. A. Grierson, 'The Ōrmuī or Bargistā Language', in *Memoirs of the Asiatic Society of Bengal*, vii (1918), 8, 19, 82-3.

<sup>2</sup> Persson, *Beiträge*, pp. 671-2, 756, 963; Hübschmann, *Grammatik*, i. 456; Boisacq, *Dictionnaire*, p. 145; Walde, *Wörterbuch*, pp. 351-2; Miklosich, *Wörterbuch*, p. 402; Güntert, *Reimwortbildungen*, p. 101.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. Hirt, *Ablaut*, p. 79.

<sup>4</sup> *TM* i, 20.

<sup>5</sup> Cf. also his epithets γενέθλιος, γενετήρ, γενετῆριος, ζωοδότης, ζωοτόκος, παγγενέτης, παντογένηθλος (Gruppe, *Mythologie*, p. 1114, note 1.)

Nonnus, *Dionysiaca*, i, 383 ; ii, 565 ; xii, 45. If this hypothesis be correct, he was an ancient creator-god, comparable to the Indian Prajāpati or Viśvakarman.<sup>1</sup>

It is by no means certain that the deity's original name was Zrvan : and it may be suggested that this designation is an abbreviation of some cultic epithet, possibly \**akaranazrvan-*, 'possessing boundless age', the meaning 'age', rather than 'time', being shown by all the cognates except Old Church Slavic.<sup>2</sup> His importance is evident from the vogue which he enjoyed in the western type of Iranism, though he is shown by his initial z to be Avestan, not Old Persian in origin.<sup>3</sup> Apparently he was an amnestonymous creator-god ethicised in the Zoroastrian reform as Spēta Mainyu.<sup>4</sup> Whether he was an ancient deity superseded by the great sky-divinity Ahura Mazda, or whether, like Prajāpati and Viśvakarman, he was a later evolution of philosophic thought, is uncertain, though his high position beside Miθra in the Mithraic system would seem to favour his great antiquity.

## CHAPTER III.

### THE MINOR DIVINITIES.

THE multiplicity of divinities revered by the Iranians is clearly indicated by the last chapter of the *Haptaŋhāiti* (Ys. xlii), which records the worship of a host of deities, chiefly naturistic : springs and fords ; the divergence and the convergence of roads ; the mountains whence the waters flow and the lakes into which they flow ; the fields ; the Guardian and the Creator (probably Miθra and Ahura Mazda) ;<sup>5</sup> Mazda and Zaratuštra ; earth and sky : the peaks of Haraiti ; earth and all things good ; Vohu Manah and the souls of the righteous ; the

<sup>1</sup> Concerning these two divinities see Macdonell, *Mythology*, pp. 118-9 ; Keith, *Religion*, pp. 206-8.

<sup>2</sup> With regard to the Ōrmuŋi *zarkā*, 'woman', it is of interest to note that, beside the regular plural *zarkī*, *zēli* ('old [women]') is often used, so that the word originally meant 'old (woman)'. Similarly the Balōči *zāl* borrowed from the Modern Persian *zāl*, 'old man', means 'wife, woman' (Grierson, *op. cit.*, pp. 82-3, and *Linguistic Survey of India*, x [Calcutta, 1921], 323, 324 ; W. Geiger, *Etymologie des Balūči*, Munich, 1890, no. 419).

<sup>3</sup> Cf. Meillet, *Perse*, pp. 59-60, 66-9.

<sup>4</sup> See above, pp. 105-6.

<sup>5</sup> Tiele (*Religion*, ii, 206, note 2), however, regarded them as Ahura Mazda and Aŋra Mainyu.

fish Vāsī and the ass Xara ; the sea of Vouru-kaša ; Haoma ; the forward flowing of the waters and the forward flying of the birds ; and even the return of the (missionary) priests.

Non-Iranian documents mention as Iranian still other deities of whom all record but the mere name has vanished. The Syriac *Acts of Ādūrhormāzd* and the *Scholia* of Theodore bar Kḥōnī<sup>1</sup> allude to 'ASVRQR, PRSVQR, and ZRVQR as divinities associated with Zurvān, and the *Acts of Anahēd* say that the mother of Hormizd by Zurvān was KVŠYZG (or KVSVRYG, KVŠYRG).<sup>2</sup> On the other hand, the Σάβδης described by Agathias (ii, 24) as the Persian Herakles seems to have been Cilician rather than Iranian.<sup>3</sup>

The lesser Iranian divine beings, so far as any data have survived concerning them, may now be considered in alphabetical sequence.

## 1. ĀDĀ.

In the Gāthās Ahura Mazda is entreated to give strength through Spēnta Mainyu by means of Ādā ('Requital'; Ys. xxxiii, 12), and Aša (or Ahura Mazda, or perhaps both) is besought to come with her (xlix, 1).<sup>4</sup> In the Younger Avesta she is associated with Aši (Ys. lxviii, 21) as well as with Čisti and Drvatāt (Vsp. iv, 1), but no indication is given regarding her nature or functions.

## 2. ĀFRITI.

Although Āfriti ('Blessing'), whom Dhalla<sup>5</sup> considers a personification of the power of benediction, and who has exclusive use of the epithet *dahma-* ('pious'), is mentioned together with Dāmōiš Upamana (Ys. i, 15 ; ii, 15 ; iii, 17 ; iv, 20 ; vi, 14 ; vii, 17, 26 ; viii, 1 ; xvii, 15 ; xxii, 17) and once (Ys. lxx, 3) with Sraoša, Rašnu, Miθra. Vāta. and Daēnā, the only definite statement regarding her is that she manifested herself to Zaratuštra

<sup>1</sup> T. Nöldeke, in *Festgruss an Rudolf von Roth*, Stuttgart, 1893, pp. 35, 36 ; Pognon, *Couper*, p. 111. These divinities will be considered in detail in Jackson's *Researches*.

<sup>2</sup> T. Nöldeke, in *Festgruss an Rudolf von Roth*, Stuttgart, 1893, p. 37. M. Lizdbarski, in *Ephemeris für semitische Epigraphik*, i (1902), records a proper name בְּרִישִׁיָּה.

<sup>3</sup> Cumont, *TM* i, 131 ; Lagarde, *Abhandlungen*, pp. 157, 264.

<sup>4</sup> See above, pp. 40, 102.

<sup>5</sup> *Theology*, p. 118 ; so also Reichelt, *Reader*, p. 163.

in the form of a rutting camel (P. 32), whence it may be inferred that originally Āfriti was a component of a cultic epithet of some male deity, especially as Vərəθraϥna also assumes camel form (Yt. xiv, 11). According to Gd. Bd. xxvi, 27, Āfriti appears when the righteous pronounce benedictions and, to protect the good fortune won by virtuous action, she comes four times by day and night on the body of man, on the foliage of trees, and on the summits of mountains, bearing all weal of the world as far as earth extends, of rivers as far as they are prolonged, and of the sun as high as it rises. Āfriti occurs as a component of the proper names Baxtāfrīd, Behāfrīd, Burzāfrīd, Gurdāfrīd, Hormizāfrīd, Māhāfrīd, and Šāhāfrīd.<sup>1</sup>

### 3. AHURĀNĪ.

This divine being, who, as her name shows, is 'related to Ahura' (perhaps as daughter or wife, or as both), is celebrated in the sixty-eighth Hā of the Yasna as conferring various blessings. Ys. lxvi, 1, adds that libations to her also please Ahura Mazda, the Aməša Spəntas, Sraoša, and Ātar; while Nir. 48 states that sacrifices to her should be made by day, an offering at night being a heinous sin. In Ys. xxxviii, 3, the 'Ahurian waters' are worshipped; and since Ahura Mazda was originally a sky-god, these waters doubtless were the rain, so that Ahurānī would primitively have been a rain-deity,<sup>2</sup> possibly corresponding to the Indian Varuṇānī mentioned in RV I, xxii, 12: II, xxxii, 8; V, xlvi, 8; VII, xxxiv, 22, though with little information as to her functions.<sup>3</sup>

### 4. AIRYAMAN.

Airyaman ('Friend') is invoked in connexion with Aša and Saokā (Yt. iii, 0: Sir. i, 3; ii, 3; Vd. xx, 11) and is besought to come to the aid of the Zaratuštrians and of Vohu Manah (Ys. xxvii, 5; liv, 1). The chief Avestan source concerning him is Vd. xxii, which states that when Aṇra Mainyu had introduced 99,999 diseases into the world, Airyaman, at Ahura Mazda's bidding, descended to earth to heal them (§§ 2, 7-24). In the Turfan texts<sup>4</sup> 'ariyāmān' is used as an epithet of Christ, probably as being a divine healer;<sup>5</sup> and according to Gd. Bd. xxvi, 29, Āir-

<sup>1</sup> Justi, *Namenbuch*, pp. 61, 348, 73, 121, 9, 184, 272, 483.

<sup>2</sup> See, in general, Dhalla, *Theology*, pp. 141-2; de Harlez, *Avesta*, p. cxiii, however, identified her with 'Aredvi'.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. Macdonell, *Mythology*, p. 125.

<sup>4</sup> Müller, *Handschriften-Reste*, p. 26.

<sup>5</sup> Cf. A. Carnoy, in *JAOS* xxxviii (1918), 294-5.



man cures all diseases, aiding in healing and collaborating with Arjavahišt (Dk. III, clvii, 19, 20, 23). His one and exclusive epithet is *išya-* ('desirable'); and his Gāthic prayer, the *Airyā-mā išyō* (Ys. liv), forms part of the wedding ceremony.<sup>1</sup> Airyaman agrees in name with the Āditya Aryaman of the Veda, where the conception of him 'seems to have differed but little from that of the greater Āditya Mitra, "the Friend"',<sup>2</sup> though Hillebrandt,<sup>3</sup> while granting that Indian tradition regards him as the sun, considers him a deity of marriage and a divine wooer. It would appear, on the whole,<sup>4</sup> that Aryaman-Airyaman was primarily a form of the sun, who, like Apollo in Greece, Grannus and Belenus in Gaul,<sup>5</sup> and the Vedic Sūrya (RV X, xxxvii, 4), combined solar and healing functions; while his aspect as a wooer may have arisen from an early celestial myth now lost, representing the love of the sun for another heavenly body somewhat in the style of the Lithuanian *dáinos* of the wedding of the sun and moon.<sup>6</sup>

## 5. AIWI-SRŪṬRIMA.

The special deity Aiwi-srūṭrima ('Relating to the *Aiwi-srūṭra* Period'), who presides over the fourth period of the day, from sunset to midnight (Nir. 51; Bd. xxv, 9), is mentioned in Ys. i, 6, 20; ii, 6; iii, 8; iv, 11; vi, 5; vii, 8; xvii, 5; xxii, 8; G. iv, 1, 5, but with no detailed information except that he has the standing epithet *aibi-gāya-*, of uncertain meaning.<sup>7</sup>

## 6. AMA.

Mentioned in lists with Hušiti, Vərəθrayna, and Uparatāt (Ys. i, 6; ii, 6; iii, 8; iv, 11; vi, 5; vii, 8; xvii, 5; xxii, 8; G. iv, 2; cf. Vsp. ix, 4), Ama ('Might') is especially associated with Vərəθrayna, whom he attends when the god of victory appears in the form of a bull or of a horse (Yt. xiv, 7, 9), and with whom

<sup>1</sup> Haug, *Essays*, p. 142.

<sup>2</sup> Macdonell, *Mythology*, p. 45; cf. Keith, *Religion*, p. 99.

<sup>3</sup> *Mythologie*, iii, 77-90.

<sup>4</sup> For Airyaman generally see Dhalla, *Theology*, p. 119; and cf. de Harlez, *Avesta*, pp. xcvi-xcviii. Reichelt, *Reader*, pp. 110, 177, regards him as 'the old Aryan god of tribalism'.

<sup>5</sup> Cf. Gruppe, *Mythologie*, pp. 1237-42; Farnell, *CGS* iv, 98-454; Holder, *Sprachschatz*, i, 370-3, 2037-9, iii, 827-8; W. Drexler, 'Grannus', in Roscher, i, 1738-40; G. Wissowa, 'Belenos,' ib. i, 755-6; M. Ihm, in *PW* vii, 1823-7, iii, 199-201.

<sup>6</sup> W. Mannhardt, in *Zeitschrift für Ethnologie*, vii (1875), 316-7.

<sup>7</sup> Cf. Bartholomæ, *AirWb.* coll. 94, 88.

he should be invoked in battle (Yt. xiv, 43-5). His epithets are *hutašta-* ('well-shaped') and *huraōda-* ('well-formed'), and he is plainly the special god of attack in battle.<sup>1</sup>

### 7. ANAŦRA RAOČAH.

The Yazata Anayra Raočah ('Light without Beginning') receives homage together with other celestial beings (Ys. i, 16; iii, 18; iv, 21; vii, 18; xxii, 18; lxxi, 9; G. iii, 6; cf. Ys. xvi, 6; Sīr. i, 30; ii, 30; Vd. xi, 1, 2, 10) to whom the Fravašis showed the paths of right (Yt. xiii, 57), and he is a synonym for the highest heaven (HN ii, 15; cf. P. 38). In Gd. Bd. xxvi, 19, 24, Anīrān is an auxiliary of Šatvāirō and is beneficent and radiant, with a jewelled dwelling made by the celestial divinities, besides possessing all manner of wealth and being 'the extreme of exertion and listening' (?) (Sīs xxii, 30; xxiii, 4). He presides over the last day of the month (Sīr. i, 30; ii, 30; Sīs xxii, 30; xxiii, 4; cf. Bd. xxvii, 24) and is obviously a deity of light.<sup>2</sup>

### 8. ĀŦHAIRYA.

The deity ĀŦhairya ('Relating to Parturient Women') mentioned only in Vsp. i, 3; ii, 3, seems to have been a birth-divinity<sup>3</sup>.

### 9. ANTARĒ-MĀH.

Antarē-māh ('Between-Moon' [i.e. 'New Moon']), the divinity of the new moon, is mentioned together with the other two special lunar deities Pərənō-māh and Višaptaša in Ys. i, 8; ii, 8; iii, 10; iv, 13; vi, 7; vii, 10; xvii, 7; xxii, 10; Ny. iii, 6; Yt. vii, 4. Although the Rig Veda has no special god of this type, the Atharva Veda (VII, lxxix) has a hymn to Amāvāsyā, the (goddess of the [?]) new moon, and Rākā is later a deity of this phase.<sup>4</sup>

### 10. APA M NAPĀT.

The Yazata Apam Napāt ('Child of the Waters') is associated with the Waters (Ys. i, 5; ii, 5; iii, 7; vi, 4; lxx, 6; G. iii, 8; Sīr.

<sup>1</sup> Reichelt, *Reader*, p. 283, considers him to be simply 'the god . . . of strength or impetuosity'.

<sup>2</sup> For further details see Dhalla, *Theology*, pp. 127-8.

<sup>3</sup> Bartholomae, *AirWb.* col. 358 (cf., however, Reichelt, *Reader*, p. 162).

<sup>4</sup> Macdonell-Keith, *Index*, ii, 156-7.

i, 7; ii, 7); with Waters, Plants, the Aməša Spəntas, Miθra, Šraoša, Rašnu, Ātar, and all Yazatas (Ys. lxxv, 12); and with Ātar, Nairyō-saŋha, and Dāmōiš Upamana (Ys. lxxi, 23; Vsp. vii, 5). Sacrifice was offered to 'Arədvī' at a place sacred to him (Yt. v, 72); he is associated with Tištrya (Yt. viii, 4) and with Miθra (Yt. xiii, 95); he portions out the waters (Yt. viii, 34); he brings the Kingly X'arənah to the depths of Vourukaša (Yt. xix, 51-2); and he is said to have created and formed mankind (Yt. xix, 52). With many other deities he shares the epithets *sūra-* ('mighty') and *bərəzant-* ('high'), the latter giving rise to the term Būrj, his name in the Pahlavi texts (Bd. vii, 3; xix, 15; ZS vi, 3; Pahlavi version of Ys. i, 5; ii, 5). He is *aurvaṭ-aspa-* ('possessing swift horses') like Hvarə; *ahura-* ('lord') like Ahura Mazda and Miθra; *xšaēta-* ('shining') like the Aməša Spəntas; and *xšaēbrya-* ('royal') like Ahura Mazda and Haoma; while he has exclusive use of the epithets *aršan-* ('virile'), *upāpa-* ('subaqueous'), *srūt-gaošōtəma-* ('possessing a most hearing ear'; cf. *srūt-gaoša-* as a distinctive epithet of Miθra), and *zavanō-sū-* ('helping at summons'; cf. the synonymous *zavanō-svan-* as a distinctive epithet of Miθra).

In the Pahlavi texts Būrj is an auxiliary of Arədvīvsūr, and his principal function is to apportion the waters among the Kēšvars (Gd. Bd. xxvi, 27). He is associated with the waters (Dk. IX, ix, 9); with Vohūman and Hōm he co-operates with Tištar (Bd. vii, 3; ZS vi, 3); and together with these three, as well as with Satvēs, Arədvīvsūr, Vāt, Dīn, and the Fravašis, he executes the commands of Aūharmazd concerning rain, which he and the Fravašis distribute (Dk. III, cxii, 5). He is likewise mentioned in Bd. xix, 5; and in a Mandaean bowl he describes himself as 'the great primitive germ which Life hath sent' to destroy magic and demons, Mandaean writings elsewhere also terining him 'the primeval germ'.<sup>1</sup>

In Mithraism Apām Napāt was identified with Neptune;<sup>2</sup> and he seems to be represented, under the name ΔΠΟΟΑΧΙΟ, on an Indo-Scythian coin of Kaniska, where he appears as a bearded, diademed god facing right, wearing a sleeved tunic and holding a garland in his right hand, while a saddled horse trots beside him.<sup>3</sup> His name was given to the eighth month

<sup>1</sup> Pognon, *Coupees*, nos. 22, 23, and p. 95; W. Brandt, *Die mandäische Religion*, Leipzig, 1889, pp. 30-2.

<sup>2</sup> Cumont, *TM* i, 142.

<sup>3</sup> Stein, *Coinc.*, pp. 3-4 and fig. iii; Cumont, *TM* i, 135, however, reads ΔΠΟΟΑΧΙΟ and regards the figure as that of Drvāspā (so also von Sallet, *Nachfolger*, p. 189, and Hoffmann, *Auszüge*, p. 150).

of the Cappadocian calendar (Απομενζ, Απομενζμζ, Απομενζαμζ, Απομενζμζ, etc.), as well as to the twenty-sixth day of each Armenian month, and was borne not only by the Persian leader Νιφάρης who fell at the Granicus in 334, but also, if the reading is correct, by Npat, a prince of Persis in the first century of our era.<sup>1</sup> The names 'Ορονδάρης and Arvāndād,<sup>2</sup> for \*Aurvaṣ-aspā-dāta, may refer either to Apām Napāt or to Hvarə; and it also seems wisest not to decide the question as to the origin of the Armenian mountain-name Npat, the Νιφάρης, of the Greeks and the modern Ala Dāγ.<sup>3</sup>

The Iranian 'Child of the Waters' obviously corresponds to the Vedic Apām Napāt,<sup>4</sup> and he was clearly a deity of water. Dhalla holds<sup>5</sup> that 'this Indo-Iranian divinity of waters seems very early to have been eclipsed by Anahita'. It is at least certain, from his celestial associates Tištrya and Miθra, from his epithets shared only with Ahura Mazda, the Aməsa Spəntas, Miθra, Haoma, and Hvare, and from the naming of a month in his honour, that he was once a god of more importance than the extant texts would lead us to suppose. Yet his subordinate appellation, 'Child of the Waters', and the presence of the great water-deities Varuṇa in India and 'Arədvī' in Iran scarcely permit the assumption that he was ever a sovereign aqueous divinity; and it would seem that he was only a special god of the waters, probably as bringing fertility to the world. The resemblance of the meaning of his name to that of the Sumerian Dumuzi-zu-aba ('Unchangeable Child of the Watery Deep'), a local divinity of a place apparently situated on an arm of the Euphrates,<sup>6</sup> is probably a chance coincidence.

According to Herodotus (iv, 59), the Royal Scyths worshipped a deity identified with Poseidon and called Θαμιμζούδζ (variant Θαμιμζούδζ; Origen, *Contra Celsum*, vi, 39, reads Θαμιμζούδζ). The second component of the name may per-

<sup>1</sup> Justi, *Namenbuch*, p. 229; de Morgan, *Numismatique*, p. 284.

<sup>2</sup> Justi, *Namenbuch*, p. 234 (cf. also pp. 41-2); Braun, *Akten*, p. 207.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. Hübschmann, *Ortsnamen*, p. 457.

<sup>4</sup> Macdonell, *Mythology*, pp. 69-71; Keith, *Religion*, pp. 135-6.

<sup>5</sup> *Theology*, p. 141; cf. Moulton, *EZ* p. 105.

<sup>6</sup> Jastrow, *Religion*, p. 96.

haps mean 'greatness',<sup>1</sup> but the first part is quite obscure.<sup>2</sup> The cult of water is also found among the modern Armenians.<sup>3</sup>

## 11. ĀPŌ.

The 'Waters' (Āpō) are listed among the deities in Ys. i, 5, 12, 16; ii, 5, 12, 16; iii, 3, 7, 14, 18; iv, 10, 17, 21; vi, 11; vii, 3, 7, 14, 18; xvi, 4; xvii, 4, 12; xxxviii, 5; lxv, 9; lxviii, 7; Ny. iv, 0. *Zarathustra* is bidden to pray to them, among other divine beings (Ys. lxv, 10, 3); they surround the chariot of *Miθra* together with the Plants (*Urvarā*) and the *Fravašis* of the righteous (Yt. x, 100), and the *Fravašis* show them their paths (Yt. xiii, 53-4); they preside over the tenth day of each month (Sir. i, 10; ii, 10), but the demon *Maršavan* prevents them from receiving the homage which is their due (Vd. xviii, 9). Sacrifice to them beautifies the soul (HN ii, 13); they give of their glory to him who makes offerings to them (VYt. 8); but sacrifice to them may be made only between sunrise and sunset, oblations at any other time being a most grievous sin (Nir. 48; cf. 67, 69, 70). The cult of waters is also found in the *Veda*.<sup>4</sup>

## 12. ARŠTĀT.

Once mentioned in association with *Sraoša* (Ys. lvii, 33), the goddess *Arštāt*, or *Aršti* ('Rectitude'), is usually invoked with him and *Rašnu* (Ys. i. 7; ii, 7; iii, 9; iv, 12; vi, 6; vii, 9; xvii, 6; xxii, 9); or with *Miθra*, *Dāta*, and *Rašnu* (Yt. x, 139); or with *Rašnu* and *Māθra Spēnta* (Yt. xii, 40; Sir. i, 18; ii, 18); or with Mount *Uši-darəna* (Sir. i, 26; ii, 26). She is once iden-

<sup>1</sup> Justi, *Namenbuch*, p. 502. On the other hand, the second member may equally well be -σζδς (cf. the Bosphoran name Πικρισζδης, Sanskrit *śad-*, Doric *κέκζδμυ* 'to surpass, excel', and see Kretschmer, *Einleitung*, pp. 215-6; Boisacq, *Dictionnaire*, p. 428).

<sup>2</sup> K. Müllenhoff, *Deutsche Altertumskunde*, 4 vols., Berlin, 1870-1900, iii, 116, connected it with *zam-*, 'earth' (cf. such epithets of Poseidon as γαίηοχος and κοίπавος γαίης), but the phonetic relations are impossible. G. Nagy, quoted by Minns, *Scythians*, pp. 85-6, regards the whole name as Turkish, comparing Turkish *tengiz*, Magyar *tenger*, 'sea', and Turkish *ata*, Magyar *atya*, 'father'. The fantastic guesses of J. Fressl, *Die Skythen-Saken*, Munich, 1886, pp. 124-6, do not deserve consideration.

<sup>3</sup> Ananikian, *Mythology*, pp. 59-61.

<sup>4</sup> Cf. Spiegel, *Periode*, pp. 153-5; Macdonell, *Mythology*, pp. 85-6; Keith, *Religion*, pp. 141-2.

tified with Daēnā (Vsp. vii, 2), and she presides over the twenty-sixth day of each month (Sir. i, 26 ; ii, 26; SIS xxii, 26 ; xxiii, 4 ; cf. Bd. xxvii, 24). In the Old Persian inscriptions Darius declares that he walked according to Arštā.<sup>1</sup>

In the Pahlavi texts Aštāt is an auxiliary of Amerōdat, guiding celestial and terrestrial beings, and with Zamyāt she weighs the soul at the Činvaṭ Bridge (Gd. Bd. xxvi, 38). She is associated with Mitrō (Dk. IX, xx, 4) ; with Rašn (SD lxxxvii, 2 ; Dk. IX, ix, 6) ; with these two and Vāi, Vāhrām, and Dīn (AVN v, 3) ; with Mitrō, Rašn, Vāhrām, and Daēnayā Xvarənah (BYt. iii, 32) ; and—in the cult of the dead—with Rašn, Vāi, and the Fravašis (SIS xvii, 4). She aids champions and is distinguished for purity (SIS xxii, 26 ; xxiii, 4).

The exclusive Avestan epithets of Arštāt are *varədat-agēša-* (' increasing creatures ') and *savō-gaēša-* (' possessing advantage for creatures '). Arštāt occurs as a proper name in the Āvramān Papyrus, and Aštāt as the name of Persians.<sup>2</sup>

She appears to be an abstract special goddess of uprightness and justice like the Greek Dike or the Roman Iustitia,<sup>3</sup> though the parallel must not be pressed too far since the Hellenic divinity may have been primarily a deity of light,<sup>4</sup> while the Roman goddess is first known only in the Imperial period.<sup>5</sup>

### 13. ARTĀI-FRAVART.

The goddess Artāi-Fravart (' Holy Fravaši '), representing the Fravašis collectively,<sup>6</sup> is mentioned in ZS xvi, 3, as sent, together with Spendarmaṭ and A-ēdvīvsūr, by Aūharmazd to aid the infant Zaratūšt.

### 14. ASAN.

The deity Asan (' Sky ') is invoked together with Zam, Vāta, and other nature-divinities (Ys. i, 16 ; iii, 18 ; iv, 21 ; vii, 18 ;

<sup>1</sup> For the establishment of the text see Jackson, *PPP* pp. 203-5 ; for the deity generally cf. Dhalla, *Theology*, p. 112 ; Reichelt, *Reader*, p. 116.

<sup>2</sup> Herzfeld, *Paikuli*, i, 83 ; Hübschmann, *Grammatik*, i, 20 ; Justi, *Namenbuch*, p. 47.

<sup>3</sup> Gruppe, *Mythologie*, p. 1080 ; L. von Sybel, in Roscher, i, 1018-20.

<sup>4</sup> Usener, *Götternamen*, pp. 180-1, 197.

<sup>5</sup> Wissowa, *Religion*, p. 333 ; H. W. Stoll, in Roscher, ii, 762 ; Waser, in *PW* v, 574-8 ; Lathe, *ib.*, x, 1339.

<sup>6</sup> E. W. West, in *SBE* xlvi, 145, note 2.

xvi, 6 ; xxii, 18 ; xlii, 3 ; Sir. i, 27 ; ii, 27). He evidently represents the physical sky.<sup>1</sup> The name literally means 'stone' and may be compared with the Greek ἄκμων, 'anvil', which Hesychius also glosses by οὐρανός (cf. likewise the *Etymologicum Magnum*, s. v. ἄκμων), besides perhaps recurring in the *āsmān-* of RV VII, lxxxviii, 2.<sup>2</sup> In Bd. xii, 6, and MX ix, 7, the sky is said to be made of ruby or diamond, and it is injured by the gaze of a menstruous woman (AVN lxxii, 6). According to Gd. Bd. xxvi, 23, Asman is an auxiliary of Šatva-irō, having the form of a sphere and checking the invasion of Ahriman. He presides over the twenty-seventh day of each month (Sir. i, 27 ; ii, 27 ; SIS xxii, 27 ; xxiii, 4 ; cf. Bd. xxvii, 24), and, bestowing all skill and wealth, he is distinguished for loftiness (SIS xxii, 27 ; xxiii, 4). His name forms part of that of Asmandūx ('Daughter of Asmān'),<sup>3</sup> and a synonym is found in the Old Persian Σπερζδάρης ('Heaven-Given').<sup>4</sup>

### 15. ASNYA.

The name Asnya ('Relating to the Day') is given collectively to the deities presiding over the five divisions of the day: Hāvani, Rapiθwina, Uzayeirina, Aiwisrūšrima, and Ušahina (Ys. i, 3, 17 ; ii, 3, 17 ; iii, 5 ; iv, 8 ; vi, 2 ; vii, 5 ; xvii, 2 ; xxii, 5).

### 16. ĀXŠTI.

The goddess Āxšti ('Peace') is named in association with Vohu Manah (Yt. ii, 1, 6 ; Sir. i, 2 ; ii, 2), with Ārmaiti (P. 26), and with Savah (Yt. xv, 1 ; cf. Vsp. vii, 1). She has as her exclusive epithet *hām-vainti-* ('conquering'), but in Yt. xi, 15, she is apparently distinct from Hām-vainti, the pair being described as the two companions of various divinities.<sup>5</sup> Āxšti is clearly the deity of victorious peace,<sup>6</sup> conquering the demon

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Dhalla, *Theology*, p. 128.

<sup>2</sup> Bartholomae, *ZIIV* p. 173, note 1 ; Bergaigne, *Religion*, i. 241 ; A. Hillebrandt, *Lieder des Rgveda*, Göttingen, 1913, p. 78, note 9 ; against this H. Oldenberg, *Rgveda : Textkritische und exegetische Noten*, Berlin, 1909-12, ii, 61 ; K. Geldner, *Der Rgveda in Auswahl*, Stuttgart, 1907-9, i, 19 ; ii, 114.

<sup>3</sup> Montgomery, *Incantation*, xii, 1 ; xvi, 1 ; xxxi, 2.

<sup>4</sup> Justi, *Namenbuch*, p. 310.

<sup>5</sup> Cf. F. Wolff, *Avesta . . . übersetzt*, Strashourg, 1910, p. 224, note 5.

<sup>6</sup> See Dhalla, *Theology*, p. 115.

Anāxsti (Ys. lx, 5); and she finds more or less close analogues in the Greek Eirene, the Roman Pax, the Norse Freyr, and the Lithuanian Derfintos.<sup>1</sup>

### 17. AYARA.

The name Ayara ('Relating to the Day') is applied collectively to the thirty deities who preside, each in turn, over one day of the month (Ys. i, 17; ii, 17; iii, 24; xvii, 17).

### 18. AYĀORIMA.

Ayāšrima ('Home-Coming'), the divinity of the fourth of the six year-divisions, i.e., of the thirty days theoretically ending October 3, originally ruled over the return of the shepherd and his flocks,<sup>2</sup> and is mentioned with the five other similar special gods (Maiḍyōi-zarəmayā, Maiḍyōišam, Paitiš-hahya, Maiḍyā-irya, and Hamaspaθmaēḍaya) in Ys. i, 9; ii, 9; iii, 11; iv, 14; vi, 8; vii, 11; xvii, 8; xxii, 11; Vsp. i, 2; ii, 2; Āfr. iii, 2 (cf. iii, 10). He has as his exclusive epithets *fraourvāēštrima* ('having the ingathering [of the herds]') and *varšniharšta* ('ram-freeing').

### 19. ĀZŪITI.

The goddess Āzūiti ('Fatness') is mentioned only in the Gāšās and Haptaŋhāiti. Together with Ižā she will be his who unites with Vohu Manah (Ys. xlix, 5), and she is one of the wives of Ahura Mazda (xxxviii, 1-2).<sup>3</sup>

### 20. BĀMYĀ.

The female deity Bāmyā ('Radiant') guides the car of Mišra (Yt. x, 143) and on the third night after death she shines before the righteous as Mišra ascends the mountains (Vd. xix, 28). In Manichaeism she becomes a god in whose honour a hymn is still preserved,<sup>4</sup> and who is termed 'friend of light'.<sup>5</sup> She is obviously the Dawn,<sup>6</sup> and thus corresponds to such divinities as

<sup>1</sup> Gruppe, *Mythologie*, p. 1082; L. von Sybel, in Roscher, i, 1221-2; Waser, in *PW* v, 2128-34; Wissowa, *Religion*, pp. 334-45; Mogk, *Mythologie*, p. 93; Usener, *Götternamen*, p. 89.

<sup>2</sup> Bartholomae, *AirWb.* col. 160.

<sup>3</sup> Darmesteter, *Ormuzd*, p. 251, considers her a divinisation of the sacrifice.

<sup>4</sup> Le Coq, *Manichaica*, ii, 9-10.

<sup>5</sup> F. C. Andreas, in Reitzenstein, *Psyche*, p. 4.

<sup>6</sup> Bartholomae, *AirWb.* col. 955,



the Vedic Uṣas,<sup>1</sup> being a doublet of the Iranian Uṣah.<sup>2</sup> Her name seems to be an abbreviation of Bāmyā (Uṣā), 'Radiant (Dawn)'.

## 21. BĒRĒJYA.

Mentioned between Uṣahina and Nmānya (Ys. i, 7 ; ii, 7 ; iii, 9 ; iv, 12 ; vi, 6 ; vii, 9 ; xvii, 6 ; xxii, 9 ; cf. G. v, 5-6), Bērējya ('He who is to be Welcomed') had as his function, according to the Pahlavi gloss on Ys. i, 7, the increase of the 'grain-herd', to which Neryosang adds that he 'is beneficially active in the midst among men who are overseers of the laws of towns'. The etymological cognates of the name are uncertain, but it may possibly be connected with the Old Church Slavic *blagŭ*, 'good'.<sup>3</sup> In function the deity may perhaps be compared, at least in part, with the Old Latin Ceres (almost wholly supplanted by his female counterpart, Ceres), a god of the growth of grain,<sup>4</sup> and by the Lithuanian Želus, who was honoured that the grass might grow.<sup>5</sup>

## 22. ČISTĀ.

The goddess Čistā ('Taught, Converted' [?]) is celebrated in the sixteenth Yašt, which is rather significantly called the Dīn Yašt. Here we learn that Zaratuštra gained from her physical strength and keenness of vision, while priests and rulers similarly received power (§§ 5-13, 16-9). She is identified with Daēnā (§ 1) ; and, white and clad in white, she, identified (?) with Daēnayā Upamana, attends on the left of Miθra's chariot, Rašnu having the corresponding position on the right (Yt. x, 126). She is associated with Hvarō, Vayu, and Daēnā (Ys. 0, 9 : xxii, 24 ; xxv, 5 ; cf. Ny. i, 8), and with Daēnā alone (Sir. i, 24 ; ii, 24) ; and like many other divinities she has Āxšti and Ham-vainti as her two companions (Yt. xi, 16). She has a surprising wealth of special epithets in the Avesta: *āsu-kairya-* and *mošu-kairya-* ('possessing swift action'), *huai-witačina-* ('possessing a good onset'), *hunāravant-* ('skilful'), *hupaṣmainya-* ('possessing good paths'), and *hvāyaozda-*

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Macdonell, *Mythology*, pp. 40-9; Keith, *Religion*, pp. 119-22.

<sup>2</sup> See below, p. 164.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. Berneker, *Wörterbuch*, i, 69.

<sup>4</sup> Wissowa, *Religion*, pp. 192 sqq., and in Roscher, i, 867.

<sup>5</sup> Usener, *Götternamen*, p. 105 ; cf. also Lithuanian *želdinti*, 'to plant, make grow'. Reichelt, *Reader*, p. 300, note, suggests that Bērējya was perhaps originally a name of the morning star.

‘possessing good battle’), besides sharing *frasrūta-* (‘famous’) with Miśra and the Fravašis, *razišta-* (‘most upright’) with Rašnu, and *hvāyaona-* (‘possessing a good place’) with Vərəθraγna.

Čistā’s association with Miśra, her power of keen vision (the morning bringing to light what night has hidden), her epithet *hupaθmainya-*, and her place opposite Rašnu with Miśra in the centre, suggest that she was the morning star. She would, then, bear at least a partial resemblance to the dadaphoric Caut, who, with uplifted torch, is represented in many sculptures as one of the two figures standing beside the tauroctonous Miśra, and who almost certainly represents the morning star.<sup>1</sup> A more plausible interpretation, however, would be the planet Venus in her aspect of morning star, such an identification explaining the various characteristics of Čistā which are set forth in the Avesta, as well as her sex and her rather striking epithets *huaiwitačīna-* and *hvāyaozda-*. She would thus correspond not merely to the modern Armenian Lois Asti (‘Light-Star’), the planet Venus who precedes the dawn,<sup>2</sup> but, even more closely, to the Babylonian Ištar and the Greek Aphrodite, who were not only the planet Venus but also, *inter alia*, divinities of war.<sup>3</sup> It is, indeed, not improbable that Čistā found her origin in the Babylonian goddess.

Whether, as Bartholomae holds,<sup>4</sup> the name Čistā is an abstract noun from the Avestan base *kaēt-*, ‘to consider, reflect’ so that it means ‘insight’, seems dubious. It may equally well be a feminine passive participle from the base *kaēb-*, ‘to teach, convert’, in which case Čistā would be the ‘Converted Lady’, *i.e.*, converted from originally unorthodox standing, perhaps as having been a divinity of Babylonia, whence the name would have been primarily an epithet of an amnestonymous female deity.<sup>5</sup>

The Scyths, according to Herodotus (iv, 59), worshipped a goddess whom he identified with Ἀφροδίτη Οὐρανίη and who

<sup>1</sup> Cf. L. H. Gray, in *Le Muséon*, 1915, 189-91. For a possible identification of Caut with Sraoša see above, pp. 109-10.

<sup>2</sup> Abeghian, *Volksglaube*, pp. 37-8.

<sup>3</sup> Gruppe, *Mythologie*, pp. 958-60, 1359-60; L. B. Paton, in *ERE* vii, 431-2.

<sup>4</sup> *AirWb.* col. 599.

<sup>5</sup> For other possible instances see above, pp. 25-7, 34-5, etc. It may be noted, however, that the Sanskrit *cittam* (‘thought’; neuter) is personified in Taittiriya Samhitā, I, iv, 361.

was called 'Αρίμπαζ (variant 'Αρίππαζ; Origin, *Contra Celsum*, vi, 39, has the form 'Αρίμπαζα, and Hesychius 'Αριμήζα)<sup>1</sup>. Passing over older etymologies,<sup>2</sup> Marquart<sup>3</sup> explains the Scythian name as equivalent to \**argind-pas-*, 'protecting cattle'; Schrader<sup>4</sup> as for \**aryama-pasa-*, 'strong-armed'; the present writer has thought, very hesitatingly, of the name as for \**rtam-(s)pasa-*, 'beholding the right';<sup>5</sup> and G. Nagy<sup>6</sup> would connect it with Cuman *erdeng*, 'maiden', and Mordvin *paz*, 'god'. No conclusion seems as yet to be possible.

### 23. ČISTI.

The divine being Čisti ('Religious Wisdom') is named in company with other abstract deities: Aši, Erēti, Rasa-stāt, X'arenah, and Savah (Ys. i, 14; iii, 16; iv, 19; vii, 16; xxii, 16); or Ādā, Aši, and Drvatāt (Vsp. iv, 1); or Aši, Paurvatāt, and Uparatāt (Vsp. ix, 4; cf. Vd. xix, 39). Like Aši and Ahura Mazda she possesses healing remedies (Vsp. ix, 1), and like several other divinities she has Axšti and Hām-vainti as her two companions (Yt. xi, 16). She is one of the names of Ahura Mazda (Yt. i, 7), but her only epithet is the conventional and colourless *amavant-* ('mighty'). The corresponding Sanskrit equivalent, Cītti, is used as a proper name only for the wife of Atharvan, by whom she became the mother of Dadhyañe (Bhāgavata-Purāṇa, IV, i, 42). Cisti seems to have been of the same type of abstract goddesses as the Greek Sophia or Sophrosyne.<sup>7</sup>

### 24. DAHYUMA.

The divinity Dahyuma ('Relating to the Land'), who may be regarded as the nation-god, is mentioned in company with

<sup>1</sup> A Greek inscription from Italy mentioning Artimpasa (*Corpus inscriptionum Graecarum*, xiv [Berlin, 1890], 85\*) is regarded as spurious.

<sup>2</sup> K. Zeuss, *Die Deutschen und ihre Nachbarstämme*, Munich, 1837, p. 290; K. Müllenhoff, *Deutsche Altertumskunde*, 4 vols., Berlin, 1870-1900, iii, 120; cf. also O. Jessen, in *PW* ii, 1454.

<sup>3</sup> In *Philologus*, Supplementband x (1905), 90.

<sup>4</sup> *Sprachvergleichung*, ii, 485.

<sup>5</sup> Cf. Sanskrit *paś-*, Albanian *paše*, 'to see,' dialectic Russian *zapasāi*, 'to foresee', Avestan *spas-* 'to see', 'Greek *σκέπτομαι* (for \**σπέκτομαι*). Latin *specio*, Old High German *spehōn*, 'to see, spy' (Boisacq, *Dictionnaire*, pp. 873-4. Walde-Pokorny, *Wörterbuch* ii, 559-60).

<sup>6</sup> Cited by Minns, *Scythians*, p. 86.

<sup>7</sup> Cf. Gruppe, *Mythologie*, p. 1078; O. Höfer, in Roscher, iv, 1212-5; Türk. in *PW* 2 Series. v, 1106-7; and see Dhalla, *Theology*, p. 101.

Uzayeirina, Frādaṭ-vīra, Apəm Napāt, and the Waters in Ys. i, 5; ii, 5; iii, 7; iv, 10; vi, 4; vii, 5; xvii, 4; xxii, 7; G. iii, 1-2 (cf. also iii, 6, 7, and Vsp. i, 9), but no details are given concerning him.

## 25. DĀMŌIŠ UPAMANA.

The obscure ‘Upamana’ of the Creator’ (*i.e.*, Ahura Mazda), which otherwise belongs only to Daēnā (Yt. x, 126), is named together with Āfriti (Ys. i, 15; ii, 15; iii, 17; iv, 20; vi, 14; vii, 17; xvii, 15; xxii, 17; lxxi, 19; cf. viii, 1; xvii, 26; lxxi, 23; Sir. i, 30; ii, 30). He is also associated with Miśra, Rašnu, and Vāta (Yt. viii, 47-8); with Vāta, Xʾarənah, and Savah he comes with Ahura Mazda (Yt. xii, 4) or Rašnu (Yt. xii, 6) to the sacrifice; he accompanies Miśra and Vāta (Yt. x, 9), attending the former together with Aši, Pārəndi, Həm-varəti, Xʾarənah, ǝwāša, and the Fravašis (Yt. x, 66); he speeds Miśra on his way (Yt. x, 68); and in the form of a boar he, with Ātar, comes behind (?) Miśra’s chariot, on whose left are Čistā and Daēnayā Upamana, while on its right is Rašnu (Yt. x, 126-7). His only epithets are the colourless *uyra-* (‘strong’) and *taxma-* (‘sturdy’). His boar-form recalls the similar *avatar* of Vərəθraγna (Yt. x, 70; xiv, 15).

The etymology of the word *upamana-*, which might cast light upon the deity’s nature, is very uncertain. In addition to the theories already advanced,<sup>1</sup> it may be connected either with Avestan *mana-*, ‘measure, mode, qualification’ (cf. also *amana-*, ‘unqualified,’ and Sanskrit *upamāna-*, ‘likeness, resemblance’), or with its homonym *mana-*, ‘will’ (appearing in *anā-mana-*, *hača-mana-*, ‘according to will’; cf. Sanskrit *upamanyú-*, ‘zealous, striving’), or with Greek *ἰπομέρω*, ‘to stay behind, abide’, *ἰπομόνῃ*, ‘residue, abiding’.<sup>2</sup> All that can be affirmed at present, however, with the slightest degree of certainty is that Dāmōiš Upamana and Daēnayā Upamana represent some sub-quality or sub-aspect of Ahura Mazda and of Daēnā.<sup>3</sup>

## 26. DĀTA.

Dāta, the apotheosis of the divine ‘Law’, is mentioned together with Məθra Spənta, Upanayanā, and Daēnā in Ys. i,

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Bartholomae, *AirWb.* col. 392.

<sup>2</sup> For cognates of the Greek group see Boisacq, *Dictionnaire*, p. 627.

<sup>3</sup> Dhalla, *Theology*, pp. 118-9, regards Dāmōiš Upamana as personifying the power of anathema.

13 ; ii, 13 ; iii, 15 ; iv, 18 ; vi, 12 ; vii, 15 ; xvii, 13 ; xxii, 15 ; and finds a parallel in the 'Orphic' deification Νόμος (e.g., *Hymni Orphici*, lxiv).<sup>1</sup>

## 27. DRVATĀT.

The abstract deity Drvatāt ('Soundness') is associated with Ādā, Aši, and Cisti (Vsp. iv, 1) and clearly refers to bodily vigour (cf. Ys. lvii, 26 ; Yt. xiii, 134, etc.), having analogues in the Greek Hygieia and the Roman Valetudo.<sup>2</sup>

## 28. ƎRĒTI.

The abstract goddess Ǝrēti ('Energy') is named in company with Aši, Cisti, Rasastāt, Xvarənah, and Savah (Ys. i, 14 ; iii, 16 ; iv, 19 ; vii, 16 ; xxii, 16 ; Sir. i, 25) ; or with Aši, Cisti, Paurvatāt, and Uparatāt (Vsp. ix, 4). She shares the epithet *amavant* ('mighty') with several other divinities ; but nothing further is recorded concerning her, though Dhalla<sup>3</sup> regards her as a minor deity of truth. Her name corresponds etymologically to the Sanskrit *ṛti*-, 'attack,' which, however, is not a divine appellative.

## 29. FĒRĀŠTI.

The deity Fērašti ('Teachability') is once mentioned (Ys. xxxviii, 1-2) as one of the nine wives of Ahura Mazda.

## 30. FRĀDAȚ-ƎŠU.

The special god FrādaȚ-Ǝšu ('Furthering Small Cattle'), presiding over the increase of small cattle, is named between Rapiθwina and Zantuma, who are followed by Aša and Ātar, in Ys. i, 4 ; ii, 4 ; iii, 6 ; iv, 9 ; vi, 3 ; vii, 6 ; xvii, 3 ; xxii, 6 ; and the Pahlavi gloss on Ys. i, 4, describes him as 'a spirit co-operating with Rapiθwin and increasing the herd of small cattle'. He finds a counterpart in the Lithuanian Gotha, the divinity of the increase of cattle (cf. Lithuanian *guótas*, 'herd'),<sup>4</sup> as well as in the Slavic Volosŭ, the god of flocks.<sup>5</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Gruppe, *Mythologie*, p. 1080 ; Wagner, in Roscher, iii, 455.

<sup>2</sup> Gruppe, *Mythologie*, p. 1069 ; Wissowa, *Religion*, p. 308, note 10 ; E. Thraemer, in *ERE* vi, 551-2, 555, and in Roscher, i, 2772-92 ; Tamborino, in *PW* ix, 93-7.

<sup>3</sup> *Theology*, p. 112.

<sup>4</sup> Usener, *Götternamen*, p. 91.

<sup>5</sup> Leger, *Mythologie*, pp. 111-6 ; Brückner, *Mitologia*, pp. 119-40.

## 31. FRĀDAT-VĪRA.

The special god Frādat-vīra ('Furthering Man'), ruling over the increase of the human race, is named between Uzaycīrina and Dāhyuma, who are followed by Apām Napāt and Āpah, in Ys. i, 5; ii, 5; iii, 7; iv, 10; vi, 4; vii, 7; xvii, 4; xxvii, 7; and the Pahlavi gloss on Ys. i, 5, states that 'he will increase the herd of men'.

## 32. FRĀDAT-VISPAM-HUJYĀTI.

The special god Frādat-vīspam-hujyāti ('Furthering All Comfort'), 'the furtherer of all amenity' (Pahlavi gloss on Ys. i, 6), is mentioned between Aiwisrūθrima and Zaratuštrōtēma, who are followed by the Fravašis, Hušiti, Ama, Vərəθrayna, and Upa-ratāt, in Ys. i, 6; ii, 6; iii, 8; iv, 11; vi, 5; vii, 8; xvii, 5; xxii, 8; but with no details concerning his activity.

## 33. FRASASTI.

The deity Frasasti ('Fame') is once named (Ys. xxxviii, 1-2) as one of the nine wives of Ahura Mazda.

## 34. FŠĒRATŪ.

The abstract divinity Fšeratū ('[Eschatological] Reward') is mentioned in the Haptaŋhāiti in association with Vohu Manah, Xšaθra, Daēnā, and Ārmaiti (Ys. xxxvii, 5), as well as with Aša and Ārmaiti (Ys. xxxix, 5; cf. xiii, 6). In the Gāθās (Ys. xxxiii, 12; liv, 4) the word is used as a common noun. Her name is explained in the Pahlavi and Sanskrit versions as meaning 'lordship',<sup>1</sup> but no details are recorded concerning her.

## 35. GAOKĒRENA.

The mythic plant or tree Gaokərəna ('Ox-Horn' [?]), identified with the White Hōm (cf. Bd. ix, 6; xviii, 1-6; xxiv, 27; xxvii, 4; DD xlviii, 16; Dk. VIII, xlv, 80), receives honour (Yt. i, 30; ii, 3; Sīr. ii, 7). This seems to be a trace of the tree-cult existing in Vedic India,<sup>2</sup> as well as in Armenia<sup>3</sup> and among the

<sup>1</sup> Bartholomae, *AirWb.* col. 1027; see also Darmesteter, *Haurvatāt*, p. 28, note 1.

<sup>2</sup> Macdonell, *Mythology*, p. 154; Keith, *Religion*, pp. 184-5; Oldenberg, *Religion*, pp. 91-2, 255-61.

<sup>3</sup> Abeghian, *Volksgeleube*, pp. 58-61.

Greeks and Romans,<sup>1</sup> the Celts,<sup>2</sup> the Teutons,<sup>3</sup> and the Balto-Slavs.<sup>4</sup> The identification of the Gaokərəna is wholly uncertain, although Sanskrit lexicographers apply the name *gokarṇā* to the *Sansevieria zeylanica* (bow-string hemp).<sup>5</sup>

### 36. GŌUŠ TAŠAN.

In the Gāthās the divinity Gōuš Tašan ('Shaper of the Ox'), who belongs to Ahura Mazda (Ys. xxxi, 9), holds colloquy with Aša concerning the hardships inflicted upon kine (xxix, 1-5, 6 [?]; cf. xlvī, 9).<sup>6</sup> In the Haptaŋhāiti he is mentioned together with Gōuš Urvan (Ys. xxxix, 1), and in the Younger Avesta either immediately after the Aməša Spəntas and before Ātar (Ys. i, 2; lxx, 2), or after Haurvatāt and Amərətāt and before Ātar and Haḍis (Vsp. ix, 2), or with Drvāspā (Sīr. i, 14). No details are recorded concerning him, but from his association with the Aməša Spəntas and Ātar it would appear that he was once a deity of much importance, and Moulton even suggested<sup>7</sup> that he replaced Miθra. It is more probable, however, that, as Bartholomae held,<sup>8</sup> he was the counterpart of the Vedic Tvaṣṭṛ, who shaped all forms and cattle (RV I, clxxxviii, 9; AV II, xxvi, 6; IX, iv, 6)<sup>9</sup>, and who was associated with kine (RV I, lxxxiv, 15), a general Iranian creator-god being specialised, with the rise of Ahura Mazda, into a creator of cattle.<sup>10</sup> If this conclusion be correct, Gōuš Tašan finds analogues in such deities as the Ossetic Kurdalāgon,<sup>11</sup> the Slavic Svarogū,<sup>12</sup> and the

<sup>1</sup> C. Boetticher, *Ueber den Baumkultus der Hellenen und Römer*, Berlin 1856.

<sup>2</sup> MacCulloch, *Religion*, pp. 198-206.

<sup>3</sup> W. Mannhardt, *Wald- und Feldkulte*, 2 vols., Berlin, 1875-8.

<sup>4</sup> Leger, *Mythologie*, pp. 73-5; Usener, *Götternamen*, p. 113; cf. also Hirt, *Indogermanen*, pp. 738-9.

<sup>5</sup> Cf. W. Roxburgh, *Flora Indica*, Calcutta, 1874, p. 292.

<sup>6</sup> See, further, above, pp. 19, 79-80, 82, 98.

<sup>7</sup> *Poetry*, p. 91; Reichelt, *Reader*, p. 186, terms him an Ahura.

<sup>8</sup> *Forschungen*, iii, 25-9; for the relation of Gōuš Tašan to Ahura Mazda see also Baunack, *Studien*, i, 383-4.

<sup>9</sup> For Tvaṣṭṛ see Macdonell, *Mythology*, pp. 115-8; Muir, *OST* v, 224-33; Keith, *Religion*, pp. 204-6.

<sup>10</sup> It seems scarcely necessary, however, to follow Bartholomae (*Forschungen*, iii, 29) in regarding the deity also as a mediator between gods and men, bearing commands from the former to the latter. Dhalla, *Theology*, pp. 44-5, 125-6, believes that he personifies the creative genius of Ahura Mazda.

<sup>11</sup> H. Hübschmann, in *ZdmG* xli (1887), 535.

<sup>12</sup> Brückner, *Mitologia*, pp. 100-2, 108, 112; Krek, *Einleitung*, pp. 378-80.

smith-aspect of the Greek Hephaistos.<sup>1</sup> He seems to reappear in Manichaeism as 'great Ban' ('Builder'; cf. Hebrew בָּנָה, Syriac *benā*, Arabic *banā*, 'to build').<sup>2</sup>

### 37. HAΔIŠ.

The divinity Haḍiš ('Home') is named thrice in the *Vis-prāt* (i, 9; ii, 11; ix, 5), but with no indications of function except the epithets *ašivant-* ('possessing rewards'), shared with Šraoša; *vāstravant-* ('possessing pastures'), shared with Hušiti; *vāθravant-* ('possessing well-being'), shared with Ahura Mazda, Ušah, and the Fravašis; and the exclusive *marzīdika-vant-* ('compassionate'). In the *Dinkart* (VII, i, 12-13) he is sent by Aūharmazd to Masyē and Masyāōi to obtain bread and corn from them and to bless theirs; and the Pahlavi version of *Vsp.* i, 9; ii, 11, renders Haḍis by *mīnō-ī-xānak* ('spirit of the house'). The word *haḍiš* is originally a neuter meaning 'seat, home' (Old Persian *haḍiš-*, 'palace'; cf. Sanskrit *sādas-*, 'seat, place, abode, assembly', Greek *zōos*, 'seat, abode'),<sup>3</sup> but coming to denote the spirit presiding over the welfare of the home. The divinity bears at least a partial resemblance to the Lithuanian *Dimstipatis* ('Lord of the House') or to *Seimēs Diēvas* ('God of the Household'), as well as to the Lettish *Mājas Kungs* ('Lord of the House').<sup>4</sup>

### 38. HAMASPAΘMAĒΔAYA.

The deity *Hamaspāθmaēdaya*, the meaning of whose name is unknown, but who presides over the sixth (and last) division of the year, the seventy-five days theoretically ending March 7, is mentioned only in association with the five other similar special gods.<sup>5</sup> In *Vsp.* i, 2; ii, 2, he has the distinctive epithet *arātō-karāθna-* ('possessing fulfilment of [religious] duty') because of the festival at the end of the year in honour of the dead, but no further details are recorded concerning him.<sup>6</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Gruppe, *Mythologie*, pp. 1309-10.

<sup>2</sup> For this divinity see A.V.W. Jackson, in *JRAS* 1924, pp. 146-9. Connexion of the name with Avestan *bānu-*, 'beam of light, radiance', Sanskrit *bhānu-*, 'light, sun', seems less probable.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. Brugmann, *Grundriss*, II, i, 532-4.

<sup>4</sup> Usener, *Götternamen*, pp. 89, 102, 107-8, cf. pp. 110-11. For the Iranian deity see also Darmesteter, *Etudes*, ii, 201-3.

<sup>5</sup> Cf. Section on *Ayāgrīma* (above, p. 139) and see also *Āfr.* iii, 12.

<sup>6</sup> N. Söderblom, *Les Fravashis*, Paris, 1899, pp. 5-6; Bartholomae, *AirWb.* col. 1776; *ZIW* p. 243.



## 39. HĀM-VAINTĪ.

Normally the distinctive epithet of Āxšti, Hām-vaintī ('Conquering') is mentioned as a separate war-goddess in Yt. xi, 15; but the text here is doubtful, and the existence of the deity is highly questionable.<sup>1</sup>

## 40. HĀM-VARETI.

At the behest of the divinities (*bayō-baxta-*) the goddess Hām-varēti ('Covering, Protection') takes her place with warriors, for whom she raises up a deliverer, even though they be in prison (Vsp. ix, 3). She is one of the deities accompanying Miθra, and with her he, in his boar-incarnation, overcomes the foe (Yt. x, 66, 71); she is the best defence against the Druj (Yt. xi, 2); she aided Kərəsāspa (Yt. xix, 38-9); she is especially associated with Vāta (Sir. i, 22; ii, 22); and Ātar is besought to grant her (Ys. lxii, 5). A derivative of her appellation is perhaps found in the proper name Frašhamvarēta (Yt. xiii, 102) and in that of the Persian satrap Φρασζόρης<sup>2</sup>. Her two most significant exclusive epithets are *nairya-* ('manly, heroic') and *axʰafnā-* ('sleepless'; cf. the synonymous *axʰafna-* used of Ahura Mazda and Miθra); with Miθra she shares the epithets *ərədwiō-zənga-* ('possessing an uplifted ankle' i.e., alert) and *jayāurvah-* ('alert'), and with Ušah the obscure *framən-nar-* and *framən-narō-vīra-*.

The name of the goddess is obviously connected with Avestan *hām-var-*, 'to cover' (Vd. v, 59; cf. also Sanskrit *saṁ-var-*) and may be compared, except for the difference in vowel-grade, with Sanskrit *saṁvṛti-*, 'covering, concealment'. Her particular function would seem to have been that of protecting warriors in battle by hiding them from their foes, the situation being somewhat like Poseidon's rescue of the sons of Molione (*Iliad*, xi, 752; cf. Aphrodite's saving of Paris, *ib.* iii, 381):

ἐκ πολέμου ἐτάωσε, κελύψας ἥρι πολλῇ.

On the other hand, her association with Miθra and Ušah would seem to imply that Hām-varēti was originally the deity of the morning mist,<sup>3</sup> which conceals, so that her special activity of hiding warriors to save them was apparently a later development.

<sup>1</sup> Cf. F. Wolff, *Avesta . . . übersetzt*, Strasbourg, 1910, p. 224, note 5.

<sup>2</sup> Justi, *Namenbuch*, p. 104 (but cf. Bartholomae, *AirWb.* col. 1010). To Justi's list may be added Frašāvart, son of Jāmāsp, mentioned in a colophon at the end of the *Yātkār-i-Zarērān* (*Pahlavi Texts*, ed. Jamasp-Asana, Bombay, 1897-1913, ii, 4).

<sup>3</sup> Cf. Jackson, *Constantinople*, p. 229. Reichelt, *Reader*, p. 112, takes the goddess to be the deity of manly courage.

## 41. HAPTŌ-ĪRINGA.

Haptō-iringa (' Possessing Seven Marks '), the divinity of the constellation of Ursa Major, is mentioned in company with other stars (Yt. xii, 28; Sīr. i, 13; ii, 13) and is besought to oppose wizards and witches (Yt. viii, 12; Sīr. ii, 13), while 99,999 Fravašis watch over him as over certain other holy beings (Yt. xiii, 60). In the Pahlavi texts Haptōk-ring is chieftain of the east (Bd. ii, 7) and the opponent of the planet Mars, Saturn, or Jupiter (Bd. v, 1; SGV iv, 32-3). He controls the twelve signs of the zodiac and, circling about hell, keeps back 99,999 evil beings with the aid of an equal number of Fravašis (MX xlix, 15-21). His portion of the sacrificial victim is the kidneys (SIS xi, 4). The only Avestan epithet of the god is *baēšazyā-* (' healing '), which he shares with other deities. In the Rig Veda Ursa Major is once (I, xxiv, 10) called *Ṛkṣāḥ* (' the Bears ') and once (X, lxxxii, 2, Saptarṣi (' Seven Sages '), but it played a little part in cult either then or later.<sup>1</sup>

## 42. HĀVANI.

The divinity Hāvani (' Relating to the [Haoma-] Pressing '), the special god of the first of the five day-periods, from sunrise to noon (Bd. xxv, 9; Nīr. 47), is mentioned in association with Sāvaŋhi and Visya in Ys. i, 3, 20, 23; ii, 3; iii, 5, 24; iv, 8; vi, 1; vii, 5; xi, 16; xvii, 2; xxii, 5; G. i, 1, 5, and is connected with all the thirty-three *ratus* of Aša (Ys. i, 10; ii, 10; iii, 12; iv, 15; vi, 9; vii, 12; xvii, 9; xxii, 12); but no further information is given concerning him.

## 43. HUJYĀTI.

Hujyāti (' Good Life ') is once mentioned in the Gāthās (Ys. xxxii, 5) together with Aməretāt and seems to be identical with Haurvatāt, particularly as this is the only passage in which the one is named without the other.

## 44. HUŠITI.

Hušiti (' Good Abode ') is named once in the Gāthās (Ys. xlviii, 11), where it is declared that she will come, rich in pastures, with Xšaθra. In the Younger Avesta she is associated with the Fravašis, the host of mothers of heroic sons, Ama, Verəθraŋna, and Uparatāt (Ys. i, 6; ii, 6; iii, 8; iv, 11; vi, 5; vii, 8; xvii, 5; xxii, 8; G. iv, 2, 10, 13; cf. Yt. ii, 5, 10), as well as with

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Macdonell-Keith, *Index*, i, 107, 117-8; Macdonell, *Mythology*, p. 144; Hillebrandt, *Mythologie*, iii, 421-2; Dhalla, *Theology*, p. 132.

Haurvatāt (Sir. i, 6 ; ii, 6 ; cf. Yt. ii, 3, 8). Her special epithet is *yāirya-* ('yearly'; i.e., lasting throughout the year), and like Haḍiš she is *vāstravant-* ('possessing pastures'). The Pahlavi gloss on Ys. i, 6, states that she is invoked 'when it is desirable to live in prosperity and correct progress throughout the year'.<sup>1</sup> She is plainly the special deity who presides over the welfare and safety of the household, and her name may be compared with the Sanskrit *sukṣiti*, 'good dwelling, safety, refuge', though there is no Indian deity with this appellation, nor does any precise counterpart seem to be found elsewhere.

#### 45. IŠ.

The abstract goddess IŠ ('Wish') is once mentioned in the Gāṇās (Ys. xxviii, 7), where Ārmaiti is besought to grant her to Vištāspa, and in the Haptaŋhāiti (Ys. xxxviii, 1-2) she is one of the nine wives of Ahura Mazda.

#### 46. IŽĀ.

According to the Gāṇās Ižā ('Zeal') and Āzūti will be his who unites with Vohu Manah (Ys. xlix, 5), and in Ahura Mazda's abode Zaratuštra will store up Vohu Manah, Ārmaiti, and Ižā for the righteous (ib. § 10). In the Haptaŋhāiti (Ys. xxxviii, 1-2) she is named as one of the nine wives of Ahura Mazda.

#### 47. MĀHYA.

The name Māhya ('Relating to the Month') is applied collectively to the deities presiding over the several months and over the festivals which fall in them (Ys. i, 8, 17 ; ii, 8, 17 ; iii, 10, 24 ; iv, 13, 22 ; vi, 7 ; vii, 10 ; xvii, 7, 17 ; xxii, 10, 19).

#### 48. MAIΔYĀIRYA.

Maiḍyāirya ('Mid-Year'), the deity of the fifth of the six divisions of the year, the eighty days<sup>2</sup> theoretically ending December 22, is mentioned only in connexion with the five other similar gods. He has the epithet *sarəḍā-* ('cold-giving') in Vsp. i, 2 ; ii, 2, but no further details are recorded concerning him.<sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Reichelt, *Reader*, p. 167 ('the god who grants good lodging during the whole year').

<sup>2</sup> Since all the other divisions of the year are multiples of fifteen (45, 60, 75, 30, 75), probably this period was originally one of seventy-five days, with the five epagomenal days added at its termination instead of at the end of the year (cf. L. H. Gray, 'Calendar [Persian]', in *ERE* iii, 129, and in Jackson, *Zoroastrianism*, pp. 128-9).

<sup>3</sup> Bartholomae *AirWb.* col. 1117 ; cf. also Section on Ayāḡrima (above, p. 139).

## 49. MAIΔYŌI-ŠAM.

Maiḍyōi-šam ('Mid-Summer'), the deity of the second of the six divisions of the year, the sixty days theoretically ending June 20, is mentioned only in association with the five other similar gods. He has the epithet *vāstrō-dātainya-* ('relating to the fodder-harvest') in Vsp. i, 2; ii, 2, but no further details are recorded concerning him.<sup>1</sup>

## 50. MAIΔYŌI-ZARĒMAYA.

Maiḍyōi-zarēmaya ('Mid-Spring'), the deity of the first of the six divisions of the year, the forty-five days theoretically ending April 21, is mentioned only in connexion with the five other similar gods. He has the epithet *payah-* ('sap-giving') in Vsp. i, 2; ii, 2, but no further details are recorded concerning him.<sup>2</sup>

## 51. MAΘRA.

*Maθra*, or *Maθra Spənta* ('Spell' or 'Holy Spell') appears as a divinity in the Younger Avesta.<sup>3</sup> He is invoked together with *Dāta*, *Upanayanā*, and *Daēnā* (Ys. i, 13; ii, 13; iii, 15; iv, 18; vi, 12; vii, 15; viii, 1; xvii, 13; xxii, 25; xxv, 6; lxxi, 5; Sir. i, 29; ii, 29), and two of their companions are *Āxšti* and *Ha-m-vainti* (Yt. xi, 17). *Maθra* is likewise named in association with *Āfriti*, *Dāmōiš* *Upamana*, *Haoma*, and *Zaraθuštra* (Ys. viii, 1); or with *Ahura Mazda*, *Daēnā*, *Aši*, *Arštāt*, *Zam*, and *Raočā* (Ys. xvi, 6; cf. Vsp. ix, 7; xiii, 1; xxi, 2; G. iv, 6). The name of the *Aməša Spəntas* is his most mighty part (Yt. i, 1-4; cf. i, 28); but he is also the white, bright, forth-shining soul of *Ahura Mazda* (Yt. xiii, 81) or of the 'Wise Lord's' *Fravaši* (Vd. xix, 14). *Haoma* is his protector (Ys. ix, 26), and he promises *Haoma* (Yt. xviii, 8). He has protective power (Yt. iv, 4; cf. x, 33), so that he is most potent against the demons (Yt. xi, 3) and is to be uttered to promote the growth of grain (Vd. iii, 33) and the increase of learning (Vd. iv, 45). Like *Saokā* and *Airyaman* he is entreated by *Ahura Mazda* to heal the 99,999 diseases created by *Aθra Mainyu* (Vd. xxii, 2, 6). He acts as a messenger of the 'Wise Lord' (Yt. xiii, 146), and his *Fravaši* is honoured (Yt. xiii, 86); but to teach him to the unbelieving is

<sup>1</sup> Bartholomae, *AirWb.* coll. 1118-9, 1415; cf. also Section on *Ayāšrima* (above, p. 139)

<sup>2</sup> Bartholomae, *AirWb.* col. 1118; cf. also Section on *Ayāšrima* (above, p. 139).

<sup>3</sup> See Dhalla, *Theology*, pp. 115-8.

like giving a tongue to the wolf (Nir. 17). The spleen of the sacrificial victim is his 'portion' (SIS xi, 4), and he presides over the twenty-ninth day of every month (Sir. i, 29; ii, 29; SIS xxii, 29; xxiii, 4; cf. Bd. xxvii, 24). In the resplendent heaven he keeps a throne for the righteous man, and he promotes the religion (SIS xxii, 29; xxiii, 4). Besides his exclusive epithet *haomačana-* ('promising Haoma'), he shares with Zam the adjective *varəzəyərəhvā-* ('possessing energetic onset'), and his name is given to human beings.<sup>1</sup> It is possible that he is the ethicised disguise of the deity Nairyō-saṛha, the Iranian counterpart of the Vedic Nārā-śámsa.<sup>2</sup> The Indian equivalent *mántra-* is used as a term for 'spell', but seems nowhere to be apotheosised.

## 52. NAIRYĀSPA.

The existence of a deity Nairyāspa ('Possessing Manly Horses') may be inferred from the mention of Narēsap in Turfān Manichaean fragments,<sup>3</sup> notably in a hymn in his honour which terms him 'ruler, father, beneficent, psychopomp, blessed father, beauty of light, in whom is no error, ruler of all realms' (i.e. aeons). From the scanty evidence at our disposal he would appear to have been a deity of light; and with his name we may compare the epithets *auruśāspa-* ('possessing white horses') and *hvaspa-* ('possessing good horses') of Miēra; *ravaṭ-aspa-* ('making horses run swiftly') of Ušah; and *yuxta-aspa-* ('possessing yoked horses') of Drvāspā. He would seem, especially from his characterisation as a psychopomp, to have been originally the god of the setting sun, finding analogues in the Cautopat of Mithraism<sup>4</sup> and in the Lithuanian *Bezlea, dea vespertina*.<sup>5</sup>

## 53. NAIRYŌ-SAṚHA.

The deity Nairyō-saṛha ('Human Praise' [?]) is mentioned in company with Ātar (Ys. xvii, 11; Sir. i, 9; ii, 9); with Ātar and Sraoša (VYt. 40); with Ātar, Apām Napāt, and Dāmōiš Upa-

<sup>1</sup> Justi, *Namenbuch*, p. 191; Hübschmann, *Grammatik*, i, 51.

<sup>2</sup> See below, pp. 152-4.

<sup>3</sup> Müller, *Handschriften-Reste*, pp. 60, 63-4; F. C. Andreas, in Reitzenstein, *Psyche*, p. 5.

<sup>4</sup> Cf. L. H. Gray, in *Le Muséon*, 1915, pp. 189-91.

<sup>5</sup> Usener, *Götternamen*, p. 88; for the form and meaning of the name see A. Brückner, in *Archiv für slavische Philologie*, ix (1886), 18, and T. von Grienberger, *ib.* xviii (1896), 17-8. For the Iranian deity see also A. V. W. Jackson, in *JRAS* 1924, p. 143.

mana (Ys. lxxii, 23; cf. Ny. v, 6); with Sraoša and Aši (Ys. lvii, 3; Vsp. vii, 1; xi, 16; Yt. xi, 8); with Sraoša and Miθra (Yt. x, 52); and with Sracša and the Urvazišta Fire (Yt. xiii, 85). He is one of the chief messengers of Ahura Mazda (Vd. xix, 34; xxii, 7, 13).

In the Pahlavi texts Nēryōsang appears principally as a divine envoy (Gd. Bd. xxvi, 31; Dk. VII, iv, 84; GF iii, 72, 77-9), occasionally in company with Srōš (BYt. iii, 25, 26). He is a 'promoter of the world' (Dk. IX, xxii, 10-2), and after the fashion of the royal court he reminds the 'Wise Lord' of his engagements (ib. V, iv, 6). As the messenger of Aūharmazd he bears a lofty destiny to Manūščihr (Dk. VII, i, 29; cf. ii, 21, 70; ZS xiii, 6; Gd. Bd. xxvi, 31); and he receives two-thirds of the seed of the dying Gāyōmarē, as well as the semen of Zarātūšt, entrusting the latter to Anahit (Bd. xv, 1, xxxii, 8).

The god is named, under the form Narsai, in the Syriac *Pas-sion of St. Pet'hôn*,<sup>1</sup> and Theodore bar Khōnī<sup>2</sup> reports a legend that Ōrmazd created Narsa as a man five hundred years old and placed him naked behind Satan that women, seeing him, might desire him and ask him from the Evil One. In Mithraism he (less probably Tištrya) was identified with Mercury.<sup>3</sup>

Nairyō-saŋha shares the Avestan epithet *huraōša-* ('well-formed') with Ama, 'Arədvī', Aši, Drvāspā, and Sraoša, as well as *vyaxana-* ('eloquent,' or 'relating to assemblies' [?]) with Ātar and Miθra. His exclusive adjectives are *māyu-* ('skilful') and *xšaθrō-naplar-* ('grandchild of the Kingdom' [or, 'of Xšaθra' (?)]). His name became a favourite Iranian appellation.<sup>4</sup>

The term Nairyō-saŋha is obviously the Iranian equivalent of the Vedic *nārā-śāmsa-*, an epithet of Agni (RV III, xxix, 11; cf. I, xiii, 3; xviii, 9; II, iii, 2; V, v, 2; VII, ii, 2; X, lxx, 2) and of Pūṣan (I, cvi, 4; X, lxiv, 3), but also the name of an independent deity (I, cxlii, 3; II, xxxviii, 10; IX, lxxxvi, 42; X, lxiv, 3; xcii, 11; clxxxii, 2) who has been believed by some

<sup>1</sup> Hoffmann, *Auszüge*, p. 65; J. Corluy, in *Analecta Bollundiana*, vii (1886), 31. The Armenian version (*Vark' ev Vkhayabanut'unk' Srboç*, Venice, 1874, ii, 430-7) does not mention him.

<sup>2</sup> Tr. Pognon, *Coupees*, p. 163; cf. Cumont, *Cosmogonie*, pp. 34, 60-3.

<sup>3</sup> Cumont, *TM* i, 145.

<sup>4</sup> Justi, *Namenbuch*, pp. 221-5.

scholars<sup>1</sup> to have been a fire-god, though he seems rather to have been an apotheosis of men's praise of the gods, a divinisation of prayer.<sup>2</sup> The association of the deity with Agni and Ātar would appear to be that of utterance of prayer before the sacred fire to ascend as a messenger to the gods and later—since the envoy who goes often returns—to descend from them to man. If this interpretation be correct, Nairyō-saŋha was perhaps the deity who was subsequently disguised as Māšra (Spēta)<sup>3</sup> in the ethicised reform of Iranism, the pair then forming doublets like Miθra-Vohu Manah, Ātar-Aša, etc.

#### .54. NMĀNYA.

The household deity Nmānya ('Relating to the House') is associated with Ušahina and Bərəjya (Ys. i, 7; ii, 7; iii, 9; iv, 12; vi, 6; vii, 9; xvii, 6; xxii, 9; G. v, 5-6), and the Sanskrit version of Ys. i, 7, describes him as 'co-operative in the midst among men who are concerned with indoor occupations'. The divinity is obviously of the type of the Vedic Vāstoṣ Pāti,<sup>4</sup> the Roman Penates, the Lithuanian Namiški Diėvai ('House-Gods'), and the Slavic Domovoi ('House-Lord').<sup>5</sup> In the Rīg Veda *dāmya-* is an epithet of Jātavedas (III, ii, 8) and of Agni (VIII, xxiii, 24).

#### 55. PAITIŠ-HAHYA.

The divinity Paitiš-hahya ('Relating to [Bringing in] the Grain'),<sup>6</sup> who presides over the third of the six divisions of the year, the seventy-five days theoretically ending September 3 and the period of harvest (Āfr. iii, 9; Vsp. i, 2; ii, 2), is mentioned together with the other five similar gods<sup>7</sup> in Ys. i, 9; ii, 9; iii,

<sup>1</sup> Spiegel, *Periode*, pp. 209-10; Macdonell, *Mythology*, p. 100; Hilbrandt, *Mythologie*, ii, 98-107; Keith *Religion*, pp. 164-6.

<sup>2</sup> Bergaigne, *Religion*, i, 305-8; H. Oldenberg, in *ZdmG* liv (1900), 49-57. For the Iranian deity see also Dhalla, *Theology*, p. 137. De Harlez (*Avesta*, p. xcvi; cf. Reichelt, *Reader*, p. 117, note) regarded him 'as probably in origin the personification of the altar-flame bearing to heaven the prayer of the faithful'.

<sup>3</sup> See above, pp. 151-2.

<sup>4</sup> Macdonell, *Mythology*, p. 138; Keith, *Religion*, p. 188.

<sup>5</sup> Wiasowa, *Religion*, pp. 161-6, and in Roscher, iii, 1879-98; Usener, *Götternamen*, p. 96; Máchal, *Mythology*, pp. 240-48; Leger, *Mythologie*, pp. 158-62.

<sup>6</sup> Bartholomae, *AirWb.* col. 838. The Sanskrit version of Ys. i, 9, understands it as 'the creation-time of the earth'.

<sup>7</sup> Cf. Section on *Ayāgrīma* (above, p. 139).

11 ; iv, 14 ; vi, 8 ; vii, 11 ; xvii, 8 ; xxii, 11 ; Vsp. i, 2 ; ii, 2 ; Afr. iii, 2. He finds analogues in the Roman Consus and Conditor, as well as in the Lithuanian granary-god Gabjauja.<sup>1</sup>

### 56. PAOIRYĀĒINYĀ.

The Paoiryāēinyā, or Pleiades,<sup>2</sup> are mentioned only once (Yt. viii, 12), being named in association with the Tištryāēinyā, the stars near Tištrya.

### 57. PĀRĒNDI.

The goddess Pārēndi ('Establishing Fulness'), a *ratu* of women, is associated with Daēnā and Aši (Ys. xiii, 1) and is one of the nine wives of Ahura Mazda (Ys. xxxviii, 2). She also appears in company with Aši, Čisti, Hṛēti, Rasastāt, Xvarənah, and Savah (Sīr. i, 25 ; cf. ii, 25). On a swift chariot she comes with Aši and Rātā to bless Vištāspa (VYt. 8-9) ; in a chariot she and Aši accompany Tištrya (Yt. viii, 38) ; and with Aši, Hām-varəti, Xvarənah, ǝwāša, Dāmōiš Upamana, and the Fravašis she escorts Miθra (Yt. x, 66). She makes the body quick (Vsp. vii, 2). According to Gd. Bd. xxvi, 39, she gives joy to celestial beings and afflicts all demons ; and the Sanskrit version of Ys. xiii, 1 ; xxxviii, 2, makes her the guardian of hidden treasures. She shares the epithet *rayu-* ('light, swift') with Ušah and the Fravašis, and has as her exclusive descriptive *raoraθa-* ('possessing a swift car').

Pārēndi was evidently a deity of fulness, and so of abundance and wealth.<sup>3</sup> She is apparently to be compared with the Indian Pūrāṇdhī, who is mentioned about nine times in the Rig Veda ;<sup>4</sup> and her name is probably connected etymologically

<sup>1</sup> Wissowa, *Religion*, pp. 201-3 ; R. Peter, in Roscher, ii, 196, and Roscher, ib. i, 924-7 ; E. Auste, in *PW* iv, 859, 1147-8 ; Usener, *Götternamen*, p. 90.

<sup>2</sup> Bartholomae, *AirWb.* col. 876.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. Dhalla, *Theology*, p. 124. H. Güntert (*KZ* xlv [1913], 202-4) thinks that Pairikā is her demonic antithesis (cf. also his *Reimwortbildungen*, pp. 209-10).

<sup>4</sup> Spiegel, *Periode*, pp. 207-9 ; de Harlez, *Avesta*, p. cviii ; Macdonell, *Mythology*, p. 124 ; Pischel-Geldner, *Studien*, i, 202-16 ; Oldenberg, *Religion*, p. 63 ; Hillebrandt, *Mythologie*, iii, 405 ; Keith, *Religion*, p. 211. The connexion proposed by O. Wiedemann (*BB* xxviii [1904], 12) with Albanian *perëndi*, 'god, heaven, emperor', is very doubtful (cf. G. Meyer, *Etymologisches Wörterbuch der albanesischen Sprache*, Strasbourg, 1891, p. 328 ; Bartholomae, *ZIW* p. 190-1).



with that of the Lithuanian *Piluitus*, 'deus divitiarum' (cf. Lithuanian *pil-nas*, 'full', *pil-dyti*, 'to fill').<sup>1</sup>

#### 58. PAURVATĀT.

The abstract divinity *Paurvatāt* ('Priority') is once mentioned (*Vsp.* ix, 4) in company with *Ērēti*, *Aši*, *Čisti*, and *Uparatāt*, and shares with these and other deities the colourless epithet *amavant-* ('mighty'). She may possibly be compared with the Roman goddesses *Praestana* and *Praestitia*, the Sabine *Praestita*, and the Umbrian *Prestota*.<sup>2</sup>

#### 59. PĒRĒNŌ-MĀH.

*Pērēnō-māh* ('Full Moon'), the deity of the full moon (i.e., of the fifteenth day, called *Dīn pa Mitrō* in the calendar), is mentioned with the other two special lunar gods *Antarə-māh* and *Višaptaša* in *Ys.* i, 8; ii, 8; iii, 10; iv, 13; vi, 7; vii, 10; xvii, 7; xxii, 10; *Ny.* iii, 6; *Yt.* vii, 4. Although the *Rig Veda* has no divinity of this type, the *Atharva* has a hymn (VII, lxxx) in honour of *Paurṇamāsī*, the (goddess of) full moon.

#### 60. RĀMAN.

The divinity *Rāman* ('Rest') is closely associated with *Miθra* (*Ys.* i, 3; ii, 3; iii, 5; iv, 8; vi, 2; vii, 5; xvii, 2; xxii, 5, 23; *Vsp.* i, 7; ii, 9; *G.* i, 7; *Yt.* x, 0, 146; *Sīr.* i, 7; ii, 7; *Vd.* iii, 1) and is also mentioned in company with *Ahura Mazda*, the *Aməša Spəntas*, *Miθra*, and *Hvarə* (*Ys.* xxv, 5); with *Ahura Mazda*, *Miθra*, *Sraoša*, *Rašnu*, the *Fravašis*, *Vərəθraγna*, and *Vāta* (*Ys.* xvi, 5); and with *Vayu*, *əwāša*, and *Zrvan* (*Ys.* lxxii, 10; *Sīr.* i, 21; ii, 21). *Zarəuštra* prays that *Vištāspa* may be as abundant in bliss as *Rāman* (*ĀZ* 7). He presides over the twenty-first day of each month (*Sīr.* i, 21; ii, 21; *SIS* xxii, 21; xxiii, 3; cf. *Bd.* xxvii, 24).

In the Pahlavi texts *Rām* is an auxiliary of *Vohūman* (*Gd.* *Bd.* xxvi, 9) and protects warriors, besides guiding souls over the *Činvaṭ* Bridge (ib. § 12), so that on the fourth night after a death a sacred cake must be dedicated to him, another being for *Rašn* and *Astāt*, and a third for the *Fravaši* of the deceased (*SD* lxxxvii, 2). He is associated with *Mitrō* (*Dk.* IX, ix, 7) and identified with *Vāi* (*Gd.* *Bd.* xxvi, 12; Pahlavi version of *Ny.* i, 1), whence the *Yašt* in honour of *Vayu* (*Yt.* xv) is called

<sup>1</sup> Usener, *Götternamen*, p. 98; cf. also Trautmann, *Wörterbuch*, p. 218.

<sup>2</sup> R. Peter, in *Roscher*, ii, 217; Wissowa, *Religion*, p. 273, note 3.

the Rām Yašt. He grants long life and is especially pleasing in character (SIS. xxii, 21 ; xxiii, 3) ; and he is said to give taste to food (Pahlavi version of Ys. i, 3).<sup>1</sup> With Ahura Mazda and Aši he shares the Avestan epithets *pouru(š)-xvāšra-* ('possessing much bliss' [or, 'many blessed abodes']) and has as his exclusive descriptive *xvāstra-* ('possessing good pastures'). His name occasionally occurs as a component of proper names in the Sāsānian period.<sup>2</sup>

Rāman seems to have presided over material welfare, especially as represented by ownership of excellent pastures.<sup>3</sup> The Miθraic epithet *vouru-gaoyaoiti-* ('possessing broad pastures') apparently brought Rāman into connexion with Miθra, and so with the celestial divinities generally. His identification with Vayu was due, according to Darmesteter,<sup>4</sup> to the latter's association with kine as shown by the Vedas (RV I, cxxxiv, 46 ; cxxxv, 8 ; AV II, xxvi, 1).

#### 61. RAPIŌWINA.

Rapiŏwina ('Relating to Meal-Time'), the special deity of the second of the five divisions of the day (from noon to mid-afternoon ; Bd. xxv, 9 ; Nīr. 49), is mentioned in association with Frādat-fšu and Zantuma in Ys. i, 4, 20 ; ii, 4 ; iii, 6 ; iv, 9 ; vi, 3 ; vii, 6 ; xvii, 3 ; xxii, 6 ; G. ii, 1, 5 ; Āfr. iv, 1, 3, 5-8, but no details are recorded concerning him.

#### 62. RASASTĀT.

The goddess Rasastāt, whose name is of uncertain meaning, is named together with Aši, Čisti, and grēti in Ys. i, 14 ; iii, 16 ; iv, 19 ; vii, 16 ; xxii, 16, but without any details. Dhalla<sup>5</sup> considers her a minor angel presiding over truth (cf. Sanskrit *rād-dhā-*, 'achieved, perfected, successful', Avestan, Old Persian *rāsta-*, Modern Persian *rāst*, 'true').<sup>6</sup> Her association with

<sup>1</sup> For the explanation of this statement, based on a false etymology, see Darmesteter, *Études*, ii, 188-9, and Z.A. ii, 578.

<sup>2</sup> Justi, *Namenbuch*, p. 258.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. Darmesteter, *Études*, ii, 188-94 ; Dhalla, *Theology*, p. 114 ; Reichelt, *Reader*, p. 162. The *ā* renders connexion with Pahlavi *ramak*, Modern Persian *rama(h)*, 'herd', etc. (see Horn, *Etymologie*, no. 620), highly improbable. Spiegel (*EA* ii, 102) identified Rāman with Vayu, and de Harlez (*Avesta*, p. ciii) also regarded him as a deity of air.

<sup>4</sup> *Études*, ii, 194.

<sup>5</sup> *Theology*, p. 112.

<sup>6</sup> Cf., however, I. Scheftelowitz, in *ZdmG* lix (1905), 704-5.

Luck, Wisdom, and Energy—if the interpretations given above<sup>1</sup> of Aši, Cisti, and Grēti are correct—suggests, however, that she may have been, rather, the deity of the right course of procedure.

### 63. RĀTĀ.

Rātā (' Gift '), the abstract goddess of bounteousness,<sup>2</sup> is associated with Ārmaiti, Haurvatāt, Hušiti, Aməretāt, etc. (Yt. ii, 3); with Ahura Mazda, the Aməša Spəntas, Haoma, and Vohu Manah (Vd. xix, 19); with Aši (V Yt. 8); and with Ārmaiti alone (Sīr. i, 5; ii, 5). Zaratustra's full bosom resembled hers (Dk. IX, xxiv, 3). She shares the Avestan epithet *mazda-dāta-* (' created by Mazda ') with many other divinities; and is *vouru-dōiḡra-* (' wide-seeing ') like Saokā. She is perhaps the same as Rāiti, who conquers Arāiti (Ys. lx, 5); and may find an analogue in the Vedic Sūnṛtā (' Bounty '), who is personified in RV I, li, 2; xxxiv, 1; VIII, xiii, 8; xlv, 12, and who is termed a goddess in RV I, xl, 3; X, cxli, 2.<sup>3</sup>

### 64. SAOKĀ.

The abstract deity Saokā (' Profit ') is named together with the Fravašis, Tištrya, and Vərəθraγna (Vd. xix, 37); with Xʷarənah, Airyana Vaējah, the Daiytā river, and ' Arədvī ' (Yt. i, 21); or with Aša and the Airyaman-išya prayer (Yt. iii, 0; Sīr. i, 3; ii, 3). With Ahura Mazda or with Rašnu she accompanies Vāta, Dāmōiš Upamana, and Xʷarənah to the sacrifice (Yt. xii, 4, 6); and she is besought to give worldly wealth and profit (Vd. xxii, 3-4). In Gd. Bd. xxvi, 13, 22, she is an auxiliary of Mitrō, and ' all weal which the world on high destines for earth comes first to Sōk ', who transmits it to Māh. Māh to Arədvīvsūr, Arədvīvsūr to the Sky (*spīhr*), and the Sky to Earth, her own place being between Moon and Sun.

In the Avesta Saokā shares the epithet *mazda-dāta-* (' created by Mazda ') with many other divinities; and, like Rātā, she is *vouru-dōiḡra-* (' wide-seeing '), an epithet which the Pahlavi version of Vd. xix, 37, seems to have misread as *vohu-dōiḡra-* since it renders it by *kāmak dōiḡr*, glossed by *hūčašmīh u mīnōi hūčašmīh* (' good-eyedness and spirit of good-eyedness '). Her exclusive descriptives are *θra.fəda-* (' rich '), *baraṭ-avarəta*

<sup>1</sup> pp. 64-5, 142, 144.

<sup>2</sup> Dhalla, *Theology*, pp. 114-5, where, however, *rātā* is confused with *rāti*.

<sup>3</sup> Macdonell, *Mythology*, p. 120; K. Geldner, *Der Rigveda in Auswahl*, Stuttgart, 1907-09, i, 200.

(‘ bearing possessions ’), and *baraṭ-āyapta-* (‘ bearing boons ’). The Sanskrit version of Yt. i, 21, glosses Saokā by *lābhamūrṭi* (‘ profit-form ’);<sup>1</sup> the Pahlavi version<sup>2</sup> has simply *sūt* (‘ advantage ’).

Saokā was clearly regarded as a divinity of earthly profit and would seem thus to have corresponded to the Roman *Lucrī*.<sup>3</sup> On the other hand, her association with Ahura Mazda, Rašnu, Vāta, Dāmōiš Upamana, X<sup>ʷ</sup>arənah, and Miθra, as well as her station between moon and sun, would appear to imply a celestial character. This would postulate a second Saokā, the ‘ Glowing One ’ (cf. Sanskrit *śokā-*, ‘ glowing ’, Avestan *ātra-saoka-*, ‘ firebrand ’<sup>4</sup>), perhaps a special deity of some aspect of the sun. The association of Saokā with Airyana Vaējah, the Daityā, and ‘ Arədvī ’ (probably Chorasmia, the Zarafšān, and the Oxus<sup>5</sup>) apparently indicates a localisation in north-eastern Iran and possibly an identification with the Gurgān (‘ Hyrcanian [River] ’), which may be the Σώκωνδα of Ptolemy (VI, ix, 2).<sup>6</sup> All the evidence is best harmonised by supposing that Saokā is an amalgamation, because of the similarity of their names, of three divinities originally distinct : an abstract deity of terrestrial gain, a solar goddess, and a river-divinity.<sup>7</sup>

## 65. SATAVAĒSA.

The stellar god Satavaēsa (‘ Possessing a Hundred Servants ’) is especially associated with Tištrya (Yt. viii, O, 62), whom he follows in rank (ib. § 12). He rises from Vouru-kaša (Yt. viii, 32) and distributes water among the seven climes (*karšvar*) of the world (ib. § 9); the Fravašis send him forth between heaven

<sup>1</sup> Ed. Darmesteter, *Études*, ii, 261; cf. the Persian rendering by *sūd-i-šūrat* (ib. p. 270).

<sup>2</sup> Ed. M. N. Dhalla, in *Hoshang Memorial Volume*, Bombay, 1918, p. 388.

<sup>3</sup> Arnobius, *Adversus Nationes*, iv, 9.

<sup>4</sup> Cf. Bartholomae *AirWb.* col. 319; the name of the homonymous (?) Saokā is derived from the base *sav-*, ‘ to profit ’ (ib. col. 1549).

<sup>5</sup> Cf. Marquart, *Ērānšahr*, p. 155; Geiger, *OK* p. 32; see also above, pp. 60-1. For other proposed identifications of Airyana Vaējah see Jackson, *Zoroaster*, pp. 193-7; Darmesteter, *ZA* ii, 5-6; Reichelt, *Reader*, pp. 97-8; for the Daityā see the references given by F. Rosenberg, *Le Livre de Zoroastre*, Petrograd, 1904, p. 25, note 6.

<sup>6</sup> The Pahlavi version of Vd. i, 11, seems to identify the Xnenta with the Gurgān (cf. Bartholomae, *AirWb.* col. 533).

<sup>7</sup> De Harlez, *Avesta*, pp. xcvi, cxix, has also postulated the existence of the first two.

and earth to let rain fall (Yt. xiii, 43-4) ; and he is named together with Vanant, Haptō-iringa, and other stars (Sir. i, 13 ; ii. 13).<sup>1</sup>

In the Pahlavi texts Satvēs is chieftain of the west (Bd. ii, 7 ; MX lxii, 12) or, more probably, of the south (Gd. Bd. cited by Darmesteter, ZA ii, 411 ; cf. Bd. xiii, 12 ; ZS vi, 16) ; and he is ' the chief of reservoirs ' (Bd. xxiv, 17), as well as the opponent of the planet Venus (SGV iv, 35 ; cf. Bd. v, 1).

Satavaēsa shares with many other deities the epithet *mazda-δāta-* (' created by Mazda ') ; with Tištrya and others *raēvant-* (' radiant '), *sūra-* (' mighty '), and *xvaranahvant-* (' possessing glory ') ; and with Miθra *uxšat-urvara-* (' plant-increasing '), *taš-āp-* (' possessing falling water '), and *zavanō-srūt-* (' summons-hearing '). His only exclusive epithet is *frāpa-*, which probably means, as the Pahlavi version indicates by its *frāč āp*, ' having water (flowing) forward ' (cf. Sanskrit *prāpa-*, a compound of *pra-*, ' forward ', and *āp-*, ' water, ' reported only by Indian grammarians).<sup>2</sup>

Satavaēsa has been identified with Vega<sup>3</sup> and Antares ; but more plausibly with Aldebaran<sup>5</sup> or with Formalhaut.<sup>6</sup>

## 66. SAVAH.

The abstract deity Savah (' Advantage ') appears only in lists with Aši, Čisti, Erēti, Rasastāt, and Xvarənah (Ys. i, 14 ; iii, 16 ; iv, 19 ; vii, 16 ; xxii, 16 ; cf. ii, 14 ; vi, 13 ; xvii, 14 ; Sir. ii, 9). He shares with many other divinities the colourless epithet *mazda-δāta-* (' created by Mazda '), but no details are recorded concerning him, though he is clearly a god of worldly gain.

## 67. SĀVAŋHI.

The divinity Sāvaŋhi, whose name is of unknown meaning, is mentioned between Hāvani and Višya (Ys. i, 3, 23 : ii, 3 ; iii, 5 ; iv, 8 ; vi, 1 ; vii, 5 ; xi, 16 ; xvii, 2 ; G. i, 1 ; cf. Ys. ii, 18 ; iii, 24)

<sup>1</sup> The stars in general are named among other divinities in Ys. i, 16 ; ii, 11 ; iii, 18 ; iv, 21 ; vii, 18 ; xvii, 10 ; xxii, 18 ; G. iii, 6.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. Bartholomae, *AirWb.* col. 1015 ; *PWb.* iv, 1145.

<sup>3</sup> Geiger, *OK* p. 313. Darmesteter, *Ormazd*, p. 278, note, however, regarded Satavaēsa as a cloud-deity.

<sup>4</sup> E. W. West, in *SBE* v, 13, note ; xxiv, 109, note 5.

<sup>5</sup> Bartholomae, *AirWb.* col. 1556.

<sup>6</sup> Moulton, *EZ* p. 281, note 1.

and once (Ys. i. 20) between Hāvani and Rapišwina. The Avesta gives no details concerning him, but the Sanskrit version of Ys. i. 3, states that he co-operates with Hāvani and 'increases the herds of cattle'. Apparently he was the deity who promoted the increase of large cattle as Frādaṭ-fšu caused flocks to multiply. Because of the god's association with Hāvani Bartholomae<sup>1</sup> connected his name with \**savah-*, 'morning'; but in view of his special function it seems more probably cognate with Avestan *sav-*, 'to profit', and perhaps with the Sanskrit *śu-* (reported only by the native lexicographers), 'to go, change, wander'.

## 68. 𐬔𐬀𐬢𐬀.

The god 𐬔𐬀𐬢𐬀 ('Aqueous' [?]), who was later confused with 𐬔𐬀𐬢𐬀𐬀𐬢𐬀 (Pahlavi Frētūn, Modern Persian Frēdūn), and whose name was erroneously connected by popular etymology with Avestan *θritya-* ('third'; cf. Ys. ix. 10; Pahlavi gloss on Vd. xx. 2), is almost completely euhemerised in the extant Iranian texts. Here he is described as the first physician and as a healer of diseases (Vd. xx. 2); his Fravaši is invoked against maladies (Yt. xiii. 131); he was created immortal (MX viii. 27); and he who is full of healing is like him (DD xxxvii. 35).<sup>2</sup> In the Turfān Manichaean fragments<sup>3</sup> he appears, together with Mihr and all the angels, as protecting the religion, and as 'a god of pure name and a King'; while Pahlavi and Pāzand charms conjure him against disease.<sup>4</sup> He is probably the 'Asklepios most great' by whom the *Passion of St. Acindynus*<sup>5</sup> represents Sapor as swearing.

𐬔𐬀𐬢𐬀 and 𐬔𐬀𐬢𐬀𐬀𐬢𐬀 have Vedic counterparts in Trita and Traitana.<sup>6</sup> A. Carnoy has shown<sup>7</sup> that they are healing deities

<sup>1</sup> *AirWb.* col. 1572; cf. Reichelt, *Reader*, pp. 165, 296, 300.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. also Mirkhond, *History of the Early Kings of Persia*, tr. D. Shea, London, 1832, p. 152.

<sup>3</sup> Müller, *Handschriften-Reste*, pp. 55, 59.

<sup>4</sup> K. E. Kanga, 'King Faridūn and a Few of his Amulets and Charms', in *K. R. Cama Memorial Volume*, Bombay, 1900, pp. 141-5; J. J. Modi, *Anthropological Papers*, Bombay, 1911[?]-3, i, 48-50; ii, 249-51; J. M. Jamasp Asana, *Pahlavi, Gujurāti and English Dictionary*, i (Bombay, 1877), p. xxxv.

<sup>5</sup> *AS* I Nov., 483.

<sup>6</sup> Cf. Macdonell, *Mythology*, pp. 67-9; Keith, *Religion*, pp. 124-5; Spiegel, *Periode*, pp. 258-71.

<sup>7</sup> In *JAOS* xxxviii (1918), 296-307.

developed from water-gods, this interpretation receiving support from the etymology of the name Trita-@rita, which is most plausibly connected with Old Irish *triath*, 'sea', and Greek *Tpítωv*.<sup>1</sup>

## 69. @WĀŠA.

The abstract divinity @wāša ('Space') is associated with Rāman, Vayu, and Zrvan (Ys. lxxii, 10; Sīr. i, 21; ii, 21); with Tištrya, Vanant, Zrvan, Vāta, Čistā, and Daēnā (Ny. i, 8); with Zrvan and Vayu (Vd. xix, 13); and with Aši, Pārendi, Ham-varəti, Xvarenah, Dāmōiš Upamana, and the Fravašis, with whom he escorts Miθra (Yt. x, 66). Besides the colourless Avestan epithet *uyra*-('strong'), which he has in common with several other deities, he shares with Anayra Raočah the adjective *xvādāta*-('autonomous').

The god seems to have been known to the Greeks at least as early as the fourth century B.C., for Eudemus, as quoted by Damascius (*Dubitationes et Solutiones*, 125<sup>bis</sup>),<sup>2</sup> said that 'the Magi and all the Aryan race give the name, some of Space (Τόπος) and others of Time [Χρόνος] to the whole cognised and unified [cosmos], from which are disjoined [διεκριθῆναι] either a good god and an evil demon, or, as some say, light and darkness antecedent to them'. The divinity seems to have been one of celestial space,<sup>3</sup> not, as Spiegel supposed,<sup>4</sup> a synonym for 'Heaven', especially in the sense of 'Fate'.

## 70. TUŠNĀMATI.

The Gāōās once (Ys. xliii, 15) mention Tušnāmati ('Silent Thought, Meditation') as teaching Zaratuštra together with Vohu Manah. Bartholomae<sup>5</sup> regards her as identical with Ārmaiti.

<sup>1</sup> W. Stokes, *Urkeitscher Sprachschatz*, Göttingen, 1894, p. 137; Holder, *Sprachschatz*, ii, 1912; H. Pedersen, *Vergleichende Grammatik der keltischen Sprachen*, Göttingen, 1908-13, i, 132; Boisacq, *Dictionnaire*, p. 986.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. Clemens, *Nachrichten*, p. 132.

<sup>3</sup> Similarly de Harlez, *Avesta*, p. lxxxvii ('la voûte immense des cieux roulant avec rapidité et entraînant les astres, les constellations, les planètes').

<sup>4</sup> *EA* ii, 13-16.

<sup>5</sup> *AirWb.* col. 658; Reichelt, *Reader*, p. 199.

## 71. UPANAYANĀ.

The abstract goddess Upanayanā ('Tradition') is named in company with Māθra (Spēta; Dāta, and Daēnā in Ys. i, 13; ii, 13; iii, 15; iv, 18; vi, 12; vii, 15; xvii, 13; xxii, 15; lxxi, 5; Yt. xi, 17. Like many other divinities she has Āxšti and Hām-vaintī as her companions (Yt. xi, 17), but no details of her functions are recorded.

## 72. UPARATĀT.

The deity Uparatāt ('Superiority') appears in company with Hušiti, Ama, and Vərəθraϋna (Ys. i, 6; ii, 6; iii, 8; iv, 11; vi, 5; vii, 8; xvii, 5; xxii, 8; lxxii, 9; G. iv, 2, 10, 13; Yt. ii, 5, 10; Sir. i, 7; ii, 7); with Ama and Vərəθraϋna (Sir. i, 20; ii, 20; Afr. i, 9; FW v, 1, 2); with Ama, Vereθraϋna, and Savah (Yt. xiii, 42); with Ama, Vərəθraϋna, Frēti, Aši, Čisti, and Paurvatāt (Vsp. ix, 4); or with Vərəθraϋna alone (Vsp. i, 6; ii, 8; Yt. v, 86; x, 33; xiii, 34; xiv, 0, 64). She has the exclusive use of the Avestan epithet *vanant-* ('conquering'). In Mithraism she was identified with Victoria-Nike,<sup>1</sup> and she seems to be the goddess represented, under the name OANINΔA or OANINΔO (*i.e.*, Vanainti, 'Conquering [Lady]'), on gold coins of the Indo-Scythian Huviška as holding a wreath and trophy-stand, the type obviously being influenced by the Greek Nike.<sup>2</sup> A Pahlavi gloss on Ys. i, 6, seems to regard her as identical with Vərəθraϋna or with Arštāt.

It is fairly obvious, from her appearance on coins and in Mithraism, that Uparatāt was more important than the extant texts would imply. Primarily she was a goddess of victory, finding analogues in such divine figures as the Greek Nike,<sup>3</sup> the Roman Victoria,<sup>4</sup> and the British Briganti (often equated with Victoria),<sup>5</sup> as well as 'Ανδράρην (variants 'Αδράρην, 'Ανδάρην), who was, according to Dio Cassius (LXII, vi, 7), the goddess of victory among the Iceni of Britain,<sup>6</sup> and who may have been identical with the Andarta ('Great Bear') of the Vocontii in south-eastern Gaul.<sup>7</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Cumont, *TM* i, 150-1.

<sup>2</sup> Stein, *Coins*, pp. 5-6 and fig. viii; von Sallet, *Nachfolger*, pp. 203-4.

<sup>3</sup> H. Bulle, in Roscher, iii, 305-58.

<sup>4</sup> Wissowa, *Religion*, pp. 139-41.

<sup>5</sup> Holder, *Sprachschatz*, i, 535-6; iii, 227.

<sup>6</sup> Dottin, *Manuel*, pp. 78, 313, 341, 346, 350; C. Jullian, *Recherches sur la religion gauloise*, Bordeaux, 1903, p. 26; Holder, *Sprachschatz*, i, 151.

<sup>7</sup> Dottin, *Manuel*, pp. 313-4; Holder, *Sprachschatz*, i, 138.



73. URVARĀ.<sup>o</sup>

'Plants' (Urvarā<sup>o</sup>) are listed among the deities in Ys. i, 12, 16; ii, 12, 16; iii, 14, 18; iv, 17, 21; vi, 11; vii, 14, 18; xvii, 12. With the 'Waters' (Apō) and the Fravašis of the righteous they surround Miθra's chariot (Yt. x, 100), and the Fravašis show them where to grow (Yt. xiii, 55-6). The deification of plants (Oṣadhīs) is also found in the Veda.<sup>1</sup>

## 74. URVAΘĀ.

This divinity is invited to come to the sacrifice with Ahura Mazda and Rašnu (Yt. xii, 3, 5), but with no identification of her functions. Neither the form nor the meaning of her name is certain;<sup>2</sup> but if the first really was Urvaθā, and the second 'friendship', she might be compared with the early Imperial Roman Amicitia.<sup>3</sup> On the other hand, her association with Ahura Mazda and Rašnu would seem to imply a celestial deity, and it is not impossible that Urvaθā is an abbreviation of some such epithet as *drvō-urvaθa-* ('possessing sound friends'), used of Drvāspā in Yt. ix, 1.

## 75. UŠAH.

Ušah ('Dawn'), the dawn-goddess, is mentioned as a worshipful being in G. v, 5, where she has the special epithets *nmānyant-* (of uncertain meaning), *rañjaθ-aspa-*, and *ravaθ-aspa-* (both signifying 'making horses run swiftly'), besides sharing the adjectives *xšōiθna-* ('shining') with 'Arədvī' and Aši; *framənar-* and *framənarō-vīra-* (both of unknown connotation) with Ham-varəti; *rayu-* ('light, swift') with Pārendi and the Fravašis; *xʷāθravant-* ('possessing well-being') with Ahura Mazda, the Fravašis, and Haδis; and *srīra-* ('beautiful') with Aša, Aši, Ārmaiti, Tištrya, Daēnā, Vāta, Vohu Manah, and Haoma. She corresponds to the Vedic Uṣas<sup>4</sup> and seems to be a doublet of Bāmā.<sup>5</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Macdonell, *Mythology*, p. 154; Keith, *Religion*, p. 184.

<sup>2</sup> Bartholomae, *AirWb.* col. 1537. Several manuscripts read the name Aurvaθā.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. Wissowa, *Religion*, p. 337.

<sup>4</sup> Cf. Macdonell, *Mythology*, pp. 46-9; Keith, *Religion*, pp. 110-22.

<sup>5</sup> See above, pp. 139-40.

## 76. UŠAHINA.

Ušahina ('Relating to the Dawn'), the special deity of the fifth (and last) day-period (Ys. i, 20), from midnight until the stars become imperceptible (Nir. 46; Bd. xxv, 9), is mentioned in company with Bərəjya and Nmānya (Ys. i, 7; ii, 7; iii, 9; iv, 12; vi, 6; vii, 9; xvii, 6; xxii, 9; G. v, 1, 6) and is especially associated with Ušah (G. v, 5), but no further information is given concerning him.

## 77. UŠIDARĒNA.

The mountain Ušidarēna ('Dawn-Abode'), 'Mazda-created', is invoked both together with all mountains (Ys. i, 14; ii, 14; iii, 16; iv, 19; vi, 13; vii, 16; xvii, 14; xxii, 16; Sir. i, 28; ii, 28) and separately (Ys. 0, 11; xxv, 7; Yt. i, 28; cf. Yt. xix, 2). In the Pahlavi texts Mount Aūšdāštār is said to be in Sāgastān (Bd. xii, 15; ASDS 2); it is mentioned in the propitiation of Aštāt, and from its clay Aūharmazd will reshape the bodies of the evil creation (DD xxx, 2; xxxvii, 118; cf. Sir. i, 26; ii, 26).

The mountain seems to have been one of the series about the headwaters of the Hilmand river;<sup>1</sup> at all events it was to the east, and in view of its etymology<sup>2</sup> it was clearly venerated as the Mountain of the Dawn.<sup>3</sup>

Another mountain, Saokēnta, whose identification is wholly unknown, is worshipped in Ny. i, 8; FW v, 1; and divine reverence was accorded mountains generally (Ys. i, 14; ii, 14; iii, 16; iv, 19; vi, 13; vii, 16; xvii, 14; xxii, 16; Sir. i, 28; ii, 28), so that St. Anastasius was commanded to adore, among other sacred beings, 'mountains and hills'.<sup>4</sup> These sacred mountains find a demonic counterpart in the volcano-deity Arezūra.<sup>5</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Justi, *Geographie*, ii, 12; Darmesteter, *ZA* ii, 633, note 98.

<sup>2</sup> See Bartholomae, *AirWb.* col. 416.

<sup>3</sup> Lettish sun-myths know a mountain of the sunset (W. Mannhardt, 'Die lettischen Sonnenmythen', in *Zeitschrift für Ethnologie*, vii [1875], 73-104, 209-44, 261-330, nos. 15, 35, 55).

<sup>4</sup> *AS* III Jan., 42.

<sup>5</sup> See below, pp. 200-1.

Deification of mountains likewise existed in the Veda<sup>1</sup> and in Gaul;<sup>2</sup> and here seem also to belong such divinities as the Roman Collatina, Montinus, and Septimontius,<sup>3</sup> as well as the Lithuanian Kaukarius (cf. Lithuanian *kaukarà*, 'hill').<sup>4</sup>

## 78. UZAYEIRINA.

Uzayeirina ('Relating to Afternoon'), the special god of the third-day period, from mid-afternoon to sunset (Nir. 50; Bd. xxv, 9), is mentioned together with Frādaṭ-vīra and Dahyuma in Ys. i, 5; ii, 5; iii, 7; iv, 10; vi, 4; vii, 7; xvii, 4; xxii, 7; G. iii, 1, but no further information is given concerning him.

## 79. VANANT.

Together with Tištrya and other stars Vanant ('Conquering') is honoured for his might, victory, supremacy, and conquest of distress (Yt. viii, 12); Rašnu may abide in him (Yt. xii, 26); he is associated with many other celestial deities (Ny. i, 8), especially with stars (Sir. i, 13; ii, 13); and he is a foe of demons (Yt. xxi, 1). The very short twenty-first Yašt is composed in his honour, but tells little regarding him except that he is mighty, is invoked by his (own) name, and possesses healing powers. Besides the colourless Avestan epithets *amavant*-('mighty') and *mazda-dāta*-('created by Mazda'), which he has in common with many other divinities, he shares *aotō-nāman*-('whose name is spoken') with Ātar, Mišra, and Sraoša; and *baēžarya*-('healing') with 'Arədvī', Aši, Ahura Mazda, Tištrya, Drvāspā, the Fravašis, Haoma, and Haptō-iringa. In the Pahlavi texts he is the chieftain of the south (Bd. ii, 7) and is opposed to the planet Jupiter (Bd. v, 1) or to Mars (SGV iv, 34). He is entrusted with the passes and gates of Albūrṣ to turn back demons (MX xlix, 12-4), and his portion of the sacrificial sheep is the testicles (SIS xi, 4). He has been identified with the star Formalhaut<sup>5</sup> or with Vega;<sup>6</sup> and his name seems to be an abbreviation, perhaps of some such combination as \*Stare Vanant

<sup>1</sup> Macdonell, *Mythology*, p. 154; Keith, *Religion*, pp. 187-8; cf. Hillebrandt, *Mythologie*, ii, 199, note 4; iii, 181-3. For traces of the cult in Armenia see Ananikian, *Mythology*, pp. 62-3.

<sup>2</sup> Renel, *Religions*, pp. 153-4, 391, 392, 395, 398, 406; MacCulloch, *Religion*, p. 39; Holder, *Sprachschatz*, i, 16, 682, 815-6, 1984; iii, 450-1, 545-6.

<sup>3</sup> R. Peter, in Roscher, ii, 195, 204, 222-3.

<sup>4</sup> Usener, *Götternamen*, p. 93.

<sup>5</sup> E. W. West, in *SBE* v, 13, note; xxiv, 91, note 3.

<sup>6</sup> Bartholomae, *AirWb.* col. 1354.

(‘Conquering Star’), possibly occurring in the proper name Vanōnč-bām (‘Radiance of Vanant [?]).<sup>1</sup>

## 80. VĀTA.

The god Vāta (‘wind’) is associated with Earth, Sky, Stars, Moon, Sun, and Anayra Raočah (Ys. i, 16; iii, 18; iv, 21; vii, 18; xxii, 18); with Vərəθraϥna and Rāman (Ys. xvi, 5); with Sraoša, Rašnu, Daēnā, and Āfriti (Ys. lxx, 3); with Tištrya, Vanant, Əwāša, Zrvan, Cistā, and Daēnā (Ny. i, 8); with the Fravašis, Miθra, Rašnu, and Dāmōiš Upamana (Yt. xiii, 47); with Miθra and Dāmōiš Upamana (Yt. x, 9); with Ārmaiti (Vd. xix, 13); and with Ahura Mazda, Əwāša, Zrvan, and Vayu (VYt. 24). Like many other deities he has Āxšti and Həm-vainti as his two companions (Yt. xi, 16). He comes to the sacrifice with Ahura Mazda (or with Rašnu), Dāmōiš Upamana, Xvarenah, and Savah (Yt. xii, 4, 6); and his form is assumed by Vərəθraϥna (Yt. xiv, 2). He presides over the twenty-second day of each month (Sir. i, 22; ii, 22; SIS xxii, 22; xxiii, 3; cf. Bd. xxvii, 24). Of his Avestan epithets in common with other deities the most important is *huδā-* (‘possessing good insight’), which he shares with the Aməša Spəntas, Ahura Mazda, and Atar; and he alone is termed *darši-* (‘hardy’).

In the Pahlavi texts Vāt is an auxiliary of Horvadaϥ and the source of wind (Gd. Bd. xxvi, 32, 34). He co-operates with Tištar, Satvēs, Vohūman, Arēdvīvsūr, Hōm, Dīn, Būrj, and the Fravašis in executing the commands of Aūharmazd concerning rain, his special duties being to aid Tištar and Satvēs in drawing up the water, to assist Tištar and Vohūman in moving the clouds, and to collaborate in routing the demons (Dk. III, cxii, 5). The tail of the sacrificial sheep is his portion (SIS xi, 4); his gift is ‘peace from the resplendent heaven’, and he is distinguished for fragrance (ib. xxii, 22; xxiii, 3).

The winds formed one of the seven chief objects of worship among the ancient Persians (Herodotus, i, 131; Strabo, p. 732; cf. Aristides, *Apologia*, v, 4), and Herodotus (vii, 191) records a special ceremony in their honour, while St. Qarday was required to adore air as one of the deities.<sup>2</sup> Under the name OAAO the wind-deity is represented on coins of the Indo-Scythian Kaniska as a bearded god with flowing hair, holding in his hands the ends

<sup>1</sup> F. W. K. Müller, ‘Ein Doppelblatt aus einem manichäischen Hymnenbuch’, in ABAW, 1912, p. 35.

<sup>2</sup> *Acta Mar Kadaghi Martyris*, ed. and tr. J. B. Abbeloos, in *Analecta Bollundiana*, ix (1890), 24.

of his floating garments.<sup>1</sup> He likewise appears in Turkish Manichaean fragments under the designation Wadžiwanta (\*Vād Živandag, 'Living Wind'), the Ζών Πνεῦμα, or 'Spiritus Vivens', of the entire system.<sup>2</sup> The deity's name forms one of the components of the proper name Ἀντοφραδάτης, Vātrādāt ('Created by Vāta').<sup>3</sup>

The function of Vāta is clear from his name: he is a windgod, possibly of the south.<sup>4</sup> He finds analogues in the Vedic Vāta, the wind-element (cf. especially RV X, clxviii, clxxxvi),<sup>5</sup> and in the Ossete 'Lady of the Winds'.<sup>6</sup> The Romans likewise worshipped the winds,<sup>7</sup> and the Teutonic Wodan, whose name seems best regarded as cognate with Vāta, and who was originally a wind-deity, rose to be one of the chief divinities of the pantheon.<sup>8</sup> To the same category belong the Lithuanian Vejopatis ('Wind-Lord') and the Lettish Vēja Māte ('Wind-Mother')<sup>9</sup> as well as the Gaulish Circius, the North-West Wind (cf. Old French *cierce*, Provençal and Catalan *cers*, Spanish *cierzo*), to whom Augustus erected an altar (Seneca, *Quaestiones Naturales*, V, xvii, 5).<sup>10</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Stein, *Coins*, p. 4 and fig. v; cf. von Sallet, *Nachfolger*, p. 197.

<sup>2</sup> Le Coq, *Manichaica*, i, 14, 24, 40; iii, 8-9; Cumont, *Cosmogonie*, pp. 21 sqq.; for the etymology see A. V. W. Jackson, in *JRAS* 1924, pp. 153-4, and his forthcoming *Mani*.

<sup>3</sup> Hübschmann, *Grammatik*, i, 48 (Justi, *Namenbuch*, pp. 52-3, is incorrect); de Morgan, *Numismatique*, pp. 279, 281, 205; Herzfeld, *Paikuli*, i, 69, 179.

<sup>4</sup> Bartholomae, *Air Wb.* col. 1409; de Harlez, *Avesta*, p. ciii, regarded him as the deity of the lower air.

<sup>5</sup> Macdonell, *Mythology*, pp. 81-2; Keith, *Religion*, pp. 139-40; cf. Spiegel, *Periode*, pp. 157-8.

<sup>6</sup> H. Hübschmann, in *ZdmG* xli (1887), 536.

<sup>7</sup> Wissowa, *Religion*, p. 228; for Greek wind-deities see Gruppe, *Mythologie*, pp. 834-48.

<sup>8</sup> P. D. Chantepie de la Saussaye, *The Religion of the Teutons*, Boston, 1902, pp. 221-34.

<sup>9</sup> Usener, *Götternamen*, pp. 104, 108; K. Mühlenbach, *Lettisch-deutsches Wörterbuch*, ed. J. Endzelin, Riga, 1923 sqq., ii, 588.

<sup>10</sup> Dottin, *Manuel*, p. 328; Renel, *Religions*, p. 396; Holder, *Sprachschatz*, i, 1026; Meyer-Lübke, *Wörterbuch*, p. 155. The Gaulish Vintius was scarcely a wind-god (so MacCulloch, *Religion*, p. 180), being rather a local divinity of Venne (Alpes-Maritimes) and Vens (Haute-Savoie) (Dottin, pp. 305, 309; Renel, p. 406; Holder, iii, 355-6).

## 81. VAYAH.

Vayah ('Aether'), the deity of aerial space, is mentioned only once (Ny. i, 1), sharing the epithet *dərəγō-xšaδāta-* ('long-autonomous') with Zrvan. No details are recorded concerning him except that the Pahlavi commentary on Ny. i, 1, identifies him with Rām.<sup>1</sup>

## 82. VAYU.

The fifteenth Yašt, though known as the Rām Yašt, is composed in honour of the deity Vayu ('Wind'). From it we learn that he comes in part from Spənta Mainyu (§§ 0, 5, 57, 58; see also Ys. 0, 9; xxii, 24; xxv, 5; lxxii, 10; Sīr. i, 21; ii, 21); that he received sacrifice from Ahura Mazda, Haošvaŋha, Urupi, Yima, Aži Dahāka, ərəaētaona, Kərəsāspa, Aurvasāra, and Hutaosa (§§ 2-37); and that unmarried girls make offerings to him to obtain husbands (§§ 39-41). He has a special list of forty-seven names (§§ 43-8) by which he should be invoked in time of peril (§§ 49-52). When proper sacrifice is made to him, he averts danger, and he teaches magic spells potent against demons (§§ 53-6). He is described (§ 57), in terms which might be construed as implying an image of him, as having helmet, diadem, necklace, raiment, girdle, shoes, chariot, and weapons all of gold.

Elsewhere in the Younger Avesta, Vayu is associated with Hvarəxšaēta, Cistā, and Daēnā (Ys. 0, 9; xxii, 24; xxv, 5); or with Rāman, ərəwāša, and Zrvan (Sīr. i, 21; ii, 21). In the Pahlavi texts he is sometimes identified with Rām (Gd. Bd. xxvi, 12);<sup>2</sup> he is associated with Mitrō, Rašn, Vāhrām, Aštāt, and Dīn (AVN v, 3); the second of the three sacred cakes consecrated at dawn after the third night following a death is in his honour (Sīs xvii, 4); and he was transformed into a camel by Kai Xūsrōi, who rode upon him (Dk. xxiii, 2-3), although ultimately he caused the monarch's death (DD xxxvi, 3). His special enemy is Vāi the Bad (DD xxx, 4), and the head of the sacrificial sheep is his portion (Sīs xi, 4).

Besides the colourless Avestan *taxma-* ('sturdy') and *uyra-* ('strong'), which Vayu has in common with many other deities, he shares *uparō-kairya-* ('possessing activity on high') with Tištrya, the Fravašis, and Xvarənah; *dərəzra-* ('sturdy') with the Fravašis; *tiži-arēti-* ('sharp-speared') with Miθra;

<sup>1</sup> See, further Bartholomae, *AirWb.* col. 1359.

<sup>2</sup> See above, pp 156-7.

and *aurva-* ('swift') with *Haoma*. Of his special epithets the most noteworthy are *anamarəzdika-* ('pitiless'), *aiwi-xʷarənah-* ('possessing glory round about'), *āyaoza-* ('causing [water] to surge forward'), *uskāt-yāsta-* ('high-girt'), *gərəda-* ('greedy'), *tarō-θaēša-* and *θaēšō-tara-* ('overcoming hostility'), *dərəzi-yaoxədra-* ('possessing sturdy attack'), *nispā-* ('casting down'), *pāyaoza-* ('causing [water] to surge away'), *pərəθu-varah-* ('broad-breasted'), *pərəθu-sraoni-* ('broad-hipped'), *pərəθvarəšti-* ('broad-speared'), *fraspā-* ('casting forth'), *buxti-* ('howling'), *vaēžyarəšti-* ('possessing a sharp lance'), *vanō-vīspa-* ('all-conquering'), *vīvaoza-* ('causing [water] to surge apart'), *saočahin-* ('flaming'), and *haθravana-* ('conquering at once').

West suggested<sup>1</sup> that Vayu the Good and Vayu the Bad 'appear to be personifications of the upper and lower air, respectively; the former being considered pure through its connection with the sacred beings, and the latter impure through contamination by the demons'. It would seem more probable, however, especially in view of his epithets, that Vayu the Good was the deity of the storm-wind in its beneficent aspect as contrasted with Vayu the Bad, the divinity of the destructive storm-wind. Thus as a benevolent being Vayu comes from Spenta Mainyu;<sup>2</sup> and as a deity of the storm-wind he appropriately has the epithets 'possessing sturdy attack', 'casting down', 'casting forth', 'howling', 'all-conquering', and 'conquering at once'. So also he makes water 'surge forward, away, and apart'; and his connexion with lightning is implied by his descriptives 'possessing glory round about' and 'flaming', as well as by the allusions to his 'sharp, broad spear' and, very possibly, by the description of his golden raiment. In view of his association with the fertilising rains girls would naturally invoke him for husbands. Allusions to an earlier period when the two Vayus were still one may lurk in the terms which describe him as 'pitiless' and 'greedy'.

Vayu finds a counterpart in the Vedic Vāyu, thus forming a parallel to the Indo-Iranian Vāta, though in India 'Vāyu is chiefly the god, and Vāta the element'.<sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup> In *SBE* xxxvii, 224, note (cf. also de Harlez, *Avesta*, pp. cii-ciii; Darmesteter, *Ormuzd*, p. 111); for an opposing view see Bartholomae, *AirWb.* col. 1358.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. Dhalla, *Theology*, p. 132, who, however, regards the two Vayus simply as the good and harmful aspects of wind.

<sup>3</sup> Macdonell, *Mythology*, p. 81; cf. also ib. pp. 81-3; Keith, *Religion*, pp. 139-40; Hillebrandt, *Mythologie*, iii, 326-30; Spiegel, *Periode*, pp. 156-7; and see above, p. 167-8.

## 83. VIŠAPTA@A.

Višaptaša ('Intervening Seventh'), the deity of the eighth and twenty-third day of each month (called respectively *Dīn pa Ātarō* and *Dīn pa Dīn* in the calendar), is mentioned together with the two other special moon-gods *Antarə-māh* and *Pərənō-māh* in Ys. i, 8; ii, 8; iii, 10; iv, 13; vi, 7; vii, 10; xvii, 7; xxii, 10; Ny. iii, 6; Yt. vii, 4; but no details are recorded concerning him. He seems to find at least a partial Indian analogue in *Ekēštakā* (the eighth day after full moon), in whose honour *Atharva Veda* III, x. is composed.<sup>1</sup>

## 84. VISYA.

Visya ('Relating to the Village'), the name applied generically to the local deity of each village, who was charged with its special protection, occurs together with *Hāvani* and *Sāvaṇhi* in Ys. i, 3, 23; ii, 3; iii, 5, 24; iv, 8; vi, 2; vii, 5; xi, 16; xvii, 2; xxii, 5; G. i, 1 (cf. also G. i, 6, 7); but no details are given concerning the divinity. He finds analogues not only in the Roman *Genius Urbis Romae*,<sup>2</sup> but also in numerous Celtic town-gods, such as *Alaunius* ('[God] of Alaunium' [near Alaun, Basses-Alpes]), *Aramo(n)* ('[God] of Aramon'), *Aximus* ('[God] of Axima' [Aime-en-Tarantaise, Savoie]), *Bergimus* ('[God] of Bergamo'), *Boccus* ('[God] of Boucou' [Haute-Garonne]), *Gisacus* ('[God] of Gisacum' [near Vieil-Evreux, Eure]), *Ivavos* ('[God] of Ivaunum' [Évaux, Creuse]), *Letinno* ('[God] of Lédénon' [Gard]), *Luxovius* ('[God] of Luxovium' [Luxeuil, Haute-Saône]), *Trittia* ('[Goddess] of Trets' [Bouches-du-Rhône]), and *Vintius* ('[God] of Vintium' [Vence, Alpes-Maritimes, and Vens, Haute-Savoie]).<sup>3</sup> Among the Ossetes individual villages and families have their own special deities,<sup>4</sup> the *Grāmadevatā* ('Village-Deity') is an important figure in the lower strata of modern Hinduism,<sup>5</sup> and the Letts had a goddess ('mother') of the city of Riga (*Rīgas Māte*).<sup>6</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Macdonell-Keith, *Index*, i, 119; ii, 157; Keith, *Religion*, p. 201.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. Wissowa, *Religion*, p. 179; G. G. Hill, in *ERE* iii, 681.

<sup>3</sup> Holder, *Sprachschatz*, i, 77, 171-2, 319, 403, 454, 2023; ii, 99, 191 358; iii, 355-6.

<sup>4</sup> H. Hübschmann, in *ZdmG* xli (1887), 538.

<sup>5</sup> W. Crooke, *Religion and Folk-Lore of Northern India*, Oxford, 1926, pp. 83-92.

<sup>6</sup> K. Mühlenbach, *Lettsch-deutsches Wörterbuch*, ed. J. Endzelin, Riga, 1923 sqq., ii, 588.



## 85. YĀIRYA.

The name Yāirya ('Relating to the Year') is given collectively to the divinities who preside over the six seasons of the year and the relevant season-festivals (Ys. i, 9, 17; ii, 9, 17; iii, 11, 24; iv, 14, 22; vi, 8; vii, 11; xvii, 8, 17; xxii, 11, 19; Vsp. i, 2; ii, 2).

## 86. YAOŠTI.

The abstract deity Yaošti ('Zeal') is once named in the Haptaŋhāiti (Ys. xxxviii, 1-2) as one of the nine wives of Ahura Mazda.

## 87. ZAM.

The goddess Zam ('Earth') is invoked in company with Waters, Lands, Plants, Sky, Winds, Stars, Māh, Hvarə, Anaγra Raočah, and all creations of Spənta Mainyu (Ys. i, 16; iii, 18; iv, 21; vii, 18; xxii, 18); with Waters and Plants (G. ii, 6); with Daēnā, Aši, Pərəndi, and the righteous woman (Yt. xiii, 1); and with Ahura Mazda, Daēnā, Aši, Arštāt, Asan, Mašra Spənta, and Anaγra Raočah (Ys. xvi, 6). She is identified with Armaiti (Vd. ii, 10, 18) and presides over the twenty-eighth day of each month (Sīr. i, 28; ii, 28; Sīs xxii, 28; xxiii, 4; cf. Bd. xxvii, 24). The genius of earth, she is an auxiliary of Amerōdat, and with Aštāt she weighs the souls at the Činvaŋ Bridge (Gd. Bd. xxvi, 36, 38). She is a doublet of Armaiti,<sup>1</sup> and corresponds not only to the Vedic Prthivi<sup>2</sup> and the Roman Terra (or Tellus) Mater,<sup>3</sup> but also to the Lithuanian Žemyna ('terrestris [dea]') and the Lettish Zemes Māte ('Mother of Earth'),<sup>4</sup> as well as to the Teutonic Nerthus (Tacitus, *Germania*, 40).<sup>5</sup>

## 88. ZANTUMA.

The deity Zantuma ('Relating to the Clan') is mentioned in association with Rapiθwina and Frādat-ššu in Ys. i, 4; ii, 4; iii, 6; iv, 9; vi, 3; vii, 6; xvii, 3; xxii, 6 (cf. G. ii, 8); and the Sanskrit version of Ys. i, 4, interprets him as 'co-operative in the midst of men who are teachers'. The evidence at

<sup>1</sup> See above, pp. 50-1.

<sup>2</sup> Macdonell, *Mythology*, p. 88; Keith, *Religion*, p. 174.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. Wissowa, *Religion*, pp. 192-5, and in Roscher, v, 331-45; Eitrem, in Roscher, v, 391.

Usener, *Götternamen*, pp. 105, 108.

<sup>5</sup> P. D. Chantepie de la Saussaye, *The Religion of the Teutons*, Boston, 1902, pp. 104, 248; and, in general, J. A. MacCulloch, in *ERF* v, 129-30.

disposal is insufficient to determine whether these clan-gods were of the type of the Roman Numeria, Vitellia, etc.—i.e., congenital with the clans worshipping them with *sacra gentilitia*<sup>1</sup>—or of the type of the Lithuanian Reikiozius (cf. Lithuanian *riėkti*, ‘to slice, plough for the first time’, or *riėkti*, ‘to cry, howl, scream’), Sidzius (cf. Lithuanian *\*zydzius*, ‘he who makes to blossom’, or *ziėdzius*, ‘shaper’), and Simonaitis (diminutive of Lithuanian *žemonys*, ‘landowner, farmer’)—i.e., divinities adopted for special cult by individual families.<sup>2</sup> Among the Ossetes families and villages have their own particular deities.<sup>3</sup>

### 89. ZARAΘUŠTRŌTĒMA.

Zaraθuštrōtēma (‘Most [Like] Zaraθuštra’), who stands at the head of the series Nmānya, Visya, Zantuma, Dahyuma (Ys. xvii, 18; xxvi, 1; Yt. xiii, 21; Ss. xiii, 10, 15, 44; xix, 5; cf. Ys. xix, 18), is invoked together with Aiwisrūšrima and Frādaṭ-vīspā-m-hujyāti (Ys. i, 6; ii, 6; iii, 8; iv, 11; vi, 5; vii, 8; xvii, 5; xxii, 8; cf. Vsp. i, 9); and is likewise associated with Aši, Cisti, Ahura Mazda, and Zaraθuštra (Vsp. ix, 1), as well as with Frādaṭ-vīspā-m-hujyāti, Zaraθuštra, Māšra Spēnta, and Gēuš Urvan (G. iv, 6). Bartholomae<sup>4</sup> was probably correct in regarding him as the patron deity of the priesthood.

### 90. ZARĒNUMANT.

The pool (*sūra*-) Zarēnumant (‘Golden’) is mentioned as a worshipful being in Ny. i, 8, and FW v, 1, although no details are recorded, and the traditional versions have lost knowledge of the term’s true meaning.<sup>5</sup> A ‘spring Zarinmand’ formed part of the Hētūmand (the present Hilmand), and there was a ‘lake Zarinmand’ near Hamadān (Bd. xx, 34; xxii, 6). Justi<sup>6</sup> identified the Avestan Zarēnumant with the latter, especially as Qazvīnī (i, 153; ii, 229) describes a spring on Mount Alvand, near Hamadān, as coming from Paradise and flowing in greater or less abundance according as larger or smaller numbers need its healing waters. The Gauls had sacred lakes, notably near

<sup>1</sup> See Wissowa, *Religion*, pp. 33, 404.

<sup>2</sup> Usener, *Götternamen*, pp. 100, 101; see also T. von Grienberger, in *Archiv für slavische Philologie*, xviii (1896), 28, 29.

<sup>3</sup> H. Hübschmann, in *ZdmG* xli (1887), 538.

<sup>4</sup> *AirWb.* col. 1877; so also Reichelt, *Reader*, p. 299.

<sup>5</sup> See M. N. Dhalla, *The Nyaishes or Zoroastrian Litanies*, New York, 1908, pp. 28-33.

<sup>6</sup> *Geographie*, i, 26-7; cf. ii, 12.

Toulouse (Strabo, p. 188; Justin, XXXII, iii, 9);<sup>1</sup> and the Lithuanians venerated a lake Orthus which abounded in fish.<sup>2</sup> Two other lakes to which divine honours were paid in Iran were Čaščasta (Urumiah) and Haosravah (Ny. v, 5; Šir. i, 9; ii, 9).<sup>3</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> MacCulloch, *Religion*, p. 181.

<sup>2</sup> Usener, *Götternamen*, p. 96.

<sup>3</sup> For suggested identifications see Bartholomae, *AirWb.* col. 575; Darmesteter, *ZA* ii, 631, note 92.

## BOOK II.

## THE IRANIAN PANDEMONIUM.

## CHAPTER I.

## THE ARCHDEVILS.

*Section A.*

## THE IRANIAN DEMONS IN GENERAL.

So far as the extant documents go, the demon-world of the Iranians is much less developed than the divine realm. Except for a few great fiends, at least one of whom seems to have been degraded from a god to become the lord of all heinous beings, while several others appear to have been originally mere harmful aspects of divinities primarily working both weal and woe, they are vague abstractions, chiefly of disease and undesirable ethical qualities. The functions and even the meaning of the names of many of them are wholly unknown or highly obscure. It would be unwise, however, to assume too much from an *argumentum e silentio*; for analogies from other religions would imply that in Iran as elsewhere maleficent beings received an excess, rather than a deficiency, of cult. The relative paucity of material concerning the powers of wickedness seems due to a determined and systematic endeavour to ignore evil as far as possible, and thus to doom it through oblivion to nothingness.

The realm of archdevils shows the following antitheses to the good Aməša Spəntas (Bd. i, 25-7; xxviii, 7-12; xxx, 29; Dk. V, vii, 2; cf. Vd. x, 9-10; xix, 43):

Aŋra Mainyu	..	..	Ahura Mazda
Aka Manah	..	..	Vohu Manah
Indra	..	..	Aša Vahišta
Saurva	..	..	Xšaθra Vairya
Nāŋhaiŋya	..	..	Spənta Ārmaiti
Taurvi	..	..	Haurvatāt
Zairik	..	..	Amərətāt

## Section B.

## AŖRA MAINYU.

AŖra Mainyu ('Hostile Spirit'), the leader of the demons and the archantagonist of Ahura Mazda, has been studied so repeatedly<sup>1</sup> that discussion may here be restricted to such aspects as seem to cast light upon his original nature.

The Gāthās mention AŖra Mainyu only once (Ys. xlv, 2), in a passage where the 'holier of the Spirits twain' declares his absolute antithesis to the 'hostile' in all things. In the Younger Avesta he is the 'demon of demons' (Vd. xix, 1, 43), a Druj (ib. § 12; cf. Yt. xi, 14), dwelling in the north (Vd. xix, 1), in hideous hell (Yt. xix, 44), and in a world of darkness (Aog. 28; cf. Ys. ix, 15; xix, 81; Yt. ix. 4; xvii, 25; Vd. xix, 30) like other fiends (Vd. xix, 47). He is a creator of all that is opposed to the creation of Ahura Mazda (Ys. lvii, 17; lxi, 2; Yt. xiii, 76; xv, 3, 43-4; Vd. i, 2, 4-13, 15-9; xiii, 1, 5-6; xix, 5, 6, 8; FW iv, 2); he formed Aži Dahāka (Ys. ix, 8) and infects man's body with disease (Vd. xx, 3; xxii, 2) and deformity (Vd. ii, 29, 37); but Zaraṇuštra forced him to withdraw from earth (Yt. xvii, 19-20; cf. viii, 44; FW iv, 3), and at the Last Day he will suffer complete defeat (Yt. xix, 96; cf. xiii, 13). He fears Mišra's mace (Yt. x, 97), is repulsed by Vohu Manah (Pahlavi Vd. xviii, 2), and, it is implied, dislikes the sun (Yt. x, 118). He seeks to prevent the waters from flowing and the plants from maturing (Yt. xiii, 78), but he cannot destroy Tištrya (Yt. viii, 44), and the Fravašis are a defence against him (Yt. xiii, 12-3, 71). Transformed into a horse, he was ridden for thirty years by Urupi (Yt. xv, 12; xix, 29; ZS i, 6, 20; v, 3; DD xxxvii, 9, 85; MX xxvii, 21-2).

In the Pahlavi texts Ahriman dwells in an abyss of endless darkness (Bd. i, 3, 10, 22), coming forth from it and thus first learning of the existence of Aūharmazd (Bd. i, 9; ZS i, 2-3, 20). Ignorance is one of his chief characteristics (Bd. i, 3, 9, 19; DD iii, 8; xxxvii, 8; Dk. III, clxvii, 2; cccclxxvii, 3; VI E, xxxviii, 9), and he seeks to conceal the consequences of sin

<sup>1</sup> Darmesteter, *Ormazd*; Spiegel, *EA* ii, 121-6; Jackson, *Zoroastrianism*, pp. 72-80; Dhalla, *Theology*, pp. 48, 157-9, 254-60; Casartelli, *Philosophy*, pp. 50-68; Scheftelowitz, *Judentum*, pp. 51-8; A. Kohut, *Ueber die jüdische Angelologie und Daemonologie in ihrer Abhängigkeit vom Parsismus*, Leipzig, 1866, pp. 62-72.

(MX xiii, 7-9). Rising up to the sky at the vernal equinox, he sprang to the world like a snake, passing to the subterranean waters and thence to the middle of the earth, rushing over all creation like a fly, making the world at noonday black as midnight, filling it with venomous and noxious creatures, blighting vegetation, bringing woe on man and beast, and contaminating fire with smoke and blackness (Bd. iii, 10-7, 24, 27; cf. xxvii, 1; ZS i, 28; ii, 1-11; iv, 1-3; DD xxxvii, 28, 46; Dk. III, clvii, 40-3). He assumes the form of a lizard (Bd. iii, 9; xxviii, 1) or of a youth (Bd. iii, 9).

Ahriman is incorporeal (DD xix, 2), though Artā-i-Virāf saw him (AVN c, 1), and he is not eternal (Dk. VI, cclxxviii). He is the father of demons (Bd. iii, 2, 3, 6) and is a creator of all things evil (Bd. i, 10, 24, 27; DD xxxvii, 82). He endeavours to pervert or to destroy the creation of Aūharmazd (Bd. i, 14; xxviii, 2-6; DD xxxvii, 10, 22; SGV iv, 12; xii, 72-4; Dk. III, lxxxiv, 2; cciii, 15; ccviii, 2; V, iv, 1-4; VI, cccvii, 1; cccviii, 2); but his own creation will be annihilated and he himself, inferior to Aūharmazd, will be utterly defeated (Bd. i, 7, 10, 13, 16, 20-2; iii, 1, 26; vi, 1-4; xxx, 29; DD vii, 3; xxxvii, 15, 18, 20, 59, 64, 67, 71, 114, 120-2; MX viii, 15, 25-26; lvii, 6; Dk. III, cxiv, 2-3; clxvii, 2; cxcviii, 12; cclxvii, 2; ccexiii, 2; ccexix, 2; cccclxxvii, 2-3; cccclxxxi, 5; ccccvii, 7; V, viii, 3; VI, cclxiv, 1-2; cxcvii, 1-2).

Aṇra Mainyu shares the Avestan epithets *duša-arənah-* ('possessing an evil glory') and *duždā-* ('evil-thinking') with Aēšma; *duždaēna-* ('possessing an evil religion' [or, 'ego']) with Aži Dahāka; and *mairya-* ('deceitful') with Būšya-stā; he himself is *duždāman-* ('possessing an evil creation'), *dužva-rəštavarəz-* ('working evil'), *drəyvant-* ('fiendish'), *pouru-mahrka-* ('possessing the death of many'), *vispō-mahrka-* ('possessing the death of all'), and *skutara-* (a term of unknown meaning). Arimanius seems to occur as a personal name on a Mithraic sculpture preserved in the Museum of the Philosophical Society at York.<sup>1</sup>

A very significant light on the original nature of Aṇra Mainyu is cast by Mithraism, which identified him with the Greek Hades (cf. Aristotle, cited by Diogenes Laertius, *De Vita Philosophorum*, proem. vi, 8; Hesychius, s. v. Ἀρεμανίης; Plutarch, *De Iside et Osiride*, 46) and regarded him as the god of the underworld.<sup>2</sup> Inscriptions were dedicated 'Deo Arimanio',<sup>3</sup> and

<sup>1</sup> Cumont, *TM* ii, 160, 392, and fig. 310.

<sup>2</sup> *Ib.* i, 139, 296.

<sup>3</sup> *Ib.* ii, 98, 141.

one from Ostium records a 'signum Arimanium'.<sup>1</sup> He was doubtless the underworld-god (τῷ ὑπὸ γῆν λεγομένῳ εἰναι θεῷ) who was propitiated by burying human victims alive (Herodotus, vii, 114; Plutarch, *De Superstitionibus*, 13; cf. Justin, XI, xv, 10). He is explained as σκοτός καὶ ἀγνοία and is born of darkness (ζόφος) according to Plutarch (*De Iside et Osiride*, 46, 47; cf. Eudemus, quoted by Damascius, *Dubitaciones et Solutiones*, 125<sup>bis</sup>), while Hippolytus (*Refutationes*, I, ii, 13) interprets him as Χθόνιος. Xerxes besought him to curse the foe (Plutarch, *Vita Themistoclis*, 27).<sup>2</sup> He is mentioned by Armenian authors under the form Ahrmn,<sup>3</sup> and by Syriac writers as Aharman,<sup>4</sup> Christians (e.g., Theodore of Mopsuestia, cited by Photius, *Bibliotheca*, lxxii, 81) sometimes identifying him with Satan.<sup>5</sup> He is named in the Talmud (*Sanhedrin* 39<sup>a</sup>) under the form אהרמנין, and he appears a few times in Turfān Manichaean fragments,<sup>6</sup> Chinese texts of the same religion terming him Šamnu,<sup>7</sup> while the Buriats have borrowed his name under the form Arima.<sup>8</sup>

Etymologically the word *arəra-* seems to be cognate with Old Persian *arika-*, 'hostile' (for *\*ahrika-*), Avestan *a-sta-*, 'hate, enmity'.<sup>9</sup>

The evidence of Mithraism and of the Greek writers indicates that *Arəra Mainyu* was originally the god of the underworld,<sup>10</sup> and this is confirmed by reminiscences in the Iranian texts themselves: his abode in the dark realms under earth, his power over water and plants, his association with disease, and his impotence against the celestial Ahura Mazda, Miθra, and

<sup>1</sup> A. Stein, in *Jahresbericht über die Fortschritte der klassischen Altertumswissenschaft*, cxliv (1910), 229.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. Clemen, *Nachrichten*, pp. 79, 129, 157.

<sup>3</sup> Hübschmann, *Grammatik*, i, 26-7; cf. A. Meillet, in *REA* ii (1921), 235-6.

<sup>4</sup> T. Nöldeke, in *Festgruss an Rudolf von Roth*, Stuttgart, 1893, pp. 36-7; Hoffmann, *Auszüge*, p. 64; cf. also Cumont, *TM* i, 134.

<sup>5</sup> Braun, *Akten*, p. 67.

<sup>6</sup> Müller, *Handschriften-Reste*, pp. 18, 56, 94.

<sup>7</sup> Chavannes-Pelliot, *Traité*, p. 524, note.

<sup>8</sup> U. Holmberg, in *MAR* iv, 301.

<sup>9</sup> Bartholomae, *AirWb.* col. 105; *ZIW* p. 108; Walde, *Wörterbuch*, p. 255. J. Wackernagel, *Altindische Grammatik*, II, i (Göttingen, 1905), 38, connects *arəra-* with Sanskrit *dsura-*, 'fiend'. See, further, Walde-Pokorny, *Wörterbuch*, i, 134-5, 324; Moulton, *EZ* pp. 425-6.

<sup>10</sup> Cf. Moulton, *EZ* pp. 95, 128-9, 131-2; Pettazzoni, *Religione*, pp. 3-4, 166; Legge, *Forerunners*, ii, 239, 255-6.

Tištrya, while his final defeat by the 'Wise Lord' is a myth of the transitory earth as contrasted with the eternal sky, thus giving a hint of the Iranian version of the 'Ages of the World'.<sup>1</sup> The development of an underworld-deity into a divinity of the evil dead and of their place of torment finds analogues in the Greek Hades;<sup>2</sup> the Roman Helernus, and especially Vediovis and Dis Pater;<sup>3</sup> and the Lithuanian Zemeluks, god of the earth and of those buried in it, Žemininkas, the earth-god, and Žemyna, the earth-goddess.<sup>4</sup>

On the other hand, Aṇra Mainyu is the antagonist not only of Ahura Mazda, but also of Spənta Mainyu (Yt. xiii. 12-3; xv. 2-3; xix. 44, 46; Dk. III. lxxxv. 2; lxxxvii. 2; cxlviii. 2-3; clxii. 2; cccxix. 2; cccclxxvii. 3; cf. VYt. 47, and, probably, Ya. xlv. 2). It is possible then that he is an amalgamation of two deities, thus forming a parallel to the occasional identification of Spənta Mainyu with Ahura Mazda.<sup>5</sup> If this be true, Aṇra Mainyu is a composite of (1) an earth-god, the counterpart of the celestial Ahura Mazda; and (2) a creator of evil, the opposite of Spənta Mainyu, the creator of good, the fusion being aided by the fact that earth brings forth tares as well as wheat, death as well as life, and produces all manner of antitheses. In any event it seems clear from the parallelism of the celestial and infernal protagonists that Aṇra Mainyu corresponds both to Ahura Mazda and to Spənta Mainyu; and that in the texts as we possess them there is on this matter, as on so many others, an obscurity which thus far appears to defy all efforts at final solution of the problem.

In the appellation Aṇra Mainyu we have, it may be suggested, another instance (as in the case of Spənta Mainyu, etc.)<sup>6</sup> of a cultic epithet developed into the name of an amnestonymous

1 Cf. the articles 'Ages of the World' in *ERE* i, 183-210: the 'Zoroastrian' section, by N. Söderblom (pp. 205-10), does not take cognisance of the theory here advanced.

2 Gruppe, *Mythologie*, p. 399-411; C. Scherer, in Roscher, i, 1778-1811; Farnell, *CGS* iii, 280-8; cf. also such epithets of Hades as 'αλάμπειτος, 'ανζύγητος, βροτοφθόρος, ζοφερός, θανάσιμος, καταχθόνιος, στυγερός, ὑποχθόνιος, and χθόνιος.

3 Wissowa, *Religion*, pp. 236-8; R. Peter, in Roscher, i, 1179-88.

4 Usener, *Götternamen*, p. 105.

5 Cf. above, pp. 21, 101, 103, 105, 106.

6 See pp. 25-7, 34-5, 44, 46-7, 60, 105-6, 110, 113, 129, 141, 181, 184.



deity or—as is here much more likely—of two such divinities, especially as the Avesta very frequently applies the same descriptive to several distinct deities.<sup>1</sup> The closest parallel to Aṛra Mainyu would seem to be the Orissan Kandh Tari Pennu, the earth-goddess who is the creation and consort of the sun-god Bella Pennu, and who is the source of all moral and physical evil ; but the evidence concerning her is too meagre and contradictory to permit of any definite conclusions regarding her real nature and attributes.<sup>2</sup>

### Section C.

#### AKA MANAH.

According to the Gāḥās Aka Manah (‘ Evil Mind ’) was chosen by the Daēvas (Ys. xxx, 6), who, like the wicked, are of his seed (xxxii, 3) ; evil men cling to him (xlvi, 5) ; and he is named together with Asrušti (xxxiii, 4).

In the Younger Avesta and Pahlavi texts Aka Manah, from whom Aṛra Mainyu’s evil creation springs (Vd. xix, 8), is, together with Aēšma, Dahāka, and Spityura, a messenger of Ahriman, being the antithesis of Vohu Manah (Yt. xix, 46 ; ZS xiv, 8-13), by whom he is ultimately conquered (Yt. xix, 96 ; Bd. xxx, 29). He was the second creation of Ahriman (Bd. i, 24), coming from his dark world (ib. § 27). His special function is to give ‘ vile thoughts and discord to the creatures ’ (Bd. xxviii, 7) ; he is characterised by stench (ZS ix, 6) ; and his association with Ahriman is due to Mitōxt, who was the archfiend’s first creation (DD xxxvii, 53 ; Bd. i, 24). He was born together with Varun (Dk. III, cxxii, 4-5), and through his friendship come vice and many other evils (ib. III, cclxx, 4 ; cclxiii, 8). Through Akōman one is liable to destroy and injure one’s self (Dk. III, cclxiii, 6 ; cf. VI, lxxxvii, 1 ; xciii, 3), for this fiend blinds man’s perception (ib. III, cclxvi, 9 ; cf. cccxcvii, 2-23 ; VI, lxxviii, 2 ; IX, xxx, 8), is of perverse thought (ib. V, vii, 2), and causes man his first distress, even at birth (ib. III, cclxxiv, 2).

<sup>1</sup> Cf. L. H. Gray, ‘ A List of the Divine and Demonic Epithets in the Avesta ’, in *JAOS* xli (1926), 97-153.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. W. Crooke, in *ERE* vii, 649.

In view of the fact that Aka Manah is the special foe of Vohu Manah (and so of Miθra), it would appear that he was originally a deity of night, corresponding perhaps to the Vedic Rātri<sup>1</sup> and, more exactly, to the Roman Nocturnus.<sup>2</sup> Since the night is peculiarly the time when demons are abroad,<sup>3</sup> he became a leader of these malevolent beings, and finally was regarded essentially as the fiend who darkens man's mind and soul. His conquest by Vohu Manah thus represents the victory of light over darkness. Like the name Vohu Manah,<sup>4</sup> Aka Manah probably represents an old cultic epithet \*akamanah- ('possessing an evil mind'), the evil divinity himself apparently having become amnestonymous.

### Section D.

#### INDRA.

The demon Indra ('Giant' [?]) is mentioned twice in the Avesta (Vd. x, 9; xix, 43) together with the archfiends, and his name occurs similarly in the Pahlavi texts (Bd. i, 27; Mān. I, x, 9; Dk. V, vii, 2). He 'constrains the thoughts of creatures from deeds of virtue' and is pleased when the duties of religion are neglected (Bd. xxviii, 8, 10), being further described as 'the spirit of the religion of apostasy' (Dk. IX, xxxii, 3-4). In the final battle he will be conquered by Artavahišt (Bd. xxx, 29). The Pahlavi version of Ys. xlviii, 1, glosses *drujəm* by Andar, the Pahlavi form of the demon's name.

The appellation is obviously the same as that of the great Vedic god Indra and is probably cognate with the Anglo-Saxon *ent*, 'giant'.<sup>5</sup> There is, however, a marked difference between the Indian and the Iranian Indra: the hostility of the latter to Aša (Ātar) is diametrically opposed to the Vedic association of the former with Fire, which is so close that Indrāgnī forms a *dvandva* compound.<sup>6</sup> The explanation lies, it may be supposed, in the two aspects of the 'Giant' as connected with rain: in India he was associated with rain as bringing fertility, especially

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Muir, *OST* iv, 497-500; Macdonell, *Mythology*, p. 124; Keith *Religion*, p. 198.

<sup>2</sup> Wissowa, *Religion*, p. 135; W. Drexler, in Roscher, iii, 446.

<sup>3</sup> Oldenberg, *Religion*, p. 269; cf. Babrius, *Fabulae*, 63.

<sup>4</sup> See above, p. 35. Darmesteter, *Ormazd*, pp. 127-8, 259-60, considered him to have been invented as a mere antithesis to Vohu Manah.

<sup>5</sup> E. Lidén, *Studien zur altindischen und vergleichenden Sprachgeschichte*, Upsala, 1897, p. 58; Hillebrandt, *Mythologie*, iii, 168.

<sup>6</sup> For the passages in the Rig Veda see Grassmann, *Wörterbuch*, col., 216.

in the monsoon :<sup>1</sup> in Iran he was the deity of winter torrents and of heavy rains that bring malaria in their wake, such as those which prevail along the southern Caspian coast in the land of the 'Māzainyan devils', where the average annual precipitation is 600 mm.<sup>2</sup>

### Section E.

#### SAURVA.

Mentioned with the other archdevils (Vd. x, 9-10; xix, 43; Bd. i, 27; xxviii, 7-12; xxx, 29; Mān. I, x, 9; Dk. V, vii, 2; IX, ix, 1), the business of Saurva ('Archer [?], Crusher [?]' ) is 'misgovernment, oppressive anarchy, and drunkenness' (Bd. xxviii, 9), but he will finally be conquered by Šatvairō (ib. xxx, 29).

The demon's name corresponds to the Sanskrit Śarvá (usually associated with Bhava), who is described in the Atharva Veda as an archer (IV, xxviii; VI, xciii, 2; XI, ii, 1; vi, 9; XII, iv, 17; XV, v, 2) and a deity of destructive lightning (X, i, 23), identical or closely connected with Rudra (XI, ii; cf. VIII, ii, 7; viii, 17-8; XII, v, 36).<sup>3</sup> The appellation is probably cognate with Sanskrit śāru- 'missile, arrow, spear', śar-, 'to break, rend, crush' (cf. śarv-, 'to injure', reported only by native lexicographers), Avestan *asarata*-, 'unbroken', *sari*-, 'fragment', *sāiri*-, 'destruction', Greek *κερρίζω*, 'to destroy, ravage, kill', *κῆρ* 'goddess of death', *κερυνός*, 'thunder', Latin *caries*, 'rottenness, decay', Gothic *hairus*, Middle Irish *coire*, 'swords'.<sup>4</sup> In view of the character of Śarva, Saurva also would seem to represent the destructive aspect of the storm, especially in the lightning flash.

<sup>1</sup> E. W. Hopkins, 'Indra as the God of Fertility', in *JAOS* xxxv (1917), 242-38; Macdonell, *Mythology*, pp. 54-6; Hillebrandt, *Mythologie*, iii, 167-300. Reichelt's view (*Reader*, pp. 118-9) that Indra was 'made a demon because of his being too fond of the Soma-drink' seems less probable. Cf. also Darmesteter, *Ormazd*, pp. 262-3; Keith, *Religion*, pp. 124-33, 220.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. H. Grothe, *Zur Natur und Wirtschaft von Vorderasien, I. Persien*, Frankfurt, 1911, p. 10, note; Jackson, *Constantinople*, p. 86; A. Supan, 'Die Verteilung des Niederschlags auf der festen Erdoberfläche', in *Petermann's Mitteilungen*, lv (1909), 269; A. Houtum-Schindler, ib. lviii, part 2 (1912), 334; A. R. Neligan, *Hints for Residents and Travellers in Persia*, London, 1914, pp. 191-2, 194; *Encyclopaedia Britannica*, 11th ed., xxi, 190-1.

<sup>3</sup> See also Macdonell, *Mythology*, p. 75 (cf., however, Darmesteter, *Ormazd*, pp. 263-4); Keith, *Religion*, pp. 144, 147, 150.

<sup>4</sup> P Wb. vii, 104; M. Bloomfield, in *Proceedings of the American Oriental Society*, 1894, p. clix, and *BB* xxiii (1897), 109-10; de Harlez, *Avesta*, p. cxxx; Boissacq, *Dictionnaire*, pp. 435, 440, 450; Walde, *Wörterbuch*, p. 131; Feist, *Wörterbuch*, p. 173.

## Section F.

Nā<sup>o</sup>ṛhaiθya.

The archdemon Nā<sup>o</sup>ṛhaiθya ('Relating to Return' [?]) is named together with the other chief fiends in Vd. x, 9-10; xix, 43; Bd. i, 27; xxviii, 7-12; xxx, 29; Mān. I, x, 9; Dk. V, vii, 2. His special function is to rouse discontent (Bd. xxviii, 10); he is identified with Tarōmat (ib. xxx, 29, but see xxviii, 14); and he will finally be overcome by Spendarmat (ib. xxx, 29).

The demon's name corresponds to the Sanskrit *nāsatya*-, a frequent epithet of the Aśvins,<sup>1</sup> though once used (RV IV, iii, 6) as an attribute of Vāta, who is there likewise termed (as in RV VII, xl, 6) *pārijman*- ('circumambient'). The word seems to be cognate with Sanskrit *nas*-, 'to associate with, join, embrace', Greek *νόμω* 'to go, return', *νόστος*, 'return,' Irish *fuinim* (\**uo-nēs*-), 'to set' (of the sun), Gothic *ga-nisan*, 'to be healed, saved', *nasjan*, 'to save' (i.e., to cause to return to life), and Old Norse *nest*, Danish *niste*, 'travelling provisions.'<sup>2</sup> In formation it may be compared with Avestan *gavaithya*-, 'herd of cattle', *x<sup>a</sup>aiθya*-, 'personal', Sanskrit *atratya*-, 'relating to that place', Old Irish *daurde*, 'oaken', and possibly Gothic *awe bi*, Anglo-Saxon *eowd(e)*, 'flock of sheep',<sup>3</sup> or else with derivatives from participles of the type of Sanskrit *satya*-, Avestan *haiθya*-, 'true', Avestan *vispō-hankərəθya*-, 'all-combining' (?). The meaning, which the Indo-Iranian *ā* apparently shows to be causative, appears to be something like 'relating to return, returning, he who causes return'.

It is commonly held<sup>4</sup> that Nā<sup>o</sup>ṛhaiθya is identical with Nāsatya, and that Nāsatya-Nā<sup>o</sup>ṛhaiθya are mentioned in the Boyaz-kōi texts under the form Na-ša-at-ti-ia-an-na, though this is not

<sup>1</sup> For references see Grassmann, *Wörterbuch*, col. 726; cf. also Darmesteter, *Ormazd*, pp. 264-5.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. Boissacq, *Dictionnaire*, pp. 663-4; Feist, *Wörterbuch*, pp. 143-4, 279; Falk-Torp, *Wörterbuch*, p. 767; Walde-Pokorny, *Wörterbuch*, ii, 334-5.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. Bartholomae, *Air Wb.* col. 510; W. D. Whitney, *Sanskrit Grammar*, Leipzig, 1891, p. 479; Feist, *Wörterbuch*, p. 51; Brugmann, *Grundriss*, II, i, 195. In Sanskrit the formation seems restricted to derivative, from adverbs.

<sup>4</sup> Cf. e.g. Spiegel, *Periode*, p. 207.

absolutely certain.<sup>1</sup> It is quite clear that the Indian and the Iranian names are the same; but do they apply to the same divine beings? In the Rig Veda (IV, iii, 6) Vāta is both a wanderer (*párijman-*) and a restorer (*násatya-*), and the Ásvins in their capacity of Násatyau 'restore' or 'bring back'. In the Avesta, on the other hand, the superhuman being Nāŋhaiŋya would seem, from his antagonism to Spendarmat-Zam, the earth-mother, to have been originally a death-deity who 'returned' man to the earth whence he was born.<sup>2</sup> It would appear, then, that Nāŋhaiŋya and Násatya were appellations of totally distinct divinities, the one restoring to earth (i.e. bringing to the grave) and the other restoring to life. In both cases the term is primarily a mere cultic epithet, but in Iran it usurped the name—probably by deliberate euphemistic substitution—of a god who in the historic period became amnestonymous.

### Section G.

#### TAURVI AND ZAIRIK.

The two archdevils Taurvi and Zairik ('Conquering' and 'Yellowish, Greenish') are mentioned in a *dvandva* compound in Vd. xix, 43, and are also named together with the other principal demons in Vd. x, 9-10; Bd. i, 27; xxviii, 7-12; xxx, 29; Mān. I, x, 9; Dk. V, vii, 2; IX, ix, 1. According to Bd. xxviii, 11, Taprēw 'mingles poison with plants and creatures', and Zairič is 'the maker of poisons'; but in DD xxxvii, 52, the latter 'poisons eatables and produces causes of death,' his companion not being mentioned. Ultimately they will be conquered by Horvadaŋ and Amerōdaŋ respectively (Bd. xxx, 29).

The name Taurva is etymologically cognate with Sanskrit *turv-*, 'to overcome', *tūrvi-*, 'superior';<sup>3</sup> and Zairik with Sanskrit *hāri-*, 'bay, tawney, yellowish, greenish',<sup>4</sup> its choice

<sup>1</sup> W. E. Clark, 'The Alleged Indo-Iranian Names in Cuneiform Inscriptions', in *AJSL* xxxiii (1917), 261-82 (in the present connexion especially pp. 279-80). For the Vedic Násatyas see Macdonell, *Mythology*, p. 49; Keith, *Religion*, p. 114 (Geldner [Pischel-Geldner, *Studien*, iii, 72] was scarcely correct in holding that one Asvin was named Násatya and the other Dasra).

<sup>2</sup> The present writer believes that the earliest Iranian mode of disposal of the dead was by burial.

<sup>3</sup> Cf., further, Persson, *Beiträge*, p. 777.

<sup>4</sup> For further cognates see Boisacq, *Dictionnaire*, pp. 1063-4, 1065-6; Walde, *Wörterbuch*, pp. 279, 299, 362; and note especially Old Church Slavonic *zličī, žjčī*, 'gall' (Meillet, *Slave*, p. 263).

perhaps being influenced by the epithets *zairi-gaona-* ('gold-coloured') and *zāiri-* ('golden') applied to Haoma (cf. *hāri-* as an epithet of Soma in RV IX, iii, 9; v, 4; lvii, 2; etc.).

As opponents of Haurvatāt (Water) and Ameretāt (Haoma) respectively Taurva may have been a drought-god corresponding to the Vedic Śuṣṇa;<sup>1</sup> while Zairik was probably a deity of poisonous plants.

## CHAPTER II.

### THE MAJOR DEMONS.

#### *Section A.*

#### AĒŠMĀ.

In the Gāthās the evil are said to go over to Aēšma ('Fury, Wrath'; Ys. xxx, 6), and the wicked increase him with their tongues (xlviii, 11); but he must be stayed (xlviii, 7), and the righteous crush him (xlviii, 11). He is especially the foe of cattle, whom the wicked deliver up to him (xliv, 20), and whom he oppresses (xxi, 1), so that the kine pray for him to be thrust back (xxix, 2).

According to the Younger Avesta Aēšma accompanies those who are influenced by any intoxicant except Haoma (Ys. x, 8; Yt. xvii, 5), and together with Aka Mainyu, Aži Dahāka, and Spityura he is a messenger of Aṇra Mainyu, being the demonic antithesis of Aša (Yt. xix, 46). Against him the pious invoke the aid of Sraoša, who conquers him (Ys. lvii, 10, 25); and he is also overcome by Miθra (Yt. x, 97; xi, 15). He is associated with Aṇra Mainyu (Ys. lvii, 32); with Aṇra Mainyu and Būš-yastā (Yt. x, 97); with Akataš (Vd. x, 13); and with Nasu and a number of minor fiends (Vd. xi, 9).

In the Pahlavi texts Aēšm receives seven powers, annihilated by Hōšāng (Dk. VII, i, 18), to destroy creatures, laying the foundation for the entrance of Mithōxt and Arašk, and 'mostly contriving all evil for the creatures of Aūharmazd' (Bd. xxviii, 15-17; cf. § 20). He has a progeny of demons with dishevelled hair (BYt. i, 5; ii, 36), and has been commissioned by Ahriman to 'occasion trouble by contests, and cause an increase of slaughter' (DD xxxvii, 52), making even the demons fight with each other if he cannot sow discord among men (ib. § 104). He is one

<sup>1</sup> Macdonell, *Mythology*, pp. 160-1. For the two Iranian demons see also Darmesteter, *Haurvatāt*, pp. 33-4.

of the opponents of the soul at the Činvaṭ Bridge (MX. ii, 115-6), but is himself incorporeate (ib. xxvii, 37). He led Kāi Ūs into evil (Dk. IX, xxii, 5-6) and raised up Alexander the Great (ib. VII, vii, 7), besides causing men to act like thieves and bandits (ib. III, cviii, 4), as well as dispelling intelligence (ib. III, cxvi, 3). Once each night he comes to the material world (SIS xiii, 43); and his chief antagonist is Srōš, who will conquer him at the Last Day (Bd. xxx, 29; MX viii, 14), though the Pahlavī gloss on Vd. xix, 43, makes him the foe of Vohūman.

Aēšma has as his exclusive Avestan descriptives *xrvidru-* (‘possessing a sanguinary mace’) and *pəšō-tanu-* (‘possessing a damned body’); and he shares with Aṇra Mainyu the epithets *dušx’arenah-* (‘possessing an evil glory’) and *duzdā-* (‘evil-thinking’).

His name appears in Pahlavi and Modern Persian as *xīšm*, *xašm*, ‘wrath’, and finds cognates in Greek *οἶστρος*, ‘mad desire, frenzy’, Lithuanian *aistra*, ‘passion, ardour, eagerness’, Latin *irā*, ‘wrath’<sup>1</sup>. ‘Aēšma has frequently been identified with the *Ἀσμοδαῖος* of the Book of Tobit and the 𐬀𐬎𐬌𐬎𐬎𐬀 of the Talmud and Midrāšim,<sup>2</sup> but the characters of the two are so dissimilar<sup>3</sup> that it seems more prudent to refrain from assuming that they are the same, especially as 𐬀𐬎𐬌𐬎𐬎𐬀 may be derived from Hebrew אָפֹסֵד ‘to apostatise’.<sup>4</sup> Moulton believed<sup>5</sup> that Aēšma might have been ‘a personification due to Zarathushtra himself’, though he might also be regarded as the Iranian

<sup>1</sup> Boisacq, *Dictionnaire*, p. 693; Walde, *Wörterbuch*, pp. 392-3; Muller, *Wörterbuch*, p. 162; Walde-Pokorny, *Wörterbuch*, i, 106-7.

<sup>2</sup> Windischmann, *Studien*, pp. 138-47; A. Kohut, *Ueber die jüdische Angelologie und Daemonologie in ihrer Abhängigkeit vom Parsismus*, Leipzig, 1866, pp. 72-84; Tiele, *Religion*, ii, 285; Jackson, *Zoroastrianism*, pp. 75, 89-91; Reichelt, *Reader*, p. 114; W. von Baudissin, in *PRE* ii, 142-3; Moulton, *EZ* pp. 250-2; Pettazzoni, *Religione*, pp. 105, 106.

<sup>3</sup> See especially L. Ginzberg, in *JE* ii, 217-20.

<sup>4</sup> Scheftelowitz, *Judentum*, p. 61, and the references there given.

<sup>5</sup> *EZ* p. 130.

counterpart of the Vedic Manyu, 'Wrath, a personification suggested chiefly by the fierce anger of Indra',<sup>1</sup> Darmesteter<sup>2</sup> regarded him as a storm-demon. On the other hand, his opposition to the light-deities Sraoša and Miθra, as well as to the fire-god Aša, his nightly visit to earth, and his association with those who have drunk too deeply of aught save Haoma may imply that originally he was a divinity of nocturnal revelry, possibly of sacrifices made by night to Miθra under Haoma's inspiration.<sup>3</sup> The name Aēšma may itself have been the final member of a cultic epithet anciently applied to Haoma just as *āpāntamanyu-* ('possessing Manyu when drunk') is used of Soma in RV X, lxxxix, 5, especially as injudicious indulgence might lead to anger and other disorders which Aēšma was believed to cause.

### Section B.

#### AŽI DAHĀKA.

Aži Dahāka ('? Serpent'), though discussed by several scholars,<sup>4</sup> remains one of the most obscure beings in the Iranian pandemonium. He has three heads, three mouths, six eyes, and a thousand faculties; and he is by far the mightiest Druj created by Aŋra Mainyu to destroy the world of Aša (Ys. ix, 8; Yt. v, 34; xiv, 40; xv, 24). He had two wives, Saŋhvak and Arenavak (Yt. v, 34; xv, 24), Yima's sisters, whom he stole and retained until Ɔraētaona set them free (Pahlavi VYt., fragment tr. E. W. West, in *GirP* ii, 86; ŠN pp. 35: 5-7; 53: 4 sqq.).<sup>5</sup> In vain he offered sacrifice at Bawri (Babylon) to 'Arədvī' that he might depopulate the world (Yt. v, 29-31), as he did at Kvirinta (Karind)<sup>6</sup> to Vayu (Yt. xv, 19-21); but Ɔraētaona, after offerings to these same deities, overcame him at his own birthplace in Varəna (Ys. ix, 8; Yt. v, 33-5; xiv, 40; xv, 23-5; xix, 36-7, 92; Vd. i, 17). Together with Aka Manah, Aēšma, and Spityura he was an envoy of Aŋra Mainyu, and the bitter foe of Ātar (Yt. xix, 46-50).

<sup>1</sup> Macdonell *Mythology*, p. 119; cf. Keith, *Religion*, p. 210.

<sup>2</sup> *Ormazd*, pp. 128, 220.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. Moulton, *EZ* pp. 72, 129; Bartholomae, *Gatha's*, p. 33.

<sup>4</sup> Windischmann, *Studien*, pp. 29-31, 33-43; Spiegel, *Periode*, pp. 257-71; Jackson, *Zoroastrianism*, pp. 101-2.

<sup>5</sup> See also Darmesteter, *Etudes*, ii, 213-6; Justi, *Namenbuch*, pp. 89, 293.

<sup>6</sup> Bartholomae, *AirWb.* col. 476. Reichelt, *Reader*, p. 103, thinks that the localisation at Babylon shows Babylonian influence on the myth.



In the Pahlavi texts *Azdahāk*, or *Bēvarāsp* ('Possessing Ten Thousand Horses'),<sup>1</sup> is captured by *Faridūn* and confined in *Damāvand*, where he will be slain by *Sām* (Bd. xxix, 8-9; BYt. iii, 55-61; cf. also Bd. xii, 31; DD xxxvi, 3; xxxvii, 97; lxxv, 5; MX xxvii, 38-9; Dk. VII, i, 32; x, 10; IX, xxi, 1-21; SIs xx, 18), a legend which finds counterparts in the Caucasian story of *Aniran* as well as in the binding of the Norse *Loki*,<sup>2</sup> and which, if the present writer is not mistaken, underlies at least part of the plot of the *Prometheus Vincitus*.

*Yim's* *X'arənah* saved the *Frōbak* Fire from *Azdahāk* (Bd. xvii, 5), but the demon aided *Spītūr* to saw *Yim* asunder (ib. xxxi, 5). He was associated with *Babylon* (Dk. VII, iv, 72), and besought favours at the *Spēd* river in *Ātarōpātākān* (Bd. xx, 23). He will not exist after the renovation of the world (DD xxxvii, 121); and if the sword of *Frētūn* had cut him, he would have filled the earth with serpents, toads and other noxious creatures (Dk. IX, xxix, 10), just as when *Indra* slew *Viśvarūpa*, birds came forth from each of the severed heads (*Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa*, I, vi, 33<sup>3-5</sup>; MBh V, ix, 39-42). He commits countless horrible sins, swallows up one-third of the creatures of *Aūharmazd*, smites water, fire, and vegetation (BYt. iii, 57), promotes witchcraft, tyranny, and ignorance (DD lxxii, 3), and practises incest with his mother during the life time and without the consent of his father (ib. lxxviii, 2). As in later Perso-Arabic literature, he is an earthly king (Bd. xxiii, 2; BYt. ii, 62; iii, 34; MX viii, 29; xxvii, 34-5; Dk. VIII, xiii, 8), reigning a thousand years (Bd. xxxi, 7; MX lvii, 24-5), and boasting a long lineage (Bd. xxxi, 6).

In the Manichaean fragments *Azdaḥāg* is occasionally mentioned, two being named in one passage;<sup>3</sup> and he appears as *Biurasp Azdahak* in Armenian literature, where he is identified with *Astyages*,<sup>4</sup> though *al-Birūnī*<sup>5</sup> identifies him with *Arbaces*. The word survives in Modern Persian as *azdahā*, 'dragon'.

<sup>1</sup> Justī, *Namenbuch*, pp. 60-1.

<sup>2</sup> W. Miller, 'Kavkazskiya predaniya o Velikanachū, Prikovannychū kū Goramū', in *Zurnalū Ministerstva Narodnago Prosvyēshcheniya*, CCXXV (1883), ii, 100-16, summarised as 'Promethische Sagen im Kaukasus', in *Russische Revue*, xxiii (1883), 193-208; A. Olrik, *Om Ragnarök*, ii (Copenhagen, 1914), 3-140 (for the Iranian, Armenian, and Caucasian versions pp. 3-90; for *Prometheus* pp. 107-21; for *Loki* pp. 121-7).

<sup>3</sup> Müller, *Handschriften-Reste*, pp. 19, 37; Le Coq, *Manichaica*, iii, 30.

<sup>4</sup> Eusebius, *Chronicon*, ed. J. B. Aucher, Venice, 1818, i, 101, 102; ii, 190, 196; Hübschmann, *Grammatik*, i, 32-3; Justī, *Namenbuch*, pp. 47-8.

<sup>5</sup> *Chronology of Ancient Nations*, tr. E. Sachau, London, 1879, p. 100.

The term *āzi-* means 'serpent', but the connotation of the epithet *dahāka-* is obscure. It is scarcely Avestan, for in that case it should have the form *\*dahhāka-*. As it stands it is clearly a foreign word derived from a noun *\*dahā-*<sup>1</sup> and is probably connected with *dahaka-*, the designation of a class of demonic beings in Ys. xi, 6. From the association of Dahāka with Babylon and Karind (the latter in the ancient Kassite region, now Kurdistan) it is possible that the name, if of Indo-European origin,<sup>2</sup> was borrowed from Old Persian or some other non-Avestan Iranian dialect, and that it is cognate with Sanskrit *dās-*, 'to suffer want, waste away, languish', Sanskrit *dāsā-*, 'foe, demon, infidel', and Modern Persian *dah*, 'annoyance, trouble, imprecations',<sup>3</sup> so that *Azi Dahāka* would mean 'Injurious Serpent' or the like.

It is equally possible, however, that the term may be cognate with the Avestan *Dāhha-* (Yt. xiii, 144), the Dahae, Δάοι, Δάαι, of classical authors, a Turanian (i.e. nomadic Iranian)<sup>4</sup> people living east of the Caspian and just north of Hyrcania, their land perhaps being called *\*Dahā* ('Country'; cf. Avestan *dahyu-*, 'country', Modern Persian *dih*, 'village', Sanskrit *dāsā-*, 'slave, servant')<sup>5</sup>.

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Brugmann, *Grundriss*, II, i, 498-501.

<sup>2</sup> In the Islāmic period it was arabicised as *Dahhāk* ('Scoffer'), being connected by popular etymology with Arabic *dahika*, 'to laugh'.

<sup>3</sup> F. Steingass, *Persian-English Dictionary*, London, n. d., p. 547; for the phonology cf. Hübschmann, *Studien*, p. 214. An Old Persian *\*dahā-* might also be connected with Sanskrit *jas-*, 'to fail', Avestan *zah-*, 'to abandon' (cf. further, Boisacq, *Dictionnaire*, p. 856; Feist, *Wörterbuch*, pp. 292-3; Berneker, *Wörterbuch*, i, 295). For *dāsā-* see especially Macdonell-Keith, *Index*, i, 356-8.

<sup>4</sup> Cf. Bartholomae, *AirWb.* col. 656; Marquart, *Erānšahr*, pp. 155-7; S. Feist, *Kultur, Ausbreitung und Herkunft der Indogermanen*, Berlin, 1913, pp. 405-6, 425, 471.

<sup>5</sup> Cf. H. Zimmer, *Altindisches Leben*, Berlin, 1879, p. 110; Geiger, *OK* pp. 200-2; Hillebrandt, *Mythologie*, ii, 268-77; Macdonell-Keith *Index*, i, 356-8; Keith, *Religion*, p. 234; Horn, *Etymologie*, no. 588; Hübschmann, *Studien*, pp. 64-5; W. Tomaschek, in *PW* iv, 1945-6. Dahae also lived north of Yezd in the time of Cyrus (J. von Prásek, *Geschichte der Meder und Perser*, Gotha, 1906-10, i, 201). Sanskrit *dāsā-*, 'foe, demon, infidel', and *dāsā-*, 'slave, servant', are perhaps homonyms.

Darmesteter<sup>1</sup> and Carnoy<sup>2</sup> interpret Aži Dahāka as a storm-demon. In this connexion it should be noted that in the Rig Veda (X, xcix, 9) the three-headed, six-eyed Dāsa is slain by Trita or by Indra; and that this Dāsa is either Viśvarūpa ('All-Form'), the son of Tvaṣṭṛ (Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa I, vi, 31; cf. RV II, xi, 19; X, viii, 8), or is identified with Vṛtra (Sāyaṇa on RV X, xcix, 9), the Mahābhārata (V, ix, 3, 48; XII, cccxliii, 28, 41) declaring that both Viśvarūpa and Vṛtra are sons of Tvaṣṭṛ or that Vṛtra rises from the body of the slain Viśvarūpa<sup>3</sup>. In any event the parallelism between Aži Dahāka and Dāsa is remarkably close.

On the whole, the present writer inclines to believe that Dahāka means 'Dahian, relating to the Dahae'. If this be so, there may be a kernel of fact in the Pahlavi and Persian tradition that Aži Dahāka was an earthly and human tyrant, a foreigner who endeavoured to invade Irān.<sup>4</sup> He seems to have been the personification of the Dahae, who may have made at least three forays (whence his epithet 'triple-headed'), the first with some success, since Yima's sisters were carried off as important captives; the second defeated by adherents of the fire-cult (the repulse by Ātar); and the third definitely stopped at a river, probably the Atrak (the final overthrow by Θraētaona).<sup>5</sup> It is also noteworthy that the ultimate victory was won in or near Varəna (Yt. v, 33; xv, 23; Vd. i, 17), which seems best identified with the modern Māzandarān or, still more probably, with Gilān,<sup>6</sup> and which would then be just south of the territory of the Dahae. The ascription of demoniacal powers to a hated neighbour is by no means an unnatural turn of thought and is paralleled by the Samogitian designation of the devil as a German.<sup>7</sup>

On another Aži, described as 'horned, horse-devouring, man-devouring, venomous, yellow, poison-spitting, horrible', over whom 'yellow poison flowed a cubit deep', Kərəsāspa, evidently ignorant that it was a sentient being, sought to cook his

<sup>1</sup> *Ormazd*, pp. 69, 102-7, 127, 217, 224, 228; id. *ZA* i, 86, note 20.

<sup>2</sup> *Mythology*, pp. 265-6.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. Macdonell, *Mythology*, p. 160; Keith, *Religion*, p. 235.

<sup>4</sup> Cf. especially the account given by Firdausī (*ŠN* pp. 28 sqq.).

<sup>5</sup> For Θraētaona as a water-god see above, pp. 161-2.

<sup>6</sup> Cf. L. H. Gray, in *ERE* viii, 507, and the views there summarised. Ptolemy (VI, ii, 8) mentions a *Oṽαπρς* in the interior of Media and (VI, xi, 6) the *Oṽαπροι* as a Bactrian people.

<sup>7</sup> C. Jurkschat, *Litauische Märchen und Erzählungen*, Heidelberg, 1898, p. 51.

midday meal. Feeling the fire, the serpent started violently and severely frightened the hero, though he finally slew it (Ys. ix, 11; Yt. xix, 40; cf. Aog. 78; Dk. VII, i, 32; IX, xv, 2; MX xxvii, 50; SD ix, 5; Pahlavi Rivāyat, tr. E. W. West, in *SBE* xviii, 374). Haoma's aid was invoked against it (Ys. ix, 30), and it was notorious for highway robbery, witchcraft, and violence (Dk. VII, ii, 4; VIII, xxxv, 13; IX, x, 3). It is very possible that this serpent reappears as the Aži Višūpa of Nīr. 48 (cf. the Syriac loan-word *vəšap*), which, under a North Iranian form \**vəšapa-* from \**veišapa-*, was borrowed by the Armenians as Višap, 'Dragon', of whom many tales are told.<sup>1</sup>

The Šāh-Nāmah<sup>2</sup> localises the place where this monster was killed at the river Kašaf (the modern Kašaf or Mašhad Rūd), and it may be suggested that the legend had its origin in the configuration of some of the hills which border the stream and which were supposed to be the petrified dragon.<sup>3</sup> The tradition, which at first glance would appear to be a version of the 'Island-Fish' cycle,<sup>4</sup> seems from the scanty data at disposal to be distinctly inland in source.

### Section C.

#### DRUJ.

The title of Druj ('Lie') is given to demons in general (Yt. ii, 11; cf. Ys. lxi, 5; Yt. i, 28; xiii, 71) and is also applied to Aži Dahāka (Ys. ix, 8; Yt. v, 34), Nasu (Vd. vii, 1-3; viii, 41 sqq.), and perhaps to Būti (Vd. xix, 1-3) and Aṇra Mainyu (Vd. xix, 12). In the Gāthās the Druj is the special foe of Aša (Ys. xxx, 8; xxxi, 1; xxxii, 12; xlv, 14; xlviii, 1; cf. xlv, 13), but is overcome by the increase of Xšaēra (Ys. xxxi, 4; cf. Vd. xx, 8). The demon seeks to destroy all goodness (Ys. xxx, 10; xlix, 3),

<sup>1</sup> F. Benveniste, 'L'Origine du višap arménien', in *REA* viii (1927), 7-9; cf. Hübschmann, *Grammatik*, i, 247. For the Armenian Višap see M. Ananikian, in *FRE* i, 799-800, and *Mythology*, pp. 76-82; Abeghian, *Volkesglaube*, pp. 78-83.

<sup>2</sup> pp. 194 : 18-196 : 12; cf. the legend of the two dragons (one at Tūs) killed by Sām (ib. p. 1668 : 4-12).

<sup>3</sup> Cf. Geiger, *OK* pp. 118-20; for petrification in folk-tales see J. A. MacCulloch, *The Childhood of Fiction*, London, 1905, p. 156, note 2.

<sup>4</sup> Cf. J. Runeberg, 'Le Conte de l'Ile-poisson', in *Mémoires de la société néo-philologique à Helsingfors*, iii (1902), 345-94; Cornelia C. Coulter, 'The "Great Fish" in Ancient Story'; in *Transactions of the American Philological Association*, lvii (1926), 32-50.

has a special community (xxxiii, 4 ; xlv, 6 ; liii, 6) as well as a special creation (li, 10), and is associated with Pairimatī (xxxii, 3), while the 'house of the Druj' is a synonym for hell (xlv, 11 ; xlix, 11 ; li, 14).

In the Younger Avesta the Druj, who dwells in the north (Yt. iii, 17 ; Vd. viii, 21), seeks to destroy life (Ys. lvii, 15) and the creation of Aša (Yt. iii, 17 ; xix, 12 ; Vd. viii, 21 ; xviii, 55), being an enemy both of Aša (Yt. x, 86) and of Zaratuštra (Vd. xix, 46). The demon is, however, conquered by Aša (Yt. x, 86 ; xix, 12, 95) ; by Sraoša (Ys. lvii, 15), who holds a long colloquy with the fiend (Vd. xviii, 30-59), whom the Pahlavi version here identifies with Uda, though others preferred identification with Xašm (Aēšma) or Ahriman ; by Spəntō-đāta, son of Vištāspa (VYt. 25) ; by Mašra Spənta (Yt. iv, 5) ; and by the Saošyant Astvač-ərəta (Yt. xiii, 129 ; xix, 93). Kept at a distance by Həm-varəti (Yt. xi, 2) and by Sraoša (Yt. xi, 3), the Druj is weakened if wood is brought even once to the sacred fire or by a single spreading of the *barsom* (P 24) ; but were it not for the Fravašis, the demon would be victorious and would destroy the material world (Yt. xiii, 12). The kine of the pious are driven away to the Druj's abode, which has its exit at the 'Neck of Arəzūra'<sup>1</sup> (Vd. iii, 7), but are restored by Mišra (Yt. x, 86). Aṛra Mainyu sides with this fiend (Yt. xiii, 13), with whom he is apparently identified (Yt. xi, 14 ; cf. Vd. xix, 12) ; and the demon is not only found by him who offers corpse-defiled water as a libation (Vd. vii, 78-9), but is impregnated by various sorts of wicked men (Vd. xviii, 31-2, 34-5, 40-1, 46-7). The fiend is once termed Draoga and is associated with Nasu (Vd. xix, 46).

In the Pahlavi texts *drūj* is used in the sense of 'a demoness, a she-devil ; usually the personification of an evil habit, or be-setting sin' ;<sup>2</sup> and Drūjaskān (cf. the Drujas-kanā- of Vd. xix, 41), the name of the lowest part of hell (DD xxxiii, 4), is once (Bd. xxxi, 6) said to be a son of Ahriman. The Pahlavi version of the Avesta occasionally identifies the Druj with Ahriman (Ys. xxx, 10) or with Indra (Ys. xlviii, 1).

The demon has as exclusive Avestan epithets *aka-* ('evil'), *ašaōjah-* ('very strong'), *ahūm-mərənč-* ('life-destroying'),

<sup>1</sup> See below, pp. 200-; and for Druj in general see Dhalla, *Theology*, pp. 50-2, 59, 164-6, 262-4.

<sup>2</sup> E. W. West and M. Haug, *Glossary and Index of the . . . Ardā Viraf*, Bombay, 1874, pp. 262-3.

*tamaṛhaēn-* ('consisting of darkness'), *daēva-* ('demonic') *dušēibra-* ('possessing an evil appearance' [or, 'seed']), and *bizmaṛō-ciōbra-* ('possessing two-legged seed').

In the Old Persian inscriptions of Darius Drauga seems to figure as a maleficent being. Waxing mighty, Drauga causes rebellion (Bh. i, 34; iv, 34), so that the King exhorts his successors to guard against the demon (Bh. iv, 37) and implores Aurmazdā for protection from Hainā, Dušiyāra, and Drauga (Dar. Pers. d, 13-24).<sup>1</sup> The other versions, however, do not personify Drauga, the Babylonian text having *paršātu* ('lies') in line 14 = Old Persian Bh. i, 34, while the Elamitic translation has the collective *tiutkime* ('totality of lies, falsehood')<sup>2</sup> and an Aramaic fragment<sup>3</sup> has כרבים ('liars') corresponding to Bh. iv, 37.

In the Rig Veda Drúh is used either of a single fiend (VII, lix, 8; X, xlviii, 10) or of a class of demons (III, xxxi, 19; cf. VII, lxi, 5) hostile to Indra (I, cxxxiii, 1) and conquered by him (I, cxxi, 4; IV, xxiii, 7; cf. IV, xxviii, 2) or by Brahmanas Pati (II, xxiii, 17) or by Uṣas (VII, lxxv, 1). Agni is once (I, cxxvii, 3) called *druhamtárā-* ('Druh-conquering'), and Śuṣṇa ('Drought') is termed Drúh (VI, xx, 5).<sup>4</sup>

The Avestan *druj-* and *draoga-*, like the Old Persian *drauga-*, appear in Pahlavi as *drōg* and in Modern Persian as *durōg*, 'lie', the group being cognate with Sanskrit *druh-*, 'to hurt, seek to injure', Old High German *triogan*, 'to deceive', Old Icelandic *draugr*, Anglo-Saxon *dreág*, Old Saxon *gi-drōg*, Old High German *gi-trōg*, Old Irish *aurdrach*, 'ghost, phantom'.<sup>5</sup> The primary meaning of the Indo-European base *\*dhreughe-* is 'deceive', as is shown not merely by the Iranian and Teutonic cognates, but also by Latin *jraus*, 'deceit', Sanskrit *dhṛúti-*, 'leading astray', *dhúrta-*, 'fraudulent', etc., so that the Sanskrit connotation of *druh-* seems to be a special development of 'deceive, deceive with injurious consequences, injure' (cf. such Sanskrit compounds as *adrúh-*, 'not injuring, beneficent', *antakadrúh-*, 'death-demon', *garbhabhartṛdruh-*, 'destroying embryo and husband', *purudrúh-*, 'much-injuring', *mitradruh-*, 'friend-injuring, treacherous' [contrast, with another semantic evolution, Avestan *miθrō-drug-*, 'deceiving Miθra']).

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Tolman, *Lexicon*, p. 103.

<sup>2</sup> F. H. Weissbach, *Die Keilinschriften der Achämeniden*, Leipzig, 1911, pp. 14-5.

<sup>3</sup> Cowley, *Papyri*, pp. 253, 259.

<sup>4</sup> Cf. also Spiegel, *Periode*, pp. 215-7.

<sup>5</sup> See further Walde, *Wörterbuch*, pp. 313-4.

The Druj has been interpreted as 'an embodiment of the spirit of evil whose work Ahriman represents',<sup>1</sup> or as Aṛra Mainyu himself.<sup>2</sup> We have already seen that the male demons Aži Dahāka, Aṛra Mainyu, and even Indra are Drujes, whereas Būti (?), Nasu, and the Druj interrogated by Sraoša are female. The Rig Veda likewise knows both male and female Drúhs (I, cxxi, 4; IV, xxviii, 2; VI, xx, 5, as contrasted with I, cxxxiii, 1; III, xxxi, 19; IV, xxiii, 7; X, lxxiii, 2). The Old Persian records, on the other hand, have only the masculine Drauga (cf. Avestan *draōga-*, Sanskrit *drógha-*, 'injury'). The Druj is, as we have also observed, the special foe of Aša and of Sraoša, though the demon can scarcely be identified with their arch-enemies Indra and Aēšma.<sup>3</sup>

It would seem that two chief Drujes must be distinguished; one male (the Old Persian Drauga, the Draoga of Vd. xix, 46; cf. also Yt. xi, 14), and the other female (Ys. li, 10; lvii, 15; Yt. xiii, 129; xix, 95; Vd. xviii, 30-59).

The male Drauga-Draoga-Druj is probably identical with Aṛra Mainyu, as is implied by Yt. xi, 14; Vd. xix, 12; and the Pahlavi gloss on Ys. xxx, 10. The female Druj is apparently his counterpart, i.e., the chief goddess of the underworld and, by a development analogous to that of Aṛra Mainyu,<sup>4</sup> the chief she-devil. As a goddess of the nether realm, and so of darkness, she naturally seeks to destroy the bright creation of Aša-Ātar, but is conquered by him and Sraoša, and is held in check by the Fravašis (the righteous dead). The underworld nature of both Drujes is shown by the term 'home of the Druj(es)' as a synonym for deepest hell (*Drujō dēmāna-*, Ys. xlvi, 11; xlix, 11; *Drujas-kanā-*, Vd. xix, 41; cf. *Drujō vaēsmən-* in Yt. x, 86 [?], and *Drūjaskān* in DD xxxiii, 4). The female Druj would accordingly appear to be the antithesis of Ārmaiti and to find analogues in the Lettish Kapu Māte ('Mother of Graves') and Velu Māte ('Mother of the Dead');<sup>5</sup> the Gaulish Aeracura, consort of Dis Pater<sup>6</sup>; the Roman Acca Larentina, Carna, and

<sup>1</sup> Jackson, *Zoroastrianism* p. 99.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. Moulton, *EZ* pp. 49, 136; id. *Treasure*, p. 69.

<sup>3</sup> See above, pp. 181-2, 185-7.

<sup>4</sup> See above, pp. 177-80.

<sup>5</sup> Usener, *Götternamen*, pp. 107, 108; K. Mühlénbach, *Lettish-deutsches Wörterbuch*, ed. J. Endzelin, Riga, 1923 sqq., ii, 587, 588.

<sup>6</sup> MacCulloch, *Religion*, pp. 37, 44.

Laverna;<sup>1</sup> the Norse Hel;<sup>2</sup> and—in certain aspects—the Greek Persephone.<sup>3</sup>

In view of the Old Irish *aurdrach*, Old Icelandic *draugr*, Anglo-Saxon *dreæg*, Old Saxon *gi-drōg*, Old High German *gi-trōg*, 'phantom', it is possible that *druj-* may have meant not merely 'deceiver', but also 'phantom, ghost', so that the Drujes as a class were primarily the spirits of the malignant dead, opposed by the Fravašis, the souls of the benignant departed.

Throughout the Avesta *drəgvant-*, *drvant-* means 'adherent of the Druj, wicked, fiendish', just as its antithesis *ašavan-* signifies 'adherept of Aša, righteous, holy',<sup>4</sup> an opposition which re-appears in the hostility between the Druj and Aša. If, however, the Druj was the consort of the underworld-god Aṛra Mainyu and the goddess of the nether realm and of darkness, *drəgvant-* may earlier have meant 'adherent of the underworld-deities' (applying thus both to the female Druj and to Drauga-Draoga-Druj-Aṛra Mainyu), particularly as devoted to nocturnal worship,<sup>5</sup> in opposition to *ašavan-*, the votary of the bright fire-cult of Aša-Ātar.<sup>6</sup>

### Section D.

#### PAIRIKĀ.

The Pairikā ('She Who Surroundeth' [?]) is usually described as a mere earthly witch (Yt. x, 26; xiii, 104) associated with the *yātu-* ('sorcerer'; Ys. ix, 18; Yt. i, 6, 10; iii, 5; iv, 3; v, 26; vi, 4; viii, 12, 44; x, 34; xi, 6; xiii, 135; xv, 12; xix, 26, 28-9; Sīr. ii, 13; Vd. viii, 80; xx, 10, 12). She can assume the form of a shooting star and is then conquered by Tištrya (Yt. viii, 8). The term Pairikā is applied to Dužyāirya (Yt. viii, 51, 53-5), Mūš (Ys. xvi, 8; lxviii, 8), and Xnaəaitī (Vd. i, 9; xix, 5). The Sanskrit version of the Avesta usually renders the term by *mahārākṣasi-* ('great demoness'; Ys. ix, 8; Yt. i, 6, 10; vi, 4).

<sup>1</sup> Wissowa, *Religion*, pp. 233-4, 236; W. H. Roscher, in Roscher, i, 4-6; Wissowa, ib. i, 854-5; ii, 1917-8, and in PW i, 131-4; E. Aust, ib. iii, 1597-8; Latte-Fiesel, ib. xii, 998-9.

<sup>2</sup> P. D. Chantepie de la Saussaye, *The Religion of the Teutons*, Boston, 1902, pp. 280-1; E. H. Meyer, *Germanische Mythologie*, Berlin, 1891, p. 172.

<sup>3</sup> Gruppe, *Mythologie*, p. 865, note 1.

<sup>4</sup> For Avestan references see Bartholomae, *AirWb.* coll. 774-7 and 246-53 respectively.

<sup>5</sup> Cf. Moulton, *EZ* pp. 58, 72, 129-30.

<sup>6</sup> See above, pp. 43-4.



The word appears in Pahlavi as *parik*, 'witch', and in Modern Persian as *pari*, 'fairy'; in Armenian the borrowed term *parik* is used to denote a fabulous being dwelling in ruined cities,<sup>1</sup> and Hōšāng numbered Parī in his army together with leopards, lions, wolves, tigers, and birds (SN p. 17: 2-3). Parī, men, and *dēvs* became slaves of Kay Kā'ūs (ib. p. 408: 12). While Bēžan was sleeping under a cypress during a 'Turānian' festival, a Parī flew with him in her arms until she reached the escort of Manēzah, daughter of Afrāsiyāb; invoking Ahri-man, she descended to earth, laid Bēžan in the litter of the princess, pronounced over her a charm which caused her to become enamoured of him, and then bore him, still sleeping, to the palace of Afrāsiyāb (ib. p. 1083: 2-15).

The word seems to have had no especially sinister connotation, for an eminent Parsi theologian was named Parīk (Pahlavi version of Vd. viii, 31, 35; xiii, 48; Nīr. pp. 39<sup>b</sup>, 15, 178<sup>a</sup>. 8), Parizada ('Parī's Daughter') is the heroine of a late tale in the *Arabian Nights*,<sup>2</sup> and Persian literature abounds in such complimentary descriptives as *parirux* ('possessing a cheek like a Parī's'), *parīčihra*, and *parirūy* ('possessing a face like a Parī's'), though one also finds *parīdār* ('magician' [lit. 'Parī-holder']), *parīraft šudan* ('to be convulsed from evil dreams' [lit. 'gone to the Parī'; cf. Yt. xiii, 104]), and *parīgirifta* ('soothsayer' [lit. 'Parī-seized']).

The Pairikā seems to have been a being of the general nature of the Indian Rākṣasī, evil on the whole, yet capable of assuming a beautiful form. Like the Pairikā as a shooting star, the Rakṣas was embodied in a falling meteor (Kauśika Sūtra cxxvi, 9); and as the Pairikā was associated with the *yātu*, the Rakṣas occasionally appears in company with the *yātudhāna* (RV I, xxxv, 10; VII, civ, 16; X, lxxxvii, 9, 25).<sup>3</sup> Geiger, however, explains<sup>4</sup> the Pairikās as originally women of foreign tribes who seduced pious Mazdayasnians from the way of virtue.

<sup>1</sup> Hübschmann, *Grammatik*, i, 228; Eznik, tr. Schmid, pp. 78, 79; a being of this sort is probably meant in the story of the King's son and the ogress in the *Arabian Nights* (dlxxxi-dlxxxii; tr. Payne, v, 273-4).

<sup>2</sup> Tr. Burton, iv, 502 sqq.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. Macdonell, *Mythology*, pp. 162-4; Keith, *Religion*, pp. 237-8. E. W. Hopkins, *Epic Mythology*, Strasbourg, 1915, pp. 38-44.

<sup>4</sup> OK pp. 81-2, 112-3. Darmesteter, *Ormazd*, pp. 173-7, considered her a demonic nymph who robs men and gods of the celestial waters.

The etymology of the word is uncertain,<sup>1</sup> but it may be suggested that *pairikā*-, as the word must be read by the evidence of its Pahlavi and Modern Persian equivalents, is parallel in formation with Sanskrit *ānīka*-, 'face': Greek *ἐνί*, 'in' (cf. Avestan *a'nika*:- Sanskrit *ānīka*:-: written Avestan *pa'rikā*:-: \**parikā*-); Sanskrit *abhīka*-, 'meeting': *abhī*-, 'toward'; *prātika*-, 'surface, aspect': *prāti*-, 'against, toward' (cf. also Sanskrit *apīciā*-, 'secret, hidden': *āpi*-, 'in, near'; *nīca*-, 'low': *nī*-, 'down', Old Church Slav *ničī*-, 'prone');<sup>2</sup> Greek *περί*-, 'round about': *περί*-, 'around'; Latin *antiquos*-, 'ancient': *ante*-, 'before': *posticus*-, 'posterior': *post*-, 'after'.<sup>3</sup> The *Pairikā* would then be originally 'the surrounding one, enchantress', the development of meaning being similar to that of Sanskrit *abhicāra*-, 'enchantment, bewitchment', from *abhi-car*-, 'to go around'. Güntert, on the other hand,<sup>4</sup> regards the *Pairikās* as demonesses of fulness opposed to *Pārendī*,<sup>5</sup> and as originally female genii of fertility, and adds: "Since, as fertility-goddesses, they were naturally incarnations of sensuality and were, accordingly, gifted with all the seductive charms of the feminine body, one can understand how, in Zoroaster's religion, their sexual character makes them appear as servants of the devil who tempts to lust, and can equally comprehend their modern rôle of gentle, charm-decked maidens of the Paradise which is described in such glowing colours'. He connects *pairikā*- with the Indo-European base \**pelē*-, 'to fill', Latin *plēnus*-, 'full', etc.,<sup>6</sup> and also thinks that it may be cognate, in view of the Indo-Iranian confusion of *l* and *r*, with the Roman *Parcae* ('Fates'), who were originally birth-goddesses,<sup>7</sup> Latin *pario*-, 'to bring forth, bear', etc.<sup>8</sup> Thurneysen<sup>9</sup> connects *pairikā*- with Old Irish *airech*-, 'concubine'; Walde-Pokorny,<sup>10</sup> with Greek

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Bartholomae, *ZIW* pp. 189-90; O. Wiedemann, in *BB* xxvii (1907), 26.

<sup>2</sup> See Brugmann, II, i, 480-2 (for \**peri* ib., II, ii, 865-8; Delbrück, *Syntax*, i, 700-11; for *pairi* in Iranian Bartholomae, *AirWb.* coll. 860-2); A. Thumb, *Handbuch des Sanskrit*, Heidelberg, 1905, pp. 219-20.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. Walde, *Wörterbuch*, pp. 48, 604.

<sup>4</sup> *KZ* xlv (1913), 201-2, and *Reimwortbildungen*, p. 209, note.

<sup>5</sup> See above, pp. 155-6.

<sup>6</sup> For further cognates of this base see Walde-Pokorny, *Wörterbuch*, ii, 63-5.

<sup>7</sup> Wissowa, *Religion*, p. 264.

<sup>8</sup> Cf. Walde, *Wörterbuch*, pp. 561, 562; Muller, *Wörterbuch*, p. 321. Walde-Pokorny, *Wörterbuch*, ii, 41-2.

<sup>9</sup> *IF* xlii (1924), 143.

<sup>10</sup> *Wörterbuch*, ii, 7; for the Greek word see also Boisacq, *Dictionnaire* pp. 743-4.

παλλακίς, 'concubine', πάλλας, 'youth, maiden', παλλάς, a conventional epithet of the goddess Athene. No definite conclusion as yet seems possible.

### CHAPTER III. THE MINOR FIENDS.

THE following demons are merely mentioned with no hint as to their functions, while even their names are of unknown meaning: Būdi, Būdižā, Mūdi (Vd. xi, 9, 12). Būji, Gaši, Haši,<sup>1</sup> Saēnyā, Ustra Vairya, and Urusta (Yt. iv, 2, 3). Allusion is similarly made to classes of fiends (or perhaps only of wicked human beings): Ayəhyā and Kaxuži (Vd. xii, 17), glossed in the Pahlavi version by *anāvētān* ('uncultivated, uninhabited') and *gadman kastār* ('fortune-destroying'); Kaēta (Yt. viii, 5), seemingly reformed from evil ways;<sup>2</sup> and Dahaka, Mūraka, and Varšna (Ys. xi, 6), the antitheses of the Ahurian priests, warriors, and agriculturists, explained in the Pahlavi version as 'destroyers, injurers, and busybodies';<sup>3</sup> and the Kaxvarədas of both sexes (Ys. lxi, 2; lxxii, 2; cf. Yt. iii, 9, 12, 16), perhaps mere human sorcerers and witches.<sup>4</sup>

The minor fiends concerning whom some details are given are, in alphabetical sequence, as follows.

#### 1. AĪRĀŠ.

Aīrāš ('Evil Eye') is 'the malignant-eyed fiend who smites mankind with (his) eye' (Bd. xxviii, 33), his name being derived from the Avestan *aγašay-* ('evil eye': Vd. xx, 3, 7).<sup>5</sup>

#### 2. AKATAŠ.

The demon Akataš ('Creator of Evil') is twice mentioned in the Avesta as associated with Aēšma (Vd. x, 13; xix, 43), his function being 'to make the creatures averse from proper things' (Bd. xxviii, 20; cf. Dk. IX, ix, 1).

<sup>1</sup> Glossed in the Persian version as 'trouble and affliction, the demon of rage', and as 'anger' (*xašm*) respectively (Bartholomae, *AirWb.* coll. 517, 1799).

<sup>2</sup> Cf. Bartholomae, *AirWb.* col. 428.

<sup>3</sup> *ib.* col. 704, 1189, 1380.

<sup>4</sup> Cf. the Armenian loan-word *kaxard* 'wizard' (Bartholomae, *AirWb.* col. 462; Holder, *Sprachschatz*, i, 991).

<sup>5</sup> Bartholomae *AirWb.* col. 98; E. W. West, in *SBE* v, 111, note 4; cf. L. J. Frachtenberg, in *Dastur Hoshang Memorial Volume*, Bombay, 1918, pp. 419-24; for the entire subject see F. T. Elworthy, *The Evil Eye*, London, 1895, and his summary in *ERE* v, 608-15.

## 3. ANĀSTĀPĀNĪH.

The fiend Anāstāpānīh ('Instability'), named (AD 1, 4) in company with Nasrūšt and Ašgahānīh as a Druj hindering the devotions of the righteous at daybreak, is overcome by reciting the Xuršēd Nyāiṣ (Ny. i).

## 4. ANĀXŠTI.

The demoness Anāxšti ('Dissention') is once mentioned (Ys. ix, 5) as conquered by Āxšti. She finds analogues in the Greek Eris<sup>1</sup> and the Lithuanian strife-goddess Zallus.<sup>2</sup>

## 5. AOŠA.

The fiend Aoša ('Destruction' [?]) is said (Vd. xvii, 1-2) to be honoured by permitting hair-combings or nail-parings to fall into hollows in the ground. The Pahlavi gloss, misinterpreting the name, renders it by *gōbišnō* ('speech'). In reality it seems to be cognate with Sanskrit *śa-*, 'burning', Pahlavi and Modern Persian *hōš*, 'destruction, ruin, perdition, death';<sup>3</sup> and its bearer appears to have been the deity presiding over combings of hair and clippings of nails, whose importance in religion is wide-spread.<sup>4</sup>

## 6. APAOŠA.

In the form of a hideous, mangy black horse the demon Apaoša ('Parching Away') fights Tištrya for three days near Lake Vouru-kaša, his temporary victory endangering waters, plants, and Daēnā, his defeat saving them (Yt. viii, 21-9; cf. Bd. vii, 8-10; ZS vi, 9-11; DD xciii, 11, 13). He is also conquered by Tištrya, Vāta, and X<sup>v</sup>arenah (Yt. xviii, 2, 6). In the Pahlavi texts Apāčš is aided by Aspenjargūk in the battle waged against the rain sent by Tištar (Bd. vii, 12: xxviii, 39; ZS ix, 13; Dk. III, cxii, 5). The name is etymologically connected with Greek ἀφεύω, 'to singe off',<sup>5</sup> and the demon seems to be the one who presides over the scorching heat of summer.<sup>6</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Gruppe, *Mythologie*, p. 1083; W. Deecke, in Roscher, i, 1337-9; Waser in PW vi, 463-6.

<sup>2</sup> Usener, *Götternamen*, p. 104.

<sup>3</sup> Bartholomae, *AirWb.* col. 43.

<sup>4</sup> Cf. E. E. Sikes and L. H. Gray, 'Hair and Nails', in *ERE* vi, 474-7. Reichelt, *Reader*, p. 153, regards him as the demon of death by fire.

<sup>5</sup> Bartholomae, *AirWb.* col. 72.

<sup>6</sup> Bartholomae, *AirWb.* col. 72; cf. Reichelt, *Reader*, p. 120. J. Wackernagel, in *Aufsätze zur Kultur- und Sprachgeschichte*, Ernst Kuhn... gewidmet, Breslau, 1916, pp. 158-9, reconstructs the name as \*Axp (a\*) vurt. ('Water-Restrainer').

## 7. ARĀITI.

Arāiti ( 'Avarice' ) is once mentioned (Ys. lx, 5) as conquered by Rāiti, who may be identical with Rātā, the deity of bounteousness.<sup>1</sup> The demon is the Iranian analogue of the Vedic Arātis (RV II, xxxviii, 9; III, xviii, 1; xxiv, 1; IV, xxvi, 7; xxvii, 2; V, ii, 6; VII, i, 7; VIII, ix, 1; lx, 4; IX, xcvii, 10; AV I, xviii, 1; XII, ii, 45; XIV, ii, 19), and especially of the Arāti to whom AV V, vii, is addressed.<sup>2</sup>

## 8. ARAŠK.

The demon Arašk. ( 'Envy' ) is described (Bd. xxviii, 14) as 'the spiteful fiend of the evil eye' and is associated with Mitōxt and Aēšm (ib. § 16). He sought to teach mankind Zarvanism and to corrupt Zoroaster's orthodoxy, being 'the most deceitful of demons' (Dk. IX, xxx, 4-5; xxxi, 6-10). His name occurs as a common noun, *araska-*, in Ys. ix, 5,<sup>3</sup> and he finds an analogue in the Greek Phthonos.<sup>4</sup>

## 9. ARĀST.

The fiend Arāst ( 'Untruth' ) is once mentioned (Bd. xxviii, 32) as 'he who speaks falsehood'.

## [10. ARĀZŪRA.

From this demon, whose name is quite uncertain in meaning, a mountain received the appellation of 'Head (or, 'Neck') of Arēzūra' (Vd. iii, 7; xix, 44, 45), 'a summit at the gate of hell where they always hold the concourse of the demons' (Bd. xii, 8; cf. SIS xiii, 19; DD xxxiii, 5).<sup>5</sup> The fiend was slain by Gāyōmarš (MX xxvii, 14), whence Darmesteter<sup>6</sup> identifies him with al-Bīrūnī's Xrūra, a son of Ahriman who met this same fate<sup>7</sup>. His name may possibly be connected with Avestan *arāza-*, 'battle', or (much more plausibly) with *arāza-* 'straight' (i.e. precipitous). In any case his mountain finds a parallel in the German Brocken and is probably to be identified

<sup>1</sup> See above, p. 158.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. Macdonell, *Mythology*, p. 164; Keith, *Religion*, pp. 211, 239.

<sup>3</sup> For the etymology see Bartholomae, *AirWb.* coll. 187, 206; Gūntert; *Reimwortbildungen*, p. 83.

<sup>4</sup> Cf. Gruppe, *Mythologie*, pp. 1068, note 1; 1074, note 4; O. Höfer, in Roscher, iii, 2473-5.

<sup>5</sup> Cf. Windischmann, *Studien*, pp. 5-6.

<sup>6</sup> ZA i, 334, note 31; ii, 35, note 11.

<sup>7</sup> *Chronology of Ancient Nations*, tr. E. Sachau, London, 1879, p. 108.

with Dəməvānd, where Aži Dahāka lies bound (Bd. xii, 31; xxix, 9).<sup>1</sup> As a volcano-god Arevūra finds a divine antithesis in Ušidarəna and other holy hills.<sup>2</sup>

### 11. AŠGAHĀNIH.

The fiend Ašgahānih ('Slothfulness'), mentioned (AD 1, 3) in company with Nasrūšt and Anāstāpānih as a Druj hindering the devotions of the righteous at day-break, is overcome by reciting the Ātaš Nyāiš (Ny. v).

### 12. ASRUŠTI.

The demoness Asrušti ('Disobedience') is mentioned only twice in the Avesta, once in a Gāšic passage (Ys. xxxiii, 4) which speaks of her together with Aka Manah, and again in Ys. ix, 5, where she is conquered by Sraoša.

### 13. ASTŌ-VĪΔĀTU.

Protection from Astō-vīđātu ('Body-Dissolution') and Aēšma is besought from Sraoša (Ys. lvii, 25) or from Miθra (Yt. x, 93); and Astō-vīđātu, together with Vaya, destroys life (Vd. v, 8-9), this being, indeed, the reason for his creation, so that none can escape him (Aog. 57-73; cf. Bd. xxviii, 35; Dk. IX, xii, 17; xvi, 1-2). Ahriman sent him to cast the fatal noose on Gāyōmarš (Bd. iii, 21-2; ZS iv, 4; cf. DD xxxvii, 108; Dk. III, ccclix, 3; PVM 141), and he is associated with many other fiends (DD xxxvii, 44, 51-2; cf. 106). He is the chief of the Māzainyan demons (DD xxxvii, 81) and is identified with Vāi the Bad (Bd. xviii, 35; Gd. Bd. pp. 47: 15-48: 1;<sup>3</sup> but cf. also Vd. v, 8-9; DD xxxvii, 52). He is one of the evil assessors at the judgement of the soul (MX ii, 115, 117, 153) and separates life from the body (Dk. V, xix, 1).

Astō-vīđātu seems to be the deity of the death agony, his noose finding an Indian analogue in the noose of Yama as a death-god (MBh. III, ccxcvi, 9, 13, 17-9, 55), though he is more closely parallel with the Greek Thanatos, the Roman Mors,

<sup>1</sup> Geiger, *OK* pp. 130-1; Justi, *Geographie*, ii, 3; and especially J. J. Modi, 'Mount Arevūra of the Avesta, a Volcanic Mountain', in *Spiegel Memorial Volume*, Bombay, 1908, pp. 188-96. Jackson, *PPP* p. 124, suggests identification with Mount Zindan. Cf. above, p. 188

<sup>2</sup> See above, pp. 165-6

<sup>3</sup> Tr. E. Blochet, in *RHR* xxxii (1895), 111.

Morta, the Lithuanian Giltiniē,<sup>1</sup> and especially the later Vedic Mṛtyu (AV IV, viii, 1 ; xxxv, 1-6 ; V, xxiv, 13 ; xxviii, 8 ; xxx, 12 ; VI, cxxxiii, 3 ; VII, lxx, 1 ; VIII, i, 17-9, 21 ; x, 23 ; IX, x, 24 ; XII, ii, 21, 23, 29-30 ; iii, 55-60 ; v, 55 ; XVII, i, 29-30 ; XVIII, ii, 27 ; XIX, ix, 10 ; xx, 1).

#### 14. ĀZI.

In the Avesta Āzi ('Greed') appears as a foe of Ātar, perhaps especially at night (Vd. xviii, 19, 21-2), but is overcome by the milk and fat of the sacrifice (Ys. xvi, 8 ; lxviii, 8) or by Xvarenah (Yt. xviii, 1). The Pahlavi texts represent him as the demon of gluttony, covetousness, and greed (Bd. xxviii, 27-8 ; DD xxxvii, 51, 105) who, with Ahriman, will remain after all others have been conquered, only Aūharmazd being able to vanquish them (Bd. xxx, 30). He is associated with Akōman, Varen, Andar (Dk. IX, xxxii, 3), and other fiends (ib. V, vii, 2) ; and he inflicts on the new-born child its second woe, hunger (ib. III, cccclxxiv, 4). He seems to be the 'demon of covetousness' mentioned in Chinese Manichaean documents.<sup>2</sup>

In the historic period Āzi was clearly regarded as the demon of greed<sup>3</sup> ; yet this function scarcely explains his antagonism to Ātar, and his real analogue seems to be the Vedic Rakṣas, nocturnal fiends lusting after women and perilous to children, greedy for human flesh and blood, entering the body of man, foes of the sacrifice, and especially opposed by Agni.<sup>4</sup> It is possible that the name Āzi is an abbreviation of a forgotten compound cultic epithet, 'he who has greed,' the surviving member of the descriptive colouring the later conception of the fiend.

#### 15. BŪŠYASTĀ.

When the cock crows at dawn, the demoness Būšyastā ('What-will-be-ness') seeks to detain all the world in slumber and counsels the righteous not merely to sleep on, but also to desert good

<sup>1</sup> Gruppe, *Mythology*, p. 1070, note 9 ; O. Waser, in Roscher, v. 481-527 ; R. Peter, ib. ii, 3218-20 ; Usener, *Götternamen*, pp. 91, 368.

<sup>2</sup> Chavannes-Pelliot, *Trauite*, pp. 523-5, 533, 556.

<sup>3</sup> G. Haas, 'The Zoroastrian Demon Āz in the Manichaean Fragments from Turfan', in *Indo-Iranian Studies . . . in Honour of Shams-ul-ʿUllema Dastur Darab Peshotan Sanjana*, London, 1925, pp. 193-5.

<sup>4</sup> Bergaigne, *Religion*, ii, 216-7 ; iii, 189-90, 192 ; Macdonell, *Mythology*, pp. 95, 163-4 ; Keith, *Religion*, pp. 237-8. Reichelt, *Reader*, p. 156, regards āzi as the demon of cupidity. The views of Darmesteter, *Ormazd*, pp. 153-4, are based on a faulty etymology.

thoughts, words, and deeds for their direct opposites (Vd. xviii, 15-7, 23-5). She is associated with Aṇra Mainyu, Aēšma, and all spiritual Daēvas (Yt. x, 97, 134; cf. xviii, 2; Vd. xi, 9). In the Pahlavi texts she causes slothfulness (Bd. xxviii, 26; cf. Dk. III, cccxxiv, 5), weakens the breath, and is named in company with many other fiends (DD xxxvii, 44, 51). In Judæo-Persian (e.g. Isa. xxix, 7-8) **בִּישָׁאֵךְ** is used in the sense of 'vision, dream.'<sup>1</sup>

Būšya-stā shares with Aṇra Mainyu the Avestan epithet *mairya-* ('deceitful') and has as her exclusive adjectives *darəyō-gava-* ('long-handed') and *zairina-* ('putting to sleep'). The formation of her name is comparable with the Sanskrit *bhaviṣyattā-*, 'futurity.'<sup>2</sup> Though usually regarded as the demoness of sloth,<sup>3</sup> she seems rather to have been the deity of fatalism in its malign aspect as paralysing human endeavour, the concept being paralleled by such a passage as Hitopadesa i, 29: "What will not be, that will not be: and what will be, (can) not (be) otherwise"—this is a slothful saying of some incapable of performing (their) duty.'

#### 16. BŪTI.

In the Avesta the fiend Būti, who is seemingly termed a Druj, but whose name is of uncertain meaning, is associated without further details with Marsavan (Vd. xix, 1-3), while in the Pahlavi texts besides assailing Zaratūšt (Dk. VII, iv, 37) he is said to be 'he whom they worship among the Hindūs, and his growth is lodged in idols' (Bd. xxviii, 34). The name was connected by Darmesteter<sup>4</sup> with the Sanskrit *Biuddha*, and by West<sup>5</sup> and Horn<sup>6</sup> with Sanskrit *bhūta-*, 'ghost, demon.' Modern Persian *but*, 'idol, darling.' Closer analogues, however, seem to exist in the Sanskrit *bhūti-*, 'existence, welfare,' Greek *φύσις*, 'nature,' Lithuanian *buitis*, 'existence;'<sup>7</sup> and it may be a component of the Old Persian proper name *Boúrης*, and of the Pahlavi Būtīn.<sup>8</sup> The view that Būti was the demon of

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Nöldeke, in *SWAW* cxxvi (1892), I, note 1.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. C. Bartholomæ, in *KZ* xxix (1888), 547.

<sup>3</sup> e.g., Bartholomæ, *AirWb.* col. 970; Reichelt, *Reader*, p. 114; cf. also Darmesteter, *Ormazd*, pp. 180-2.

<sup>4</sup> *ZA* iii, p. xlvi, note 2 (cf. ii, 259, note 4).

<sup>5</sup> In *SBE* v, 111, note 5.

<sup>6</sup> In *GirP* i, b, 80.

<sup>7</sup> Cf. Trautmann, *Wörterbuch*, p. 42.

<sup>8</sup> Justi, *Namenbuch*, p. 74.



idolatry is apparently due to the popular connexion of his name with *bul* as early as the Pahlavi period; but in view of the paucity of evidence it is wisest to confess ignorance as to his true nature. His appellation is perhaps an abbreviation of some compound of which *būti-* was a component.

### 17. ČIŠMAK.

The fiend Čišmak ('[De]ranger' [?]) is described in Bd. xxviii, 24, as causing disaster and raising the whirlwind, and thus he partly destroys the village sheltering the infant, Zaratūšt (Dk. VII, ii, 44-5). Whirlwind demons are known in modern India.<sup>1</sup> The name is perhaps connected with the Avestan *kaēš-*, 'struere,' representing an original \**k(e)-is-mo-go-*.

### 18. DAWI.

The demoness Dawi ('Deceit') is mentioned together with several other fiends in Vd. xix, 43, but without any details, De Harlez<sup>2</sup> and Darmesteter<sup>3</sup>, following the Pahlavi rendering *frēftār* ('deceiver'), consider her the fiend of deceit, whereas Bartholomae<sup>4</sup> views her as the demoness of some illness or infirmity. Her name, however, seems to support the former interpretation (cf. Avestan *dab-*, 'to deceive', Armenian *dav*, 'craft, plot').<sup>5</sup>

### 19. DĒR.

According to SD lxxxi, 14-7, Dēr ('Long'), together with Pas, is entrusted by Ahriman with keeping man from doing his duty, Dēr informing him that 'thou wilt live long, and it is possible to perform this at all times.'

### 20. DRIWI.

The demon Driwi is once mentioned (Vd. xix, 43) together with Būti, Dawi, Kasvīš, Paitiša, and other fiends, but with no indication of her functions, the meaning of her name being equally obscure<sup>6</sup>.

<sup>1</sup> W. Crooke, *Religion and Folk-Lore of Northern India*, Oxford, 1926, pp. 79-80.

<sup>2</sup> *Avesta*, p. cxxviii

<sup>3</sup> *ZA* ii, 275, note 130.

<sup>4</sup> *AirWb.* col. 680.

<sup>5</sup> *ib.*; Hübschmann, *Grammatik*, i, 438.

<sup>6</sup> Cf. de Harlez, *Avesta*, p. cxxviii; Darmesteter, *ZA* ii, 275, note 129; Bartholomae, *ZIW* pp. 176-7; J. Charpentier, in *KZ* xl (1907), 460-2.

## 21. DUŽYĀIRYĀ.

The Pairikā Dužyāiryā ('Relating to a Bad Year'), 'whom ill-speaking men call Huyāiryā' ('Relating to a Good Year'), is conquered by Tištrya (Yt. viii, 51-5) and is apparently equivalent to the Old Persian Dušiyāra (neuter) from whom, as from Hainā and Drauga, Darius entreats Auramazdā to protect Persia (Dar. Pers. d, 18, 19-20). She obviously presides over all that renders a year unprofitable, particularly from the agriculturist's point of view, her name among 'evil-speaking folk' (i.e. nomads) perhaps being due to the fact that a year disastrous to the agriculturist may be advantageous to the nomad.

## 22. FRAZĪŠT.

Together with Astō-vidāt, Vāc, Nizīšt, and Aēsm, the demon Frazīšt ('Very Hideous' [?]), who is called Frehzišt and Phrejišta in the Pāzand and Sanskrit versions respectively, is present when the soul is weighed at the Činvaṭ Bridge; but nothing is said regarding his special functions (MX ii, 15). The name may possibly be connected with the Pāzand and Modern Persian *zišt*, 'hideous, ugly'.

## 23. FRĒFTĀR.

The fiend Frēftār ('Deceiver') is once mentioned (Bd. xxviii, 30) as 'he who seduces mankind.'

## 24. GAĒΘŌ-MARĒŅYA.

The existence of a demon Gaēθō-marēñya ('Creature-Destroying') is inferred by Bartholomae<sup>1</sup> from the patronymic *gaēθō-marēñyāna-* applied to a miser in Yt. xiii, 137. His functions are sufficiently indicated by his name.

## 25. GANDARĒWA.

The demon Gandarēwa, who went about with gaping jaws to destroy the material creation of Aša, was slain by Kərəsāspa on the shore of Vouru-kaša (Yt. v, 38-9; xv, 28; xix, 41; cf. MX xxvii, 49; Dk. IX, xv, 2). According to the Pahlavi Rivāyat preceding the Dāṭistān-i-Dīnik, Gandarēw was the son of Yim by a witch, and this text tells at length the story of the battle in which the monster fell (SBE xviii, 374-6, 419). In the Avesta he is called *zairipāšna-* ('golden-heeled') and *upāpa-* ('sub-aqueous'); but his name had in

<sup>1</sup> *AirWb.* col. 479.

itself no sinister connotation, for a Gandarəwa is mentioned as the father of the righteous Paršinta (Yt. xiii, 123). Aś has long been recognised, Gandarəwa is the Iranian counterpart of the Indian Gandharva, who is likewise associated with water, but the meaning of the appellation has not definitely been determined.<sup>1</sup>

## 26. GŌČĪHAR.

The fiend Gōčihar (‘possessing the Seed of Kine’), who is provided with a tail, is the opponent of Māh, whose epithet *gaočītra-* (‘possessing the seed of the kine’) he seems to have taken as his own name. Falling to earth from a moon-beam at the Last Day, he is burned in the flood of molten metal (Bd. v, 1; xxviii, 44; xxx, 18, 31). As West suggested,<sup>2</sup> he is probably a shooting star or meteor. In the Kausika Sūtra (cxxvi, 9) a meteor is considered an embodiment of a Rakṣas.<sup>3</sup>

## 27. ĴĒH.

Ĵēh (‘Harlot’), the daughter of Ahriman, promised to vex all the good creation and to cause conflict which should distress Aūharmazd and the Amšaspands. When her father kissed her on the head, she began to menstruate and lusted for a man, whereupon he, then being in the shape of a lizard, transformed himself into a youth for her pleasure (Bd. iii, 3-9). She is evidently the menstruation-deity of SLS iii, 29, and was regarded as the demoness of the catamenial period by Bartholomae.<sup>4</sup>

The name Ĵēh is the Middle Persian equivalent of the Avestan *jahī(kā)-*, ‘harlot’, and is probably cognate with the Sanskrit *hasrā-*, ‘harlot’ (found only in RV I, cxxiv, 7).<sup>5</sup> If she really was the menstruation-divinity, she would find an analogue in the Roman Mena.<sup>6</sup> Despite the tabus imposed upon menstruous women (Vd. v, 59; xvi, 1-18), the account of Ĵēh in the Bundahišn, when compared with the evil done by the *jahī(kā)-* according to the Avesta (Vd. xviii, 61-5; cf. SD lxvii, 3-6), seems to imply that she was, rather, the demoness of sexual impurity,<sup>7</sup> but particularly of fornication and adultery.

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Macdonell, *Mythology*, pp. 136-8, and the references there given; Keith, *Religion*, pp. 179-81, 182; R. von Stackelberg, in *IF* iv (1894), 149-51, and *WZKM* xii (1898), 239-40.

<sup>2</sup> *SBE* v, 21, note 3.

<sup>3</sup> Macdonell, *Mythology*, p. 163; Keith, *Religion*, p. 238.

<sup>4</sup> *AirWb.* col. 606; cf. Dhalla, *Theology*, p. 267; Jackson, *Zoroastrianism*, pp. 78, 102-8; otherwise Darmesteter, *Ormazd*, pp. 177-80.

<sup>5</sup> Bartholomae, *AirWb.* col. 606.

<sup>6</sup> Cf. R. Peter, in Roscher, ii, 203-4; Wissowa, *Religion*, p. 185, note 4.

<sup>7</sup> So also Spiegel, *EA* ii, 138; Darmesteter, *ZA* i, 97, note 102.

## 28. KAPASTI.

Seemingly some calamity connected with hostile invasion, together with flood and skin-disease (Yt. viii, 56), Kapasti is mentioned in company with other fiends (Vd. xi, 9, 12), but without any information regarding her functions. The Persian paraphrase translates by *kina* ('hatred'); Spiegel<sup>1</sup> connects the name with Modern Persian *kabast*, 'cucumber, deadly poison'; and Bartholomae<sup>2</sup> very hesitatingly explains it as for *\*ka-pasti-*, comparing Latin *pestis*, 'disease, plague'. No conclusion seems possible so far as present knowledge goes.

## 29. KASVĪŠ.

Plainly a disease-demon (cf. Yt. v, 92; Vd. ii, 29), the demon Kasvīš ('Smallness' [?]) is mentioned, with no characteristics, together with other fiends only in Vd. xix, 43. If his name is connected with Avestan *kasu-*, 'small, little',<sup>3</sup> he may have been the deity presiding over stunted growth.<sup>4</sup>

## 30. KĒRĒSĀNI.

In the Avesta (Ys. ix, 24) Haoma dethrones Kērēsāni ('Hot' [?]), who had striven to expel Zoroastrianism from his realm; and hence he has been regarded as 'a powerful ruler of a foreign land'.<sup>5</sup> On the other hand, he appears to be the Iranian counterpart of the Vedic Kṛśānu, who sends deadly arrows at the Soma-drinker, against whom Indra and Viṣṇu are invoked, and who shoots a feather from the wing of the Soma-bearing eagle (RV I, clv, 2; IV, xxvii, 3-4; IX, lxxvii, 2; cf. also I, cxii, 21; X, lxiv, 8). He was a Gandharva (Taittiriya Āraṇyaka I, ix, 3) and one of the guardians of Soma (Aitareya Brāhmaṇa iii, 26). Hillebrandt<sup>6</sup> inclines to regard Kṛśānu as a sun-god whose beams may be beneficent or maleficent according to the

<sup>1</sup> *Commentar*, i, 290; cf. Darmesteter, *ZA* ii, 182, note 14; de Harlez, *Avesta*, p. 126, note 3.

<sup>2</sup> *AirWb.* col. 436; but cf. Walde, *Wörterbuch*, pp. 579-80; Muller, *Wörterbuch*, p. 334.

<sup>3</sup> For hypotheses see Bartholomae, *AirWb.* col. 461, and *ZIW* p. 158.

<sup>4</sup> Tall stature was desired both for men and for women (cf. Yt. viii, 13; HN ii, 23; Xenophon, *Anabasis*, III, ii, 25; Geiger, *OK* pp. 213-4).

<sup>5</sup> Dhalla, *Theology*, p. 74; cf. de Harlez, *Avesta*, p. 284, note 2; Bartholomae, *AirWb.* col. 470; Darmesteter, *ZA* i, 80-1, 93, note 73, held that he represented Alexander the Great and the Greek invasion.

<sup>6</sup> *Mythologie*, i, 448-9; for further details see Spiegel, *Periode*, pp. 223-4; Justi, *Namenbuch*, p. 161.

season of the year; and support is lent to this interpretation of the name Kṛṣānu. Kṛṣāni is etymologically connected with Lithuanian *kārštas*, Lettish *karsts*, 'hot', Lithuanian *kėrštas*, 'wrath',<sup>1</sup> as formations in *-nu-* and *-ni-* respectively from a noun *\*kṛṣā-*, 'fire'.

### 31. KUNDA.

Sraoša or Ātar is besought to cast into hell the fiend Kunda, who is 'a *bhangī* without *bhang*' (Vd. xix, 41; VYt. 26). He is the steed of wizards (Bd. xxviii, 42) and has a son (ZS xxiii, 8) as well as a female counterpart (Vd. xi, 9, 12). In one version of his cosmogony Mānī is said to have taught that the sky was from the skin, the earth from the flesh, the mountains from the bones, and the trees from the hairs of Kūnī, the commander of Ahriman's army, who was captured and killed by being bound to the (celestial) sphere,<sup>2</sup> and also that 'a disk upon the support of the fiend Kūndag' was the original creation (Dk. III, cc, 8).<sup>3</sup>

Kunda is usually interpreted as the demon of drunkenness;<sup>4</sup> but he seems, rather, to have acted like one intoxicated without having taken intoxicants, so that it would appear that he was in reality the deity of madness, corresponding to the Greek Mania.<sup>5</sup> The etymology of his name is wholly unknown.

### 32. KUNDIŽĀ.

The demoness Kundižā is twice mentioned in association with Kundi (the female counterpart of Kunda) and other evil beings (Vd. xi, 9, 12); but neither her function nor the meaning of her name is known.

### 33. MAHMI.

According to Eznik,<sup>6</sup> the demon Mahmi, whose name has not thus far been found in any Iranian source, and whose etymology is unclear, revealed to Ormizd that he could create the

<sup>1</sup> For further cognates see Boisacq, *Dictionnaire*, p. 436; Walde, *Wörterbuch*, pp. 129-30; Berneker, *Wörterbuch*, i, 607-8, 651-2; Leskien, *Ablaut*, p. 70.

<sup>2</sup> For the probable identity of Kūnī and Kunda see E. W. West, in *SBE* xxiv, 244, note 1.

<sup>3</sup> A. V. W. Jackson, in *JAOS* xliii (1923), 24-5, and *JRAS* 1924, pp. 217, 224. The problem will receive further consideration in his *Researches*.

<sup>4</sup> De Harlez, *Avesta*, pp. cxxviii, 202, note 1; cf. Spiegel, *EA* ii, 135.

<sup>5</sup> Cf. Gruppe, *Mythologie*, pp. 1070, note 7; 1079, note 10.

<sup>6</sup> Tr. J. Schmid, p. 109.

sun by sexual intercourse with his mother, and the moon by similar relations with his sister, thus telling what was known to Ahrmn, but unknown to Ormizd.

### 34. MAHRKŪŠA.

The being Mahrkūša ('Destroyer'), who was either a demon or a sorcerer of particularly malignant power, is named only once in the Avesta (FW viii, 2), which declares that sometime he will perish. In Vd. ii, 22, the Avestan *zimō*, 'winters', is glossed in the Pahlavi version by *malkūšān*, the equivalent of the Hebrew מַלְקוֹשׁ, 'spring rain', the Middle Persian texts also mentioning 'the rain of Malkōs' in DD xxxvii, 94 (cf. MX. xxvii, 28), and 'the winter of Mahrkus' in Dk. VII, i, 24.<sup>1</sup> Mahrkūs is a devastator (Dk. V, iii, 3; cf. SD ix. 5), and he will be manifest for seven years, during four of which most of mankind and of animals will perish (Dk. VII, ix, 3). It would seem, on the whole, that Mahrkūša was a fiend of destruction, and that his association with מַלְקוֹשׁ was due merely to a popular connexion of his name with a Semitic word of similar sound.

### 35. MARŠAVAN,

The demon Maršavan ('Causing Forgetfulness') can lead man to neglect the duties of religion (Vd. xviii, 8-9); but the 'peril' (*iθyejah-*) arising from him, as well as from darkness, demons, thieves, and wizards, is averted by the sun (Ny. i, 14; Yt. vi, 4) and by Yima's Fravaši, who also wards off poverty and drought (Yt. xiii, 130). The 'peril' is likewise associated with Būti (Vd. xix, 1-2; Dk. VII, iv, 37) and with other evil beings (Vd. xix, 43). In the Pahlavi texts Maršavan is replaced by his 'Peril' (Sēj), who causes annihilation (Bd. xxviii, 26), seeks to bring misfortune on every house where there is a child (SD xxxii, 5), and is associated with other fiends (Dk. IX, xxi, 4).

Jackson<sup>2</sup> interprets Maršavan as 'pestilence,' and Dhalla<sup>3</sup> as 'decay'; but as the meaning of his name implies, he seems rather to have been the deity who caused forgetfulness not only of religious duties, but also of the obligations of secular life (whence his connexion with poverty and drought, arising from forgetfulness of financial prudence and of the necessity of irrigating the soil), as well as of the care due to children.

<sup>1</sup> Cf. West, in *SBE* xviii, 109, note 2; 479; xlvii, 108, note 1; Darmesteter, *Ormazd*, p. 234, note 1.

<sup>2</sup> *Zoroastrianism*, p. 94.

<sup>3</sup> *Theology*, p. 268.

## 36. MĪTŌXT.

Mitōxt ('Falsehood'), the personification of the Avestan *miθaoxta vāč* ('word falsely spoken', Ys. lx, 5; Yt. xix, 96) or of *draoγa miθaoxta* ('lie falsely spoken', Vd. xix, 46), appears as a fiend in the Pahlavi texts, where he is the first creation of Ahriman (Bd. i, 24), the liar (*drōjan*) of the Evil Spirit, and the precursor of Arašk, as Arašk is of Aēšm (ib. xxviii, 14, 16). His presence is worse than death (MX xix, 6); through him the archdemon changed the position of heaven into causes of death with him as leader; the souls of the wicked are under his sway; and he is 'as much an evil as all the demons with the demons of demons' (DD xxxvii, 50, 51, 53). He seems to be merely a doublet of the male Druj<sup>1</sup> regarded as 'the Lie'.

## 37. MŪŠ.

In the Avesta Mūš ('Mouse' [?]), against whom the Waters are invoked, is described simply as a Pairikā associated with Āzi (Ys. xvi, 8; lxviii, 8); but in the Pahlavi texts Mūšpar is attached to the sun (Bd. v, 1-2; cf. xxviii, 44). West<sup>2</sup> thought that she was a comet; Darmesteter<sup>3</sup> regarded her as the eclipse-demon; and Bartholomae<sup>4</sup> thought that she may be the fiend of covetousness. The Sanskrit version of Ys. xvi, 8, calls Mūš a *rākṣasī* ('demoness'). The mouse was an evil animal which it was meritorious to kill (SD xliii, 9; Plutarch, *De Invidia et Odio*, 3); and as it is essentially a nocturnal creature, Mūš, like Āzi,<sup>5</sup> was probably a fiend of darkness, in this capacity causing eclipses of the sun. Güntert,<sup>6</sup> however, connecting the name with Sanskrit *muṣkā-*, 'testicle, pudenda muliebria', Modern Persian *mušk*, 'musk' (obtained from the testicles of the beaver), Greek *μύσχον* τὸ ἀνδρείον καὶ γυναικείον μόριον (Hesychius), Modern High German *maus*, 'mouse, cunnus' (cf. also Greek *μυωρίς*, 'mouse-hole, lewd woman', *μῦς λευκός*, 'white mouse, libertine'), believes that she was a demoness of sensuality.

<sup>1</sup> See above, p. 194.

<sup>2</sup> *SBE* v, 22, note 1; xviii, 97, note 2; xxiv, 132, note 2; cf. Windischmann, *Studien*, pp. 258-9.

<sup>3</sup> *ZA* i, 144, note 15.

<sup>4</sup> *AirWb.* col. 1189.

<sup>5</sup> See above, p. 202.

<sup>6</sup> *KZ* xlv (1913), 202-4; cf. also Walde-Pokorny, *Wörterbuch*, ii, 312-3.

## 38. NANG.

The demon Nang ('Shame') is mentioned in PVM 11, 12, and is said to make man litigious.

## 39. NASU.

Nasu ('Corpse'), the demon of dead matter, is overcome, like several other malignant beings, by recital of the names of the Ameša Spentas, that of Haurvatāt being particularly efficacious (Yt. iv, 2-3, 8). By all the orifices of the body she enters him who carries a corpse alone (Vd. iii, 14). She is described as a hideous mottled fly coming from the north and arriving soon after a death (Vd. vii, 2-4); but she is driven back by a yellow, four-eyed dog (Vd. viii, 16-8), by the ceremonial use of *gōmēz* (ib. viii, 35-72), by ritual recitation of Gāthic verses (ib. ix, 46; x, 1-17), by invoking divine beings (ib. xix, 12-4), or by Zaratustra (ib. xix, 46). To free an individual from Nasu is to perform one's duty toward fire, water, earth, kine, vegetation, and the righteous, and ensures a blessed immortality (Vd. ix, 42-4); but if an unqualified person attempts to perform the purificatory rites, Nasu is strengthened and multiplies disease, destruction, and distress (Vd. ix, 47-8; for the various degrees of infection see ib. v, 27-32; vii, 9-10; ix, 40-1).

In the Pahlavi texts Nas is the demon who 'causes the pollution and contamination which they call "dead matter"' (*nasāi*; Bd. xxviii, 29). She is destroyed by certain dogs and birds (SIS v, 1-5), and until then no good can come near to man (ib. vii, 7). She substitutes herself for the body of the pious (DD xvii, 7-8) and is evidently the Nasrūšt mentioned in SD xxxv, 2; xxxvi, 7; AD 1, 2, 35 (cf. also Pahlavi *nīsrūšt(ih)*, 'contamination', in Bd. xxviii, 29; SIS x, 32). The name Nasu is the exact etymological equivalent of the Greek *νεκρὸς*, 'corpse, dead'.<sup>1</sup>

## 40. NIHIV.

The fiend Nihiv ('Terror') is once mentioned (DD xxxvii, 52) as chilling the warmth of the body and as one of the demons created by Ahriman to cause death. He seems to find analogues in the Greek Phobos and Deimos,<sup>2</sup> and appears to be merely a doublet of Saham.

<sup>1</sup> For further cognates see Boisacq, *Dictionnaire*, p. 661, and cf. Avestan *nasu-* in the sense of 'corpse' (Bartholomae, *AirWb.* col. 1057; ZIW p. 200). See also Walde-Pokorny, *Wörterbuch*, ii, 326.

<sup>2</sup> Gruppe, *Mythologie*, p. 1084, note 1; Usener, *Götternamen*, pp. 367-8; cf. Wissowa, *Religion*, p. 149; Waser, in PW iv, 2385-6.



## 41. NĪYĀZ.

The demon Nīyāz ('Want, Poverty') causes distress (Bd. xxviii, 26); moving stealthily and dreading light, he is one of the fiends whom Ahriman created to cause death (DD xxxvii, 52); he makes men wish to be childless (ib. lxxvii, 8); and he has no pastures (Dk. IX, xxi, 4). As his name implies, he is the demon of poverty.

## 42. NIZĪŠT.

Together with Astō-vīdāt, Vāē the Bad, Frazīšt, and Aēsm the demon Nizīšt is present when the soul is weighed at the Činvaṭ Bridge, but nothing is said regarding his special functions (MX ii, 115). His name is perhaps connected with Pāzand and Modern Persian *zišt*, 'hideous, ugly'.

## 43. PAIRIMATI.

Together with Aka Manah and the Druj the fiend Pairimati ('Denial') is the source of all the Dāēvas and their worshippers (Ys. xxxii, 3). She is also mentioned in company with Tarōmati (Yt. iii, 8, 11, 15); and her name is explained in Nīr. 41 as meaning that one denies the existence of religion.

## 44. PAITIŠA.

The demon Paitiša ('Contrary') is once mentioned (Vd. xix, 43) in company with other fiends as 'the most demonic demon of demons'. Apparently he is the deity of Opposition and Contrariness.<sup>1</sup>

## 45. PAS.

The fiend Pas ('Afterward') is named together with Dēr in SD lxxxi, 14-7, as entrusted by Ahriman with keeping man from doing his duty, Pas telling him to 'pass on now; it is possible to perform it afterwards'.

## 46. PŪŠ.

Pūš ('Concealed' [?]) 'is the demon who makes a hoard, and does not consume it, and does not give to any one' (Bd. xxviii, 28). His name seems to be connected with Modern Persian *pūš*, 'covering, garment', *pūšidan*, 'to cover, conceal, clothe'.

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Bartholomae, *AirWb.* col. 836; *ZIW* p. 188.

The word *pūš* may possibly be derived from an original \**pl-tá*-<sup>1</sup> and be cognate with Sanskrit *paṭala*-, 'cover, veil' (for \**pal-to-lo*-), Old Norwegian *faldr*, 'cloak', Old Irish *loit*, '(two) mantles', Old Church Slavic *platino*, 'linen', and—with other formatives—Greek *πέπλος*, 'sheet, robe', Latin *palla*, 'cloak', Old Irish *lenn*, 'mantle', Old Church Slavic *pelena*, 'swaddling-cloth', and Old Prussian *pelkis*, 'mantle'.<sup>2</sup> Originally the demon seems to have been hidden in darkness, and so was probably at first a nocturnal fiend, later becoming the patron of miserliness as concerned with hidden treasures.

#### 47. SAHAM.

The demon Saham ('Terror') is once mentioned (Dk. IX, xxi, 4) in association with Aēšm, Nīyāz, Sēj, and Zarmān, but with no details whatever. He seems to be a mere doublet of Nihiv.

#### 48. SNĀVIΔKA.

The evil being Snāviška, 'of a horned race, with hands of stone', was slain by Kərəsāspa, though he had boasted that when he should attain manhood he would make the sky his chariot with the earth for a wheel and with Spənta Mainyu and Aŋra Mainyu for his steeds, dragging them from heaven and hell respectively (Yt. xix, 43-4). Nothing further is recorded concerning him, and the etymology of his name is wholly uncertain.

#### 49. SPAZG.

The fiend Spazg ('Slander') 'brings and conveys gossip' (Bd. xxviii, 31), and he is the only demon in hell who rushes backward, all others rushing forward (MX ii, 12).

<sup>1</sup> Another instance of Modern Persian *š* = *rtó* or *rtō* seems to be *xuš*, 'good, pleasant', for \**su-vl-tō*-, 'well-chosen' (otherwise Horn, *Etymologie*, no. 508; Hübschmann, *Studien*, pp. 57-8). This change, as the Avestan *š* = *rtó* in contrast to Old Persian *rt* shows, is characteristically East Iranian, so that *pūš* would seem to have entered Modern Persian from some other Iranian dialect (cf. further Hübschmann, *op. cit.*, pp. 190, 194-8.)

<sup>2</sup> See especially Persson, *Beiträge*, pp. 225-7; W. Stokes, *Urkehtischer Sprachschatz*, Göttingen, 1894, p. 255; Walde-Pokorny, *Wörterbuch*, ii, 58-9. In any case the connexion of *pūš* with Modern Persian *payūš*, 'covetous', *piyūš*, 'avarice', proposed by West (in *SBE*, v, 110, note 7), is scarcely possible.

## 50. SPĒNJAŦRYA.

The Avesta mentions the demon SpēnjaŦrya ('Noise-Leader' [?]) only once (Vd. xix, 40), stating that he is smitten down by the Vāzišta Fire, the cloud-fire, i.e., lightning (cf. Bd. xvii, 1; ZS xi, 5). Together with Apāōš, Aspenjargāk, as a preventer of rain, battled against the precipitation sent by Tištar, and when struck by Vāzišt's club, he 'made a very grievous noise' like the sounds always heard in 'a conflict with the producer of rain' (Bd. vii, 12; xvii, 1; xxviii, 39; SGV iv, 52; Dk. III, cxii, 5, 8; Pahlavi gloss on Ys. xvii, 11). According to the Frahang-i Rivāyat-i Dinī,<sup>1</sup> Aspōzaršīōš, or Sipanjarōs, not only 'meets the rain and does not give the raining of rain', but 'whenever a child is born he comes to steal its reason: and the child manifests terror, and he steals its reason'.

SpēnjaŦrya is regarded by de Harlez<sup>2</sup> as the destroyer of growth, by Darmesteter<sup>3</sup> and Jackson<sup>4</sup> as the storm, and by West<sup>5</sup> as the thunder; but it would seem more probable that he was the deity of the whistling, roaring wind, whether with or without rain. The etymology of his name is as uncertain as are his functions. Bartholomae<sup>6</sup> suggested that its first component may have been the appellation of a tribe or family; but it appears preferable, in view of the demon's 'very grievous noise', to connect *spēnja-* with the Lithuanian *speigti*, 'to sound, tinkle, ring (of the ears)', Lettish *spiegt*, 'to squeak (of a mouse).'

## 51. TAP.

Ahriman entrusted Tap ('Fever'; cf. Yt. iii, 8, 11) with 'stupefying and disordering the understanding' (DD xxxvii, 51). He finds an analogue in the Roman Febris.<sup>8</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Ed. E. Sachau, in *SWAW* lxvii (1871), 837-52 (especially in the present connexion pp. 840: 5-7, 845: 23-846: 2). The work seems to have been written in India at least as early as 1655 (ib. p. 813). SpēnjaŦrya is here confused (as in the Pahlavi version of Ys. xvii, 11) with the Daēva-worshipper Spinjauruška, who was slain by Vištāspa (Yt. ix, 31; xvii, 51), and whose name probably means 'Noise-Raging' (cf. Justi, *Namenbuch*, p. 508; less probably Bartholomae, *AirWb.* col. 1625).

<sup>2</sup> *Avesta*, p. cxxix.

<sup>3</sup> *ZA* ii, 273, note 114.

<sup>4</sup> *Zoroastrianism*, p. 96.

<sup>5</sup> In *SBE* xxv, 133, note 2; so also Darmesteter, *Ormazd*, p. 200.

<sup>6</sup> *AirWb.* coll. 1615, 1625.

<sup>7</sup> Cf. Justi, *Namenbuch*, pp. 309, 508; Boisacq, *Dictionnaire*, p. 1025 (quite otherwise Walde-Pokorny, *Wörterbuch*, ii, 663).

<sup>8</sup> See Wissowa, *Religion*, pp. 245-6, and in *PW* vi, 2095-6.

## 52. TARŌMATI.

In the house of the righteous the demon Tarōmati ('Contempt') is conquered by Armaiti (Ys. lx, 5; Bd. xxx, 29), and she is also mentioned in association with Pairimati and other evil beings (Yt. iii, 8, 11, 15). She produces disobedience (Bd. xxviii, 14) and opposes Spendarmat (DD xciv, 2), having chosen falsehood rather than righteousness (Dk. IX, xxxiv, p). The term is explained in Nīr. 41 as meaning that one admits the existence of religion, but denies its value; and the fiend possibly finds an analogue in the Greek Hybris.<sup>1</sup>

## 53. UDA.

The demon Uda ('Loquacity' [?]) causes man to speak at times when silence should be observed, as while eating or performing the necessities of nature (Bd. xxviii, 19). She was the great-great-great-great-great-granddaughter of Aṇra Mainyu and the mother of Aži Dahāka (Bd. xxxi, 6; DD lxxii, 5; cf. MX lvii, 25), who repeatedly committed incest with her (DD lxxviii, 2); and she was the first adulteress (DD lxxii, 5). Her evil progeny was notorious (Dk. IX, x, 3), and she corrupted Yim (ib. xxi, 4; cf. further VII, ii, 64; ZS xii, 13). The Pahlavi gloss on Vd. xviii, 30, regards her as the Druj with whom Šraoša held colloquy, though others identified this fiend with Xašm-Aēšma or with Ahriman himself. Her association with the evil ruler Vaḍayan mentioned in Vd. xix, 6, and identified with Dahāk in MX lvii, 25, is probably based merely on the similarity of this name to her own Pahlavi appellation Vaṭak,<sup>2</sup> meaning 'evil woman' (Dk. III, lxxx, 16). Etymologically Uda seems to be cognate with the Indo-European base *\*aued-*, 'to speak' (cf. Sanskrit *vad-*, 'to speak', Avestan *vadəmna-*, 'admonishing', Greek *αὐδῆ*, voice, utterance', Old High German *far-wāzan*, 'to deny', Lithuanian *vadinti*, 'to call', Old Church Slavic *vada*, 'calumny'), in its reduced-zero grade (cf. Sanskrit *uditā-*, 'spoken', Greek *ἰδέω*, 'to tell of, celebrate', ἰδὲν: *συμπερὸς ἡ ποιητής* [Hesychius]).<sup>3</sup> In all probability she was, as Bd. xxviii, 19, indicates, the demoness of ill-timed loquacity<sup>4</sup> and the opponent of the Persian 'silentii numen' mentioned by Ammianus Marcellinus (XXI, xiii, 4).

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Gruppe, *Mythologie*, p. 1079, notes 5, 7; H. W. Stoll, in Roscher, i, 2767-8. Cf. also Darmesteter, *Ormazd*, pp. 260-1.

<sup>2</sup> E. W. West, in *SBE* xviii, 217, note 4.

<sup>3</sup> See Hirt, *Ablaut*, p. 133; Boisacq, *Dictionnaire*, pp. 99, 998; Trautmann, *Wörterbuch*, p. 337; Walde-Pokorny, *Wörterbuch*, i, 251-2.

<sup>4</sup> Cf. further Jackson, *Zoroastrianism*, pp. 92-3; Justi, *Namenbuch*, pp. 332-3.

## 54. VAREN.

The fiend Varen ('Lust') is first mentioned in the Pahlavi texts. He causes illicit sexual relations (Bd. xxviii, 25) and is the opponent of Art-Aši (DD xciv, 2); the man whose will is ruled by him is sinful (Dk. III, xxxiii, 2; cf. xlviii, 4; cccxxvi, 3); he is the twin brother of Akōman and the offspring of Ahriman (ib. cxxii, 4-5); he is mentioned together with other fiends (DD xxxvii, 44); and is probably the 'demon of concupiscence' of Chinese Manichaean documents.<sup>1</sup>

Varen's name is obviously derived from the Indo-European base *\*uele-*, 'to wish' (Latin *volo*, Gothic *wiljan*, 'to wish', etc.), and as a formation in *-no-* (cf. Welsh and Breton *guell*, 'better', if for *\*welno*,<sup>2</sup> Avestan *varəna-*, 'religious conviction' [originally 'choice'], and, more remotely, Sanskrit *vāraṇa-*, 'choice, wish'),<sup>3</sup> means 'wish, desire'. He finds at least partial analogues in the Greek Himeros and Pothos.<sup>4</sup>

## 55. VĀTYA.

The fiend Vātya ('Relating to Wind') is once mentioned (Vd. x, 14) together with the Daēvas of Varena,<sup>5</sup> but with no details whatever. From his name he was evidently a wind-demon and was possibly identified with the evil 'south-north wind' of Yt. iii, 9, 12, 16<sup>6</sup>.

## 56. VAYA OR VAYU.

After Astō-vīdātu has bound a victim, the demon Vaya or Vayu ('Persecutor' [?]) bears him away (Vd. v, 8, 9); and his road alone no man may traverse, so that he has the special epithet *anamarəzdika-* ('pitiless'; Aog. 77-81; cf. MX xlvii, 8). In the Pahlavi texts he once seems to be identified with Astō-vīdāt (Bd. xxviii, 35); as a despoiler and a destroyer (DD xxx, 4) he tears life away by stupefying the body (ib. xxxvii, 52); and

<sup>1</sup> Chavannes-Pelliot, *Traité*, pp. 524. note; 530, 537.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. H. Pedersen, *Vergleichende Grammatik der keltischen Sprachen*, Göttingen, 1909-13, ii, 121.

<sup>3</sup> For further cognates see Boisacq, *Dictionnaire*, pp. 239-40, 246; Walde, *Wörterbuch*, p. 855; Müller, *Wörterbuch*, p. 529; Feist, *Wörterbuch*, pp. 429-30; and cf. Sanskrit *vr̥ṇtē*, *vr̥ṇte*, Avestan *varəntē*, 'chooses', *varənatā*, 'chose.' See, further, Walde-Pokorny, *Wörterbuch*, i, 294-5.

<sup>4</sup> Gruppe, *Mythologie*, pp. 870, 1072, note 1; H. W. Stoll, in Roscher<sup>7</sup> i, 2661-2; O. Höfer, ib. iii, 2903-6; E. Sittig, in PW viii, 1635-8.

<sup>5</sup> Probably the modern Gilān; cf. Darmesteter, ZA ii, 14, note 38; 373, note 33.

<sup>6</sup> Cf. Bartholomae, *AirWb.* coll. 79-80.

with Astō-vīdāt, Frazīšt, and Nizīšt he oppresses the soul at the Činvaṭ Bridge (MX ii, 115). As. 'Vāē the Bad' he is contrasted—probably by a mere popular etymology of his name—with 'Vāē the Good' (i.e. Vayu) in DD xxx, 4; MX ii, 115; Gd. Bd xxvi, 12 (cf. Bd. xxviii, 35), and is associated with other fiends in DD xxxvii, 44 (cf. also Mān. II, iii, 15; viii, 5). Darmesteter<sup>1</sup> regarded Vaya as the demonic opponent of Vayu, West<sup>2</sup> as the lower air, and Dhalla<sup>3</sup> as the storm-wind, while Bartholomae much more plausibly suggests<sup>4</sup> that he was in reality a 'pursuer', connecting his name with Sanskrit *veti*, Latin *venor*, 'to hunt', etc.,<sup>5</sup> so that he would be the fiend who constantly pursues man, seeking to compass his destruction.

### 57. VĪZARĒŠA.

The Avesta (Vd. xix, 29) once mentions the demon Vizarēša ('He who Drags Away') as carrying the enchanted souls of the wicked dead until he comes to the Činvaṭ Bridge. According to Bd. xxviii, 18, he struggles with these souls throughout the three days and nights during which they remain in this world: 'he carries them on, terror-stricken, and sits at the gate of hell'; or, according to Gd. Bd. xxxvii, 2,<sup>6</sup> he and his collaborators watch all souls during this period. On the fourth night Vizarēš conveys the soul bound to hell (DD xxxii, 4, 7) after mercilessly beating and tormenting it (MX ii, 161-6). He is likewise named in company with other fiends (DD xxxvii, 44; cf. Mān. II, v, 13); and it has already been suggested<sup>7</sup> that he may have been the doublet of Nāzhaīšya as the god who caused man to return at death to the earth whence he was born.

### 58. XAV.

The fiend Xav (Pāzand form Xw) is mentioned only once (Bd. xix, 27) in a passage which states that the fox was created to oppose him. His nature and functions, like the etymology of his name, are very uncertain, though the context would seem to imply that he was an animal deity. If Xav may stand for an

<sup>1</sup> ZA ii, 68, note 15; 579.

<sup>2</sup> SBE xxxvii, 223, note 7.

<sup>3</sup> Theology, p. 172.

<sup>4</sup> AirWb. col. 1358; cf. 1408.

<sup>5</sup> For further cognates see Boisacq, *Dictionnaire*, p. 367; Walde, *Wörterbuch*, p. 816; Müller *Wörterbuch*, p. 531 (but cf. Walde-Pokorny, *Wörterbuch*, ii, 220-3, 228-31, 258-60).

<sup>6</sup> Tr. J. J. Modi, *Asiatic Papers*, i (Bombay, 1905), 226.

<sup>7</sup> See above, pp. 183-4.

Avestan \**xaba-*, Indo-European \**q(h)ab(h)o-*, it may possibly be connected with Armenian *xab*, 'deceit, fraud',<sup>1</sup> Greek *χαβόν* *καμπύλον, στενόν* (Hesychius), Latin *hāmus*, 'hook' (for \**hābmos* or \**hābmos*)<sup>2</sup> so that he was perhaps 'the crooked (animal)'. He may have been the cat-god, particularly as the Iranians considered this animal a noxious creature.<sup>3</sup>

#### 59. XNAΘAITI.

This Pairikā was created by Aṇra Mainyu as the bane of Vækərəta (Kābūlistān) and she led Kərəsāspa astray, but was to be destroyed by Zərəθuštra (Vd. i, 9: xix, 5). The Pahlavi version of the Vidēvdāt interprets her as 'the cult of idols' (*ūzdēs parastih*); but if, as Güntert thinks,<sup>4</sup> her name is connected with Greek *κνήθω*, 'to scratch, tickle, itch', she would be, rather, the demoness of pruriency.

#### 60. XRŪ AND XRVIṆĪ.

The fiends Xrū ('Raw') and Xrviṇī ('Raw-Striker') are associated with other demons in Vd. xi, 9, 12, but with no details as to their functions.

#### 61. XŪṬ-DŌŠAGĪH.

The demon Xūṭ-dōšagīh ('Self-Conceit') is once mentioned (DD xciv, 2) as an opponent of Dīn.

#### 62. ZAIRIMYAṆKURA.

The fiend Zairimyaṇkura ('Whose Toes are in a Stronghold'), to whom evil-speaking folk gave the hypocoristic name Zairimyaṇka, was so heinous a monster, **slaying thousands** of the creatures of Spənta Mainyu between dawn and sunset, that he who killed it was absolved from evil thought, evil word, and evil deed (Vd. xiii, 5-7). The demon is identified by tradition with the tortoise,<sup>5</sup> which was deemed a noxious creature to be destroyed (Vd. xiv, 5; Pahlavi Rivāyat, tr. West, in *SBE* xviii, 419).

<sup>1</sup> Cf., however, Hübschmann, *Grammatik*, i, 267.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. Boisacq, *Dictionnaire*, pp. 1045-6; Walde, *Wörterbuch*, pp. 359-60 (but cf. Müller, *Wörterbuch*, p. 123).

<sup>3</sup> Pahlavi Rivāyat, tr. E. W. West, in *SBE* xviii, 419: see further Schrader, *RL* 2 i, 562-6; V. Hehn, *Kulturpflanzen und Haustiere*,<sup>8</sup> Berlin, 1911, pp. 463-76, 619-22.

<sup>4</sup> *KZ* xlv (1913), 200, note; see also Spiegel, *EA* i, 564; ii, 139, and especially Darmesteter, *ZA* ii, 10, note 23, who regards her, following the tradition, as the demoness of idolatry. For further cognates of *κνήθω* see Boisacq, *Dictionnaire*, p. 476.

<sup>5</sup> Bartholomae, *AirWb.* coll. 1681-2; cf. also the Rivāyat cited by Spiegel, *Commentar*, i, 297-8, and see Darmesteter, *Ormazd*, pp. 282-3.

## 63. ZAURVAN.

Zaurvan (‘ Senility ’), the demon of old age, is once named in the Avesta together with other fiends (Vd. xix, 43), his special epithet *duzdafədra-* apparently implying that he weakens the intellect of the aged.<sup>1</sup> Bd. xxviii, 23, expressly states that ‘ Zarmān is the demon who makes decrepit ’, and he is associated with other fiends in DD. xxxvii, 44 ; Dk. IX, xxi, 4. He finds analogues in the Greek Geras and the Roman Senectus.<sup>2</sup>

## 64. ZYAM.

Zyam (‘ Winter ’) appears to be considered a demon in Vd. xix’ 43, and is directly declared to be a creation of Aŋra Mainyu (ib. i, 2, 19), besides having the conventional epithet *daēvō-dāta-* (‘ demon-created ’ ; cf. Vd. ii, 22 ; vii, 27).

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<sup>1</sup> Bartholomae, *AirWb.* coll. 757, 1684.

<sup>2</sup> Gruppe, *Mythologie*, pp. 454, 1065, 1068, note 1 ; H. W. Stoll, in Roscher, i, 1628 ; O. Höfer, ib. iv, 710 ; Waser, in *PW* vii, 1240-2, Zwicker, b. 2 series, i, 1457-8 ; Usener, *Götternamen*, p. 366.



## A LIST OF THE DIVINE AND DEMONIC BEINGS OF THE IRANIAN RELIGIONS.

In this list of the superhuman beings of Iranism the Amēša Spēntas, in view of their very superior importance, are placed at the head of all, followed by the other deities and by the demons in alphabetical order. Beings whose names are in capitals are first mentioned in the Gāthās; those in roman, in the Younger Avesta; those in italics, in the Middle Persian (Pahlavi and Pāzand); those in black face are not named in Iranian texts so far as known, but are either mentioned in non-Iranian sources or may be inferred from Iranian statements. Capital letters before a name denote an archdeity or archdemon and refer to the first chapter of the first or second book respectively; roman numerals, a major deity or demon, and the second chapter; arabic numerals, a minor deity or demon, and the third chapter. The gods and demons mentioned in the introductory paragraphs on pp. 129-30 and 198 are not included in these lists since they are entirely too vague even for tentative classification. Of analogous beings in other Indo-European or in Semitic religions only the most striking are here noted: those of India (almost exclusively Vedic) are given in a special column; the others are indicated by the following abbreviations: B.=Babylonian; Gk.=Greek; Gl.=Gaulish; L.=Lithuanian; R.=Roman; S.=Slavic.

### 1. THE AMĒŠA SPĒNTAS.

Old Persian <sup>1</sup>	Pre-Gāthic Function	Gāthic <sup>2</sup>	Younger Avesta	Pahlavi	Indian	Scythian
'Zeus'	Sky	B. Ahura Mazda	Ahura Mazda	Aūhar-mazd	Dyaus	Papaïos
'Helios'	Sun	C. Vohu Manah <sup>3</sup>	Miġra	Vohūman <sup>4</sup>	Mitra	Oitosyros
'Selene' 'Ge'	Moon Earth	F. Ārmaiti	Māh Zam	Spendar-mat	Prthivī	Apiā

<sup>1</sup> The order given by Herodotus is here followed.

<sup>2</sup> Gāthic sequence: Ahura Mazda, Vohu Manah, Aša, Xšaġra, Ārmaiti, Haurvatāt, Amərətāt.

<sup>3</sup> Replacing Miġra.

<sup>4</sup> Here the god of animals, replacing the Younger Avestan Drvāspā.

'Pyr'	Fire	D. Aša <sup>1</sup>	Ātar	Artavahišt	Agni	Tabiti
'Hydor'	Water	G. Haurva- tāt <sup>2</sup>	Āpah	Horvadaṭ	Āpah	Thamima- sadas
	Victory	E. Xšaθra <sup>3</sup>	Vərəθra- rayna	Šatvāirō	Indra	'Herakles'
	Haoma	G. Amərə- tāt	Haoma	Amerōdaṭ <sup>4</sup>	Soma	

## II. THE OTHER DEITIES.

Name	Function	Indian Equi- valent	Other Analogues
1. ADĀ	?		
2. Āfritiš	?		
3. Ahurāni	rain	Varuṇāni (?)	
4. Airyaman	healing (orig. 'sun ?)	Aryaman	
5. Aiwi-srūgrima <sup>5</sup>	time (sunset-midnight)		
6. Ama	battle-attack		
7. Anayra Raočah	light		
8. Āŋhairya <sup>10</sup>	birth (?)		
9. Antaro-māh <sup>10</sup>	new moon	Amāvāsyā, Rākā	
10. Apām Napāt	water (esp. fertilising)	Apām Napāt	
11. Āpō	waters	Āpūs	
i. 'Arədvi'	divine river (Oxus ?)	Sarasvatī	
12. Arštāt	justice		Gk. Dike (?)
13. Arīti-fravarṭ	Fravašis collectively		
14. Asan	sky		
ii. AŠI	lucky star, luck <sup>6</sup>		West Sem. Gad
15. Āsnya <sup>10</sup>	divisions of the day		
iii. ĀTAR	fire, <sup>7</sup> lightning	Agni	
16. Āxstī <sup>10</sup>	victorious peace		Gk. Eirene
17. Ayara <sup>10</sup>	days of the month		
18. Ayāgrima <sup>10</sup>	autumn return of herds		
19. AZŪIT <sup>8</sup>	fatness		
20. Bāmyā	dawn <sup>9</sup>	Uṣas	
21. Bərəjya <sup>10</sup>	growth of grain		R. Cerus
22. Cistā <sup>10</sup>	Venus as morning star		B. Ištār
23. Cisti <sup>10</sup>	wisdom		Gk. Sophia

1 Replacing Ātar.

2 Replacing Āpah.

3 Replacing Vərəθrayna.

4 Here the deity of vegetation.

5 Named only in the Younger Avesta.

6 Replacing Baxt.

7 Replaced in part by Aša.

8 Mentioned only in the Gāthās.

9 Doublet of Uṣah.

10 Mentioned only in the Younger Avesta.

iv. Daēnā	sky-goddess	Dyauh devī	
24. Dahyuma <sup>1</sup>	god of whole land		
25. { Daēnaya- Upamana <sup>1</sup> Dāmōiš- Upamana <sup>1</sup>	sub-aspect of sky-goddess(?) sub-aspect of sky god (?)		
26. Dāta <sup>1</sup>	law		Gk. Nomos
v. Drvāspā	solar (dawning sun ?) <sup>3</sup>	Sūryā	
27. Drvatāt <sup>1</sup>	physical health		Gk. Hygieia
28. ərəti <sup>1</sup>	energy		
29. Fə RASTI <sup>2</sup>	teachability		
30. Frādat-ṣṣu <sup>1</sup>	increase of small cattle		L. Gotha
31. Frādat-vīra <sup>1</sup>	increase of mankind		
32. Frādat-vispā-m- hujyāti <sup>1</sup>	increase of all comfort		
33. FRASASTI	fame		
vi. Fravašis	ancestors, guardian spirits	Pitaras	
34. Fšeratū <sup>1</sup>	(eschatological) reward		
35. Gaokərəna	sacred tree		
36. GĒUŠ TAŠAN	creator (of cattle)	Tvaṣṭr	
vii. GĒUS	storm-clouds	Rudra	
URVAN			
37. Hadiš	house-god		L. Dimstipatis
38. Hamaspaṣmaē- ṣaya <sup>1</sup>	completion (of religious duties [?])		
39. Hām-vainti <sup>1</sup>	conquest <sup>4</sup>		
40. Hām-varəti <sup>1</sup>	morning mist <sup>5</sup>		
viii. Haoma	exhilarating draught <sup>6</sup>	Soma	
41. Haptō-iringa	constellation Ursa Major		
42. Hāvani <sup>1</sup>	time (sunrise-noon)		
43. HUJĀTI <sup>2</sup>	identical with Haurvatāt ?		
44. HUŠITI	household prosperity		
ix. Hvarə	sun	Sūrya	
45. IŠ <sup>2</sup>	wish		
46. IŽĀ <sup>2</sup>	zeal		
x. Māh	moon	Candra	
47. Māhya <sup>1</sup>	month-god		
48. Maiḍyāirya <sup>1</sup>	mid-year		
49. Maiḍyōi-šam <sup>1</sup>	mid-summer		

<sup>1</sup> Mentioned only in the Younger Avesta.<sup>2</sup> Mentioned only in the Gāgās.<sup>3</sup> Replaced in part by Vohūman in Middle Persian.<sup>4</sup> The existence of the deity is very doubtful.<sup>5</sup> Later function, concealment, especially of warriors.<sup>6</sup> Replaced in part by Aməretāt.

50. Maiḍyōi-zarəməya	mid-spring		
51. Məθra	spell <sup>2</sup>		
xi. Miθra	sun <sup>3</sup>	Mitra	
52. *Nairyās?a	solar (setting sun ?)		L. Bezlea
53. Nairyō-sa?ha	prayer <sup>4</sup>	Narāsamsa	
54. Nmānya <sup>1</sup>	household god		S. Domovoi
55. Paitiš-hahya <sup>1</sup>	harvest		R. Consus
56. Paōiryaēinyā <sup>1</sup>	Pleiades		
57. Parəndi <sup>1</sup>	abundance		L. Piluitus
58. Paurvatāt <sup>1</sup>	priority		R. Praestana
59. Pəranō-māh <sup>1</sup>	full moon	Paurṇamāsī	
60. Rāman	landed property		
61. Rapiθwina <sup>1</sup>	time (noon-mid-afternoon)		
62. Rasəstāt <sup>1</sup>	right procedure (?)		
xii. Rašm	solar deity	Pūšan	
63. Rātā	generosity, bounty	Sūnptā	
64. Saokā	(1) earthly profit, (2) solar, (3) riverine		(1) R. Lucrī
65. Satavaēsa	stellar		
66. Savah <sup>1</sup>	worldly gain		
67. Sāva?hi <sup>1</sup>	increase of large cattle		
xiii. SPƏNTA	creator <sup>5</sup>	Višvakarman, Prajāpati	
MAINYU.			
xiv. SRAOŠA	morning star		L. Ausrinie
68. Orita	healing (orig. water)	Trita	
69. Oθwāsa <sup>6</sup>	celestial space		
xv. *Tir	summer sun		
xvi. Tištrya	dog-star		G. Seirios
70. TUŠNĀMATIC	?		
71. Upanayanā <sup>1</sup>	tradition		
72. Uparatāt	superiority (esp. in battle)		Gk. Nike
73. Urvarā	plants	Oṣadhīs	
74. Urvaθā <sup>1</sup>	celestial deity (?)		
75. Ušah <sup>1</sup>	dawn <sup>7</sup>	Ušas	
76. Ušahina <sup>1</sup>	time (midnight-dawn)		
77. Ušidarəna	dawn-mountain		
78. Uzayeirina <sup>1</sup>	time (mid-afternoon-sunset)		
79. Vanant	star <sup>8</sup>		
80. Vāta	wind (possibly of south)	Vāta	
81. Vayah <sup>1</sup>	aether		

<sup>1</sup> Mentioned only in the Younger Avesta.

<sup>2</sup> Apparently the ethicised form of Nairyō-sa?ha.

<sup>3</sup> Replaced in part by Vohu Manah.

<sup>4</sup> Perhaps the original form of Məθra.

<sup>5</sup> Probably the later form of Zrvan.

<sup>6</sup> Mentioned only in the Gāgās.

<sup>7</sup> Doublet of Bāmyā.

<sup>8</sup> Identified either with Formalhaut or with Vega.

82. Vayu	storm-wind (beneficent)	Vāyu
xvii. Vərəθraγna	victory (orig. storm) <sup>3</sup>	Indra
83. Viśaptağa <sup>1</sup>	moon midway between waxing and waning	Ekāṣṭaka
84. Viśya <sup>1</sup>	village-god	Mod. Ind. Grāmadevatā
85. Yāirya <sup>1</sup>	year-god	
86. YAOŠTI <sup>2</sup>	zeal	
xviii. Xvərənah	light	
87. Zam	earth <sup>4</sup>	Prthivi
88. Zantuma <sup>1</sup>	clan-god	
89. Zaraθuštrō- təma <sup>1</sup>	priesthood-deity	
90. Zərənumant	sacred lake	L. Orthus
xix. Zrvan	creator <sup>5</sup>	Viśvakarman, Prajāpati

## III. THE DEMONS.

Name	Function	Indian Equivalent	Other Analogues
i. AĒŠMA	night sacrifice and revelry		
1. Aiyāš	evil eye		
C. AKA MANAH	night		R. Nocturnus
2. Akataš	neglect of duty		
3. Anāstāpānāh	(religious) instability		
4. Anāxšti <sup>1</sup>	dissention		G. Eris
B. AŋRA	(1) underworld, (2) evil		(1) Gk. Hades
MAINYU.	creator		
5. Aoša <sup>1</sup>	hair-combings and nail- parings		
6. Apaoša	summer torridity		
7. Arāiti <sup>1</sup>	avarice	Arāti(s)	
8. Arašk	envy		Gk. Phthonos
9. Arāst	untruth		
10. Arəzūra	volcano		
11. Aəgaḥānāh	sloth		
12. ASRUŠTI	disobedience		
13. Astō-viḡātu	death-agony	Mṛtyu	
14. Azi	nocturnal fiend	Rakṣas	
ii. Azi Dahāka	hostile race of Dahae (?)		
51. Būšyastā	numbing fatalism		
16. Būti	?		
17. Čāsmak	whirlwind		
18. Dawil	conspiracy (?)		
19. Dēr	procrastination		
20. Driwil	?		

<sup>1</sup> Mentioned only in the Younger Avesta.

<sup>2</sup> Mentioned only in the Gāthās.

<sup>3</sup> Replaced in part by Xšaθra.

<sup>4</sup> Replaced in part by Armaiti.

<sup>5</sup> Earlier form of Spenta Mainyu.

iii. DRUJ	(1) doublet of Ahriman, (2) underworld-queen	(2) Gl. Aera- cura
21. Dužyāiryā	bad year (esp. for agricul- ture)	
22. <i>Frašt</i>	?	
23. <i>Frēštār</i>	leading astray	
24. *Gaṣṣo-mara- nōya.	destruction of animals	
25. Gaṛdarəwa	water-demon	Gandharva
26. <i>Gōḍihar</i>	meteor	
D. INDRA	torrential rain	
27. <i>Jēh</i>	sexual impurity	
28. Kapastī <sup>1</sup>	disease-demon (?)	
29. Kašviš <sup>1</sup>	dwarfishness (?)	
30. Karəsānī <sup>1</sup>	aspect of burning sun (?)	Krśānu
31. Kunda	madness	Gk. Mania
32. Kudižā <sup>1</sup>		
33. Mahmi	?	
34. Mahrkūša	destruction	
35. Maršavan	forgetfulness	
36. Mitōxt	falsehood <sup>2</sup>	
37. Muš	nocturnal demon	
38. <i>Nang</i>	shame	
F. Nā <sup>3</sup> Ōhai <sup>4</sup> ya	death returning man to earth <sup>5</sup>	
39. Nasu	corpse	
40. Nihiv	terror <sup>4</sup>	Gk. Phobos.
41. Niyāz	poverty	
42. Nizišt	?	
iv. Parikā	bewitching demoness	Rākṣasi
43. PARIMATI	denial	
44. Paitiśa <sup>1</sup>	contrariness	
45. <i>Pas</i>	delay	
46. <i>Pūš</i>	nocturnal demon	
47. <i>Saham</i>	terror <sup>5</sup>	Gk. Phobos
F. Saurva	lightning	Śarva
48. Snāviḍka <sup>1</sup>	?	
49. <i>Spazg</i>	slander	
50. Spanjərya	whistling of storm	
51. <i>Tap</i>	fever	R. Febris
52. Tarōmati	contempt	Gk. Hybris
G. Taurvi	drought	Śuṣṇa

<sup>1</sup> Mentioned only in the Younger Avesta.

<sup>2</sup> A doublet of the Druj in some of the latter's aspects.

<sup>3</sup> Apparently a doublet of Vizərəša.

<sup>4</sup> A doublet of Saham.

<sup>5</sup> A doublet of Nihiv.

53. <i>Uda</i>	loquacity	
54. <i>Varen</i>	lust	Gk. Pothos
55. <i>Vātya</i> <sup>1</sup>	wind-demon	
56. <i>Vaya, Vayu</i>	persecutor of humanity (?)	
57. <i>Vizareša</i>	death-demon <sup>2</sup>	
58. <i>Xav</i>	cat (?)	
59. <i>Xnaθaiti</i>	inordinate love	
60. <i>Xrū</i> and <i>Xrviyni</i> <sup>1</sup>	?	
61. <i>Xūt-dōšagih</i>	self-conceit	
G. <i>Zairik</i>	poisonous plants	
62. <i>Zairimyaθ-kura</i> <sup>1</sup>	tortoise .	
63. <i>Zaurvan</i>	senility	Gk. Geras
64. <i>Zyā<sub>m</sub></i> <sup>1</sup>	winter	

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<sup>1</sup> Mentioned only in the Younger Avesta.

<sup>2</sup> Apparently a doublet of *Nāθhaiṣya*.

# CLASSIFICATION OF THE DIVINE AND DEMONIC BEINGS OF THE IRANIAN RELIGIONS.<sup>1</sup>

*Creator-gods* : Ahura Mazda, Gēuš Tašan, Spenta Mainyu, Zrvan, *Aṇra Mainyu*.

*Sky, Mid-Air, Light, and Darkness* : (Ahura Mazda), VOHU MANAH-Miθra, Anayra Raočah, Antarə-māh, Asan, Aši, Bāmyā, Čistā, Daēnā, Daēnayā Upamana (?), Dāmōiš Upamana (?), Drvāspā, Gēuš Urvan, Haptō-iringa, Hvarə, Māh, Nairyāspa (?), Paoiryaēinyā, Perənō-māh, Rašnu, Saokā, Satavaēsa, Šraoša, ǝwāša, Tīr, Tištrya, Urvaθā (?), Ušah, Vanant, Vāta, Vayah, Vayu, (Vərəθrayna), Višaptaθa, X<sup>arənah</sup>, Aka Manah, Āzi, Gōčihar, Kərəsāni (?), Mūs, Pūš, *Vātys*.

*Earth* : AMƏRTĀT-Haoma, ĀRMAITI-Zam, AŠA-Ātar, HAU-RVATĀT-Āpō, Ahurānī, Apam Napāt, 'Arədvī', Gaokərəna, Həm-varəti, Saokā, (ǝrita), Urvarā, *Ušidarəna*, Zarənumant, *Aṇra Mainyu*, Apaoša, Arəšūra, Čišmak, Druj, Gandarəwa, Indra, Pairikā, Saurva, Spənja-yrya, Taurvi, Zairik.

*Human Life, Health, Disease, and Death* : Airyaman, Āṇhairya, (Aši), Drvatāt, Frādaṭ-vīra, ǝrita, Aiyāš, Aoša, Astō-vīdātu, Kapasti (?), Kasvīš (?), Kunda, Nāṇhaiθya, Nasu, Tap, Vaya, Vizarəša, Zaurvan.

*Political* : Dahyuma, Dāta, Nmānya, Vīsyā, Zantuma, Āzi Dahāka (?).

*War and Peace* : XSAǝRA-Vərəθrayna, Ama, Āxšti, Həm-vaintī, Uparatāt, Anāxšti, Dawi (?).

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<sup>1</sup> The names of the Amesha Spentas are indicated by small capitals, those of other deities by roman, and those of all demons by italics. Names enclosed in parentheses belong only in part to the class where they are so listed.



*Household* : Arṭāi-Fravart, Frādaṭ-vīspa-m-huḷjyāti, Fravaši, Haḍis, Huḷjyāti (?), Huḷiti, (Nmānya), Rāman, Saokā, Savah, Niyāz.

*Agricultural and Pastoral* : Ayāθrima, Bərəjya, Frādaṭ-fšu, Paitiš-hahya, Sāvaṇhi, Duzyāiryā, Gaēθō-marāñcya.

*Animals* : Xav (?), Zairimyaṇkura.

*Cultic* : Fšeratū, (Dāta), Hamaspaśmaēdaya, Maθra-Nairyō-saṇha, Upanayanā, Zaruθstrōtoma, Aēšma.

*Time* : Aiwi-srūθrima, Asnya, Ayara, Hāvani, Māhya, Maidyāira, Maidyōi-šam, Maidyōi-zarəmaya, Rapiθwina, Ušahina, Uzayeirina, Yāirya, Zyam.

*Virtue and Vice* : Arštāt, Čisti, Erēti, Fərašti, İzā, Rasa-stāt, Rātā, Yaošti, Akataš, Anāstāpānīh, Arāiti, Arašk, Arāst, Ašgahānīh, Asrušti, Būšya-stā, Dər, Frēštār, Jēh, Markūša, Maršavan, Mitōxt, Nang, Nihiv, Pairimati, Paitiša, Pas, Saham, Spazg, Tarōmati, Uda, Varen, Xnaθaiti. Xūθ-dōšagīh.

*Abstract* : Āzūiti, Frasasti, Iš, Pārendi, Paurvatāt, (Uparatāt).

*Unknown or Doubtful* : Ādā, Āfriti, Tušnāmati, Būti, Driwi, Frazīšt, Kundizā, Mahmi, Nizišt, Snāvidka, Xrū, Xrviyni.

The author desires to express his thanks to the University of Nebraska, with which he was connected at the time of the delivery of this course of lectures, for granting him the leave of absence necessary to give them.

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**EDITED BY**  
**SHAMS-UL ULAMA DR. JIVANJI JAMSHEDJI MODI**  
**B.A., PH.D., C.I.E., JT. HON. SECRETARY.**

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## RECENT IRANIAN RESEARCHES BY EUROPEAN SCHOLARS—II

BY DR. JEHANGIR C. TAVADIA, B.A., PH.D.

*Lecturer in Hamburg University.*

7. On Iranian Influence in Central Asia and from there elsewhere.

\*A. v. Le Coq: *Bilderatlas zur Kunst und Kulturgeschichte Mittel-Asiens*, mit 255 Abbildungen. (P. 107) 4° Dietrich Reimer, Ernst Vohsen, Berlin, 1925.

The vast materials relating chiefly to art and literature brought from Central Asia by the enterprising explorers of different nations are scattered in costly and bulky volumes. They are available owing to their very nature, to a selected few, but are inaccessible to the wider circle not only of general readers but also of humbler students who cannot afford to be ignorant about this untold treasure of the past. Therefore it was a very happy idea of Prof. v. Le Coq to issue this picture album, handy and at the same time comprehensive in a way. It is selected from those publications, a list of which is appended. The Introduction deals with the cultural relations of the East and the West. Even in very early days there were commercial relations between them which must have resulted in mutual borrowings. These were increased when some European and Iranian peoples, *viz.* the Tokharians and the Sakas, penetrated through Central Asia right up to China. Some of these peoples had their original home in Southern Russia, to judge from the peculiar grave-sculptures to be found in both places. Greek art and culture, based upon Egyptian and Mesopotamian models, followed Alexander's march in the East, and found a new

home in Eastern Iran and North-Western India where his successors ruled for a long time. From these parts it took wide strides through Afghanistan and through Kashmir towards Turkistan, China, Corea and Japan (see the account of the two works below), and through the Indian Peninsula towards Java and Further India. This is rightly called the Triumphant March of Buddhism. Then the next movement was in the contrary direction, from the East to the West: the Huns and especially their Iranian allies, the Alans, the forefathers of the modern Ossetes (Irons), carried eastern things, chiefly weapons and articles of dress, to the West as far as Portugal and North Africa. The Arabian conquests and the Wars of the Holy Cross are too well known to need further comment. All this time commercial relations played a great part in making cultural borrowings a common phenomenon. It is in Eastern Turkistan that we have discovered the connecting link between the East and the West, thus disproving the independent origin of the Chinese civilization. The discoveries have further shown that Eastern Turkistan was inhabited by Aryan or rather Indo-European peoples up to the middle of the 8th century when it was partly conquered by the Turks. The ruling people in Khotan were Indians, in Yarkand and Kashgar Iranians (Sakas and Sogdians), and in Kucha, Qara-Shahr-Kurla and Turfan Tokharians (of European origin). All of these peoples adopted from the Hellenised Indo-Iranian territories the gospel of Buddha, and therewith the western art and technic; and passed it over to the Chinese who then produced what is known as the Buddhist art of the Far East on this basis during, say, 600-900 A.C. China influenced only its western neighbours Corea and Japan, not northern and western ones who followed Iranian models. Already in the 8th century the Uighur Turks began to occupy this country (hence the name Turkistan) as can be concluded from the writings of this date discovered in Khocho, their capital

near Turfan, and the whole of it fell into their hands by the 10th century. The kings and nobles followed the religion of Mani, but their subjects continued to be Buddhists and a few of them were Nestorian Christians. The script used by them was either Manichean or Sogdian, and though the monks studied Chinese for reading the Buddhist texts in this language, their culture bore thorough Indo-Iranian traits, except in the case of painting which was more or less Chinese. Later on the Mongols superseded the Uighurs, but they adopted the culture of the conquered, and spread it far and wide by means of their extensive conquests from China to Europe.

Prof. v. Le Coq gives a connected view of the figures reproduced in the book. As regards the dress he concludes that its origin is Sasanian, or to be more exact east-Sasanian. Some of the details such as the tying of swords on the girdle and carrying of fumigating lamps remind us of the Achaemenian types. Similarly the weapons are proved to be chiefly of Iranian model. Persia is, in the opinion of the learned author, the master manufacturer of arms in Asia; its direct or indirect influence is to be seen everywhere. We cannot give all the details here; we must satisfy ourselves by saying that valuable remarks about the following weapons, their different types, their origin, and their use elsewhere are to be found here: armour, shield, sword (also to be found with civil dress as has been common in Persia since early times), dagger, banner, club (one of Hellenic type, the other of Indian type), battle-axe, lasso, bow and arrow with their quivers, harness, stirrup (not used by Iranians) and whip. As regards the paintings and sculptures the chief influence is that of Hellenised parts of Iran and India where the figure of Apollo or of Dionysus was transformed into that of Buddha. These paintings etc. form the basis of the Chinese art. Here is described and discussed the evolution of the following pieces: Cornucopia,



Dragon, Ganymedes myth, Christopher, Earth Goddess, Buddha as ascetic, female acrobats, flying Nike figures, Wind Gods, Gorgoneion, Chariot of the Sun, Dance of Death, Coffin, etc. The author shows how certain details are changed owing to misunderstanding, and as regards human figures the change in the nose and eyes is due to the change in the ideal of beauty. For the architecture the so-called lantern-roof and the window-grate are described and discussed. The former construction was misunderstood by the Chinese; the same was the case with the specific Iranian cupola *gumbad* (in which the corners have shell-like cupolas) or it was found too difficult to be copied.

The figures, 255 in all, are excellently executed on plates and they are so arranged that one can control the above discussion about their relation to one another. (Still one would have liked to have the table of contents for easy reference). Their date of origin, their present place of reference, and their short description are put down below them. The work fulfils its purpose in the best possible manner, and we are thankful to the learned author and also to the enterprising publisher.

As the same question is often touched upon in the following works of the author we may notice them here :

- A. v. Le Coq: Auf Hellas Spuren in Ost-Turkistan. Berichte und Abenteuer der 2. und 3. Deutschen Turfan Expedition, mit 108 Abbildungen im Text und auf 52 Tafeln sowie 4 Karten. (P. XI, 166) J. C. Hinrichs'sche Buchhandlung, Leipzig, 1926.

—Von Land und Leuten in Ost-Turkistan. Berichte und Abenteuer der 4. Deutschen Turfan-Expedition, mit 156 Abbildungen im Text und auf 48 Tafeln sowie 5 Karten. (P. VII, 183) J. C. Hinrichs'sche Buchhandlung, Leipzig, 1928.

Both of these works are primarily meant for the general reader but they are not without interest and even importance for the student of eastern civilization. One of them contains 108 figures (mostly on tables) and 4 maps, the other 156 figures similarly and 5 maps. Their lists are given in both cases, but unfortunately the plates are not inserted beside the corresponding text but generally elsewhere. If the former process was not possible, they could have been well placed at the end or at the beginning. As to their selection there can be no question, they are fully representative and give us good insight in the present conditions of life of the country and in its past civilization. The descriptive part is extremely happy and simple in expression, and not less learned and informing in matter. We are given a very fair idea of the dangers and difficulties, and also happy incidents met with during the travel and during the work of the last three German expeditions in Turkistan. The whole account reads like a romantic tale full of adventures and novelties of various kinds. The author is a keen observer of man and nature, and is gifted with humour, the touches of which are to be found in proper places. There is a mass of worth-knowing details scattered throughout the volumes, but it is a real pity that there is no index, and hence they will not be used to the full extent.

A part of the Introduction to the first book and the conclusion of the other deal with the cultural relations of the East and the West. In the 1st century A.C. Buddhist missionaries from Gandhara entered Turkistan through two different ways. In one case their art (based upon Greek one) was influenced by Iran, in the other by India. Their cave-temples and cloisters in Turkistan are constructed after the Iranian fashion, say, as in Bamian; also their names in both places signify the same thing, viz. '1000 rooms'. Buildings are constructed either after the Iranian fashion, the peculiar *gumbad*, or after the Indian one, the *stūpa*; there

is no trace of Chinese architecture in them. When the Sakas and the Tokharians conquered Greco-Buddhist colonies, they adopted their culture and faith, and at the same time did not remain uninfluenced by their Iranian neighbours during the Parthian and Sasanian reigns. The Huns and their Iranian allies, the Alans (the modern Ossetes, calling themselves Iron) brought not insignificant cultural goods like weapons, garments etc. to the West. Later on when the Uighur Turks adopted the religion of Mani, the art of painting,—(which played a great part therein)—based upon Sasanian model, was introduced in the country, from which it was carried by the Mongols to China where it came under its influence and then was brought back to Persia. After some remarks on Turkistan since the coming of Islam, we are given a short account of the former expeditions and their extraordinary discoveries. Then follow useful notes on different types of painting, on Mani and his teachings, and the land and the people in our days. These charming and inspiring volumes are issued in an attractive form and still at a moderate price, for which the publisher deserves our thanks.

8. On the Origin of the Avesta Alphabet.

Junker, H. F. J.: *Das Avesta-Alphabet und der Ursprung der armenischen und georgischen Schrift.* p. 139. Verlag der Asia Major, Leipzig 1927.

To Andreas belongs the credit of properly showing that the Avesta was originally written in the Pahlavi alphabet, from which it was transcribed in the present one in the Sasanian days, and that the mistakes committed thereby can be corrected by retranscribing the Avesta in that original alphabet. Many scholars have applied this test in making conjectures about wrong forms, although there is opposition as regards his views about the pronunciation of the Avesta letters and their derivation from the

Pahlavi signs, either simple or compound (Abhandlungen des XIII Internationalen Orientalisten Kongresses, Hamburg 1902, pp. 99-106). Here is made a new attempt to settle the origin of the Avesta alphabet (and also of the Armenian and Georgian alphabets with which we are not chiefly concerned in this place). Unfortunately the monograph lacks a great deal as regards disposition; there is neither a list of contents nor an index nor even head-lines to the paragraphs. This renders our work rather difficult. The appended tables, however, are very clear and hence helpful. The Avesta alphabet bears some marks of Greek influence, *viz.* in the use of the signs for short vowels, and in the use of the point for separating words, both of which are unknown in Semitic alphabets. In tracing the origin of the Avesta letters the author takes into account both the scripts, Pahlavîk and Pârsîy, used in the Sasanian inscriptions; whereas Prof. Andreas did not count the former. Secondly the consideration of Armenian and Georgian alphabets offers good support to the new theory, which is no doubt, superior to all former attempts which are shown to be wrong.

As a general rule the voiceless sounds are expressed through or are derived from the Pahlavîk signs, whereas the voiced ones through Pârsîy. The exceptional cases are those of *p* and *w* which have exchanged the groups for unknown reasons. A glance at the table where the signs are put side by side shows that this theory is correct without any doubt in most cases, and where there is some doubt the author tries to solve it on the grounds of paleography, phonology, etc. In some cases like those of *g* and *w* the derivations suggested by Andreas, *viz.* from (Book Pahlavi) *gu* and *up* (supported by Lommel, see below) seems to be apparently preferable, but Junker warns us against such deceptive resemblances. As regards the origin of the vowel signs the difference is still greater, except per-

haps in the case of  $\bar{a}$  which is  $a$  plus the sign of elongation. The sign  $\text{ə}$  ( $\dot{a}$ ) is proved to be derived from Pārsīy "he" (the sign which takes the form of  $mn$  in Book Pahlavi). Then  $\bar{i}$  is not, say, Book Pahlavi  $i$  plus the sign of elongation which according to the author is paleographically a necessary part of it. Therefore  $\bar{i}$  is to be considered a cursive and therefore a shortened form of  $\bar{i}$ . The distinction between these signs was introduced, says the author, under the influence of Persian-Arabic signs for  $i$  and  $\bar{i}$ , and that too first in the Pazand and then in the Avesta, both being written in the same alphabet. This is, to my mind, not correct; leaving aside the influence of Persian-Arabic writing we may point out that the Pazand, *i.e.* the phonetical transcription of Pahlavi in the Avesta letters, is a product of Indian Dasturs and was never in vogue in Persia. In the table the development of  $\bar{i}$  is shown from the Pahlavīk  $i$ , but I feel not at all convinced, unless we adopt the form of  $i$  placed in brackets, which then can hardly be compared with Pahlavīk  $i$ . I do not see why  $\bar{i}$  (of the old type) should not be derived from two Pahlavīy  $i$ -s, the second being written somewhat below the line. The author himself says that  $\bar{i}$  is a short form of the initial  $y$  of the Iranian type which (and also the Indian  $y$ ) he derives from two  $i$ -s (pp. 40 ff.). At least we require some further light on this point. Similarly it seems more probable that  $\bar{e}$  (or  $e$ ) is derived from two, and not one, Pārsīy  $i$ -s. I further believe that this method will hold good also in the case of  $\bar{u}$ ; *i.e.* we can trace it to two Pārsīy  $u$ -s, although in this case Junker's theory that  $\bar{u}$  is derived from one Pārsīy  $u$ , and that  $u$  is its cursive form, does not appear far-fetched in the table. Moreover there is every reason to believe that the long vowels are the original signs from which the short ones are formed; and this of course goes in favour of the author, and so also the fact that short and long vowels are mixed up in the Avesta. Both  $\bar{o}$  and—it is to be noted—

the initial *v* are derived from two Pārsīy *u*-s, and *o* is considered a variant of *ō*. There is no doubt about this. Nor about *ā* which is proved to come from *q* and "he", (see above on *ə*). Junker derives *q* from *a* and Pārsīy *n* and *g*; but are not *a* and Pahlavīk *n* enough from the stand-point of both pronunciation and paleography? Again *a* does not receive its complete form in the other case; and compare also the formation of special *n* which results from *a* and Pahlavīk *m*. The common form of *n* comes from Pārsīy *n*; and *m* from Pārsīy *m*. But *u* and *u'* are derived from Pārsīy *h*, and *h* and *i* respectively. These apparently strange facts are well established also on phonological grounds. The letter *l*, occurring in the Pazand, is a ligature of *h* and *l*, and its pronunciation is *l*. As regards *š* the author adopts the view of Andreas that it is a ligature of *u*, *h* and *r*; and he settles its pronunciation as *ř*, i.e. spirantic, cerebral *r*, whereby he suggests that Avesta and Afghan or Pashto are closely related to each other. We cannot enter here into the details of his learned discussion which includes also the order in which the letters are given in old MSS. The sibilants *s* and *š* are derived from the corresponding Pārsīy signs; whereas *z* from any of the two *z*-s, and *ž* most probably from Pahlavīk *č*. In the table *č* is shown coming from Pahlavīk *č*, whereas elsewhere it is said to be a shortened form of *j* (p. 118) which is derived from Pārsīy *č*.—Results gained for the Avestic phonology need not be mentioned specially; in most cases they are evident from what is said about the signs.

There are 13 tables most of which exhibit the development of Avesta, Armenian and Georgian letters. One of them gives the script of the Pahlavi-Psalms, and another a piece from the strange Book-Pahlavi writing, the source of which is not mentioned. It is taken from the Maneckji Limji Hataria Library MS. which contains the Pahlavi text

*čemik i kustik*, and which was with me in 1923-24. Having found that one of the pieces, the *Afrin*, was written in the strange type, I brought it to the notice of the author who was already at that time occupied with the question of the Avesta alphabet. The two other known MSS. in which the Avesta letters are not of the ordinary type are taken into consideration in this study. (The strange type in the Xorda-Avesta MS. J9 is considered by the author to be very old or of Sasanian form. But it cannot be said, either from this fact or from Inostrantsev's article in the *Journal of the K. R. Cama Oriental Institute* No. 1, that the Parsi colony in India already during the Sasanian rule is a settled fact (p. 52). The author quotes antiquated views on this subject, as he seems to be unaware of S. H. Hodivala's researches.) It would have been better, if the author would have taken into account also the Manichean and Sogdian scripts to make his work as complete as possible. As it is, it solves the question in a very satisfactory manner, and the author deserves our thanks, and so also the publisher for reprinting it from his journal *Caucasica* where it was originally published.

Here it should be added that as regards *w* Lommel supports the theory of Andreas in the *Zeitschrift für Indologie und Iranistik* 6. 152 ff. where the discussion on *fraš̥upayeiti* (Yt. 8. 33) deserves special attention; it is proved by means of variants, parallel passages etc. to stand for *fraš̥āveayeiti*; in other words *up* = *v* (wrongly for *v*).

9. On the Aryan Doctrine of Fire and the light it throws on the Avesta.

10. On Miθra and allied subjects.

Hertel, J.: Die Arische Feuerlehre I. Teil. (P. 188).  
H. Haessel, Leipzig, 1925. (Indo-Iranische Quellen.  
und Forschungen Heft VI.)

This volume chiefly deals with some pairs of Indo-Iranian words that signify fire or light in its different aspects, by means of subjecting a number of passages where they occur to a strict criticism. The index of subject-matter gives a clear view of the main facts on the Aryan Doctrine of Fire. I have to postpone my account of it till the appearance of the second part. Meanwhile the following work may well be taken up.

Hertel, J.: Die Sonne und Mithra im Awesta (P. XXVIII, 318) H. Haessel, Leipzig, 1927. (Indo-Iranische Forschungen Heft IX).

The work under review is replenished with matters of no mean importance in all of its parts. We cannot deal with them all nor fully ; we shall just touch upon some of them. The Preface contains some further proofs of the correctness of the author's theory about the Doctrine of Fire. He assures us that the new meanings (which are not in the least unsupported by etymology) attributed by him to certain terms in a former volume of the series (I. I. Q. F. VI) hold good throughout the entire literature, and adds that by applying this key one comes to a correct understanding and better appreciation of the texts. This he does here in the case of Yt. 1, and shows that the names of Ahura Mazdāh therein are not put down without any order, but that they are arranged according to a fixed principle. Similarly he points out that it is not without reason that the list of mountains precedes the account of *xʷarənah* 'the royal light' in Yt. 19 ;—the reason is that they are supposed to be receptacles of light. Further the Yasna is no longer to be considered a later compilation, monotonous and meaningless to a high degree, put together by the ignorant clergy ; it is a well considered and logically thought out liturgical text. This he shows by translating anew some of its typical passages, and by emphasising that the Avestic conception of



the person includes everything,—also a material thing and an abstract idea. There is a note on this last point in his Introduction which also deals with the Yasts in general and the Yt. 10 in particular, and above all with the Avestic Doctrine of Fire. This is in brief as follows.

Fire, which pervades everything, is the principle of life ; it is warm and light (the highest form *aša* ) in good creations, whereas cold and dark (the highest form *druj* = *nasu* ' putrefaction ' ) in bad creations. The learned author will be pleased to learn that the GBD. account of the genesis fully testifies his theory, as can be seen even from the summary given in the Introduction to the work by Anklesaria who rightly says about the chapter: "After a close study of the language, it appears that the text has been prepared from a Pahlavi translation with commentary of some Avesta work, such as the Dāmdāt Nask . . . ." (XXII). The words warm and cold are not used here, but they occur elsewhere: *dravand mart mēnišn sarttar*, . . . *ahrav mart must garmtar*, the mind of a 'wicked' man is the coldest, . . . the fist of a 'pious' man is the warmest, *Mālikān i Frišt i Fryān* 3. 5, 14. The constant struggle between the two fires lies in intermingling in each other. The process is expressed by *raēθ* 'to mix' and its derivations. It is wrong to suppose that besides this *raēθ* 'to mix' there is another root *raēθ* 'to die'; as a matter of fact the latter is a developed or concluded meaning from the former. An irrecoverable mixture is death, it is called *para-iristi* 'the highest mixture'. A partial mixture is sickness, to recover from which one must try *yaoždāti* (it is not a purificatory ceremony but an exorcism)—as described in the V., especially 19. 20 ff. where we learn that it is *vohu manah* 'the shining thought', one of the fires of heart, that is attacked and that requires defence or support. Another term for the struggle is *band* and more common *hā(y)*, both meaning 'to

bind, to fetter'. The epithet of Aredvī, viz. *anāhūtā* is to be connected with *hā(y)*, then it would mean 'unfettered'. She is so designated, because she "regularly streams forth in winter as in summer" (Yt. 5. 5), unlike other waters which are frozen in winter, or to speak in the terms of the Avesta, are fettered by winter, one of the bad creations. Just as dark fire goes into good creations, and by destroying the bright fire therein kills them, so does the bright fire with respect to bad creations. This belief and this alone makes it clear why we are told in the V. 5. 35 ff., 12. 21 ff. that the corpse of a bad creation does not infect, whereas that of a good creation does;—because the former is possessed by bright fire, whereas the latter by dark fire. Also the practice of the *sag-dād* finds a rational explanation in this Doctrine of Fire. The act of seeing, says the author, was considered by the Indo-Iranians as the act of radiating light, (which was in one's body), through the eyes, and not as the effect of light on the retina, (for details see I I Q F. 6. 32 f.) Again an opposing power was destroyed by radiating light, i.e. by looking or staring at it. In other words just as the 'evil eye' could harm, so also the 'good eye'. Now among the domestic animals the eyes of the dog only (the cat was not yet known to the Aryans) glittered during the night, and it was in the darkness that the evil powers were most feared. Owing to these facts the dog's sight was considered especially fit for driving them off; and hence its use in the case of a corpse, one of the abodes of evil. The dog is similarly required while purifying a defiled person (V. 8. 37 f.), a custom still observed in the *barašnūm* ceremony. The belief that the soul remains for three days after death near the head of the dead is also brought in connection with the new theory. The corpse does not show before this time black marks which are the sign of its being cooked or digested by bad fire, and hence the soul as a good creation is there to hinder bad fire till it completes its work.

This explanation does not seem to be correct. The corpse is to be removed soon after death, except in the case of difficulties owing to winter (V. 8. 1 ff.). I believe that the stay of the soul for three days after death is to be connected with the less known belief about its presence at the time of birth, which latter I have postulated from the accounts of the birth of Zoroaster. As a further example of the 'good eye' killing a bad creation, Yt. 19. 84 is quoted, where it is said that Astvat-\*ərəta will direct his glance upon all bad creations. We can supply another from Pahlavi literature: Zātsparm relates how Zoroaster destroys his rival *Karap* by repeatedly staring at him (see SBE. 47. 150 f., where West has wrongly taken *aš* 'the eye of an evil being' as a logogram for 'life'). The parallel episode in the Dēnkart is not quite clear; here it seems that the power of a spell is tried to the same effect (compare ib. 44). The author applies his theory to some other parts of the Avesta and of the Vedic texts dwelling upon various forms of fire. In one case he seems to go beyond the mark; he says that the denunciation of the harlot and the pederast in the V. has nothing to do with ethics, but simply with the Doctrine of Fire. The harlot mixes the semen of good and bad persons and semen is one of the forms of bright fire, therefore she mixes good and bad fires. The pederast does the same by mixing semen with excrement which is a form of dark fire. The arguments in support of this view are not convincing.

The main part of the work deals with the nature of Miθra as far as the Avesta only is concerned. In order to prove that Miθra is not the sun Hertel first shows the nature of the latter by discussing all the passages where it occurs. The result is that *hvar* (= *van*) means 'light of the firmament' in general and 'the sun' in particular, with the epithet *šīāēia* 'shining' in the latter case for the sake of clearness; and that there are no corresponding

points in the nature and activity of the sun and of Miθra. On the contrary both are clearly distinguished. The fact that there are separate prayers, Yašt and Niyāyišn, (Niyāyiš), in honour of both of them shows that they cannot be one and the same. Then the author turns to Miθra. After translating the whole Yt. 10 with linguistic and other notes, he discusses the nature of this Yazata. The passage referring to the single wheel of Miθra's chariot is shown to be very corrupt ; in any case it does not point to the sun. At the same time his epithets "possessor of wide cattle pasture-grounds" (cattle = stars), "having ten thousand (originally one thousand) eyes", "having ten thousand (originally one thousand) spies", "having thousand ears", "having a wide watch-tower", "sleepless" and "always awake" leave no doubt whatsoever that Miθra represents the starry heaven and not the sun. And so is Miθra represented in the table 17 of the *Notizie degli scavi di Antichità*, Milano, 1924, his robe being decorated with seven stars, whereas the sun and the moon are given in the corners outside the figure of Miθra. This highly interesting fact can well be compared with the *Śkand-vimānīk-viçār* 16. 21 where it is said that the sun and the moon are created "outside the heaven or firmament (*bērōn* [i] *āsmān*)".

After describing Miθra's various activities the author shows his relation to other Yazatas. As regards the *dvandva* compound Miθra-Ahura or Ahura-Miθra he opines that it is a later borrowing from or a copy of Mitrā-Vāruṇa, and not the direct result of the original Aryan pair of gods. Ahura stands for Ahura Mazdāh, and Ahura Mazdāh has become the fixed name of the highest god only in the later Avesta, and hence the Aryan origin is declared out of the question. But the supposition about a mere copy seems to be unwarranted. If there be some truth in the common belief that Ahura Mazdāh is the Iranian counterpart of

Indian *Váruṇa*, then I would suggest that just as *Mitra* paled before *Váruṇa*, so did *Ahura* before *Miθra* as far as the pair was concerned. And it is a common fact that *Ahura Mazdaḥ* plays, if at all, a very subordinate role in the *Yāsts*. That there was some real connection between *Miθra* and *Ahura Mazdaḥ* can be clearly seen from what the author himself says about their appearance as nature gods. Just as *Miθra* was night heaven, *Ahura Mazdaḥ* was day heaven and then the sun. The last meaning is quite common in east-Iranian dialects. In western Iran, on the contrary, *Miθra* began to be looked upon as the sun, but only in post-Avestic days.

The home of the *Miθra* cult was northern (properly speaking north-eastern) Iran, as can be judged from the geographical data. Then it was introduced in eastern Iran, where it adopted the practice of ceremonial washings and of self-castigation by means of blows or stripes (Yt. 10. 122); and where it came in opposition to the *Índra* cult according to the *Rgveda* 10. 22 which contains also other references to the increasing power of *Miθra*. All this has been more fully dealt with in I I Q F. VI, Beiheft 30 ff. It should be noted that this is not the only case in which Hertel sees the close though inimical relation between the *Avesta* and the *Veda* peoples. And it is owing to this fact that a great number of words are used only for the evil beings, whereas they have no such peculiarity in the *Veda*. (The latest theory on this phenomenon comes from Gray, JRAS. 1927.) To the recognised list some other words are added, e.g. *mairya* 'inimical warrior', Ved. *márya* 'a young hero', and *dya* 'hell', not 'heaven'. (Yt. 3. 13, where this term occurs, contains a reference to the eastern neighbours in the phrase *paurva-naēmāt*.)

The Appendix contains among other things a reply to the author's critics. Hillebrandt brings the word *bráhmaṇ*

together with *barəsīnan* "the sacred twigs" which he considers as a symbol or charm of increase, then charm as such, and lastly the different sorts of charm, spell, song etc. Hertel replies that first of all *barəsman* in the Avesta does not imply twigs, but it points to the seat of straw for the offerings just as Ved. *barhis*, the exact Iranian equivalent of which is *barəziš*, the only difference being that the latter is used for profane and not religious purposes. Secondly it is not at all certain that *br̥h* means 'to grow'. Besides the lists of passages and words dealt with in this work, a very useful, detailed index of the subject-matter is given at the end.

In the course of this work the Pahlavi translation is often charged as responsible for the wrong interpretation of the Avesta by modern scholars. But without entering into the battle of methods it can be said that the Pahlavi translation should not be held responsible, if it is misunderstood by those who use it. I have shown elsewhere how it supports Hertel in a number of cases when correctly interpreted, and how in one case West's wrong translation has misled him about what he says on Yima (see Indoger. For. 47.306 f.)

In the end let it be noted again that what I have referred to here is only a small part of what the reader will find in the highly instructive and no less important work. We eagerly wait for the promised studies on the Fravaši and on the Yasna ceremony and for the detailed account of the Avesta religion from this new stand-point.

#### 11. On the Avestic metre.

Hertel, J. : Beiträge zur Metrik des Awestas und des R̥gvedas (P. IV, 98) 4°. S. Hirzel, Leipzig 1927.

Since the appearance of Geldner's work on the subject *Ueber d.e Metrik des jüngeren Avesta* (Tübingen 1877) we know that the 8 syllabic verse without any further cesura is

predominant in the Later Avesta, and that the traces of 10 and 12 syllabic verses are to be considered as questionable (pp. 117—119). Further researches were not undertaken, —partly because the metre was not taken into account for settling the text—, till very recently when Lommel tried to establish 10 (and 12) syllabic verses, (and thereby suggested corrections in the handed down text) in the *Zeitschrift für Indologie und Iranistik* 1. 185-245; 5. 1-92. He says that they occur generally either at the beginning or at the end, but also by way of rhythmical change; and he collects them in the groups formed on the latter basis. Hertel's work brings out some totally new facts about the question. He points out that the fixed number of syllables alone does not form a verse; the characteristic of a verse is the tact, *i.e.* cesura and stress, which are simply ignored till now. The author establishes their existence and the rules about their occurrence in the Later Avesta. It may be mentioned by the way that in the opinion of the author the Later Avesta is not a mixture of prose and poetry as generally believed, but the whole is composed in metre, of course with the exception of some corrupt pieces. In the present study Yt. 10 and some other pieces, also from the V., are taken into account. There are no stanzas as in the Gāṇā, *i.e.* the number of verses can vary in different groups,—(technically called tirades)—which is also the case in old French and early Middle High-German. The predominant or usual verse is 8 syllabic; the 10 syllabic occurs as an initial or final verse, and if in the middle, then it begins or ends a sentence; and the 12 syllabic is used in those places which are especially emphasised. The last verse of a group is sometimes catalectic. The cesura in the 8 syllabic verse which can be naturally divided into two equal parts occurs after the fourth syllable, and only exceptionally after the second syllable. When the 8 syllabic verse can be divided only in unequal parts, then the cesura occurs either after

the third or after the fifth syllable. Similarly in the 10 syllabic verse of equal division, the cesura occurs after the fifth syllable; whereas in that of unequal parts after the fourth or sixth syllable. There are two cesuras in the 12 syllabic verse; the first after the fourth, or after the third or fifth syllable,—according as the verse shows equal or unequal parts; the second as in the 8 syllabic verse. The author adds that the same is the case in the Veda, as against his predecessors, especially Oldenberg and Arnold who did not notice any cesura in the 8 syllabic verse, and dealt wrongly with the 10 and 12 syllabic verses. All this is shown by means of examples and tables. Further the metrics of the Later Avesta is, according to Hertel, the continuation of the Aryan model, whereas that of the Gāṇa is a renovation. He believes that to judge from the cesura and the stress the Gāṇic (and the R̥gvedic) 11 syllabic verse is derived from the catalectic form of the Aryan 12 syllabic verse; similarly the Gāṇic 7 syllabic verse comes from the catalectic form of the 8 syllabic, and the 9 syllabic from the hyper-catalectic. The verse accent in the Later Avesta is iambic, to say so for the sake of convenience. After showing that the rhyme also occurs often therein, the author turns to the results as regards textual criticism arrived at by means of metrical laws. The endings were not written in the original text; and in the Arsacid one they were sometimes not and sometimes wrongly inserted. Prothetic, anaptyctic and *svārbhakti* vowels are not later additions but belong to the text proper, and they sometimes form even syllables. Then he deals with hiatus, *sandhi* (vowel contraction), slur, diastole (vowel doubling) that are to be observed in scanning a verse. After showing some corruptions, glosses, etc., he gives long pieces as examples of verses marked with cesura and accent. The Appendix contains the translation of V. 22 and 3, and H. 2 with notes. Here there are many points worth noting but they must be



left untouched in this account. The details given are enough to show the importance of the work ; and it has already inspired another scholar to find similar verses even in the Old Persian inscriptions. It will be interesting and essential to find out whether the present mode of recitation supports Hertel or not. I think it does as regard cesura and accent in the common passages I know. Some one in Bombay with aptitude for the task may well take up the matter.

## 12. On Iranian languages and dialects.

Reichelt, H.: *Iranisch* (Geschichte der indogermanischen Sprachwissenschaft t 2. Teil, 4. Band, 2. Hälfte. P. 84, the rest 85-104 contains the account of Armenian studies by H. Zeller) Walter de Gruyter & Co., Berlin 1927.

The author first gives as Introduction a hurried review of the notable works that form the land-marks in the history of the study of Iranian languages till the appearance of the *Grundriss der iranischen Philologie*. Then in the first chapter attention is drawn to the new materials, especially to those which deal with the new languages and dialects discovered from the remains of Eastern Turkistan. Thus the phonological differences between Middle Parthian, the northern dialect, and Middle Persian, the southern dialect, are summarised here from the researches of Tedesco in *Le Monde Oriental* XV (where he deals with the grouping of Iranian languages and comes to the conclusion that Avesta belongs to the western group, which is not accepted by all), and of Lentz in the *Zeitschrift für Indologie und Iranistik* 4. As regards Sogdian the chief work is done by Gauthiot, and now by the author himself, to whom we are indebted also for the account of the Saka language (otherwise known as Khotani and North Aryan). Their characteristics are to be found here and in other chapters.

After some remarks about their relation the author turns to the question of pronunciation and orthography. Then follows a short note on the accent. The succeeding chapters deal with the vowel system, the consonant system, the word formation, the accent and the syntax. The author has compressed all the prominent facts in few pages and also in few sentences. The latter fact will be found very inconvenient by a beginner. Again there are no means with which the work can be used as a reference book; and this want will be felt by all. Perhaps the author was obliged to follow the general plan of the series. This, however, does not affect the intrinsic value of the work as a real guide about the problems of the comparative study of Iranian languages. In the latter part of the book Zeller deals with Armenian from the following standpoints: the history of its study, its place among Indo-European languages, its grammar (under different sub-heads), loan-words in the language, and its middle and modern form. It may be noted here that the importance of Armenian for Iranian philology lies on the one hand in the great number of Iranian loan-words to be found in it, and on the other in its historical literature.

Mention may be made of the two books that have appeared on the subject more recently and therefore could not be referred to by Reichelt.

Miller, W. : Ossetisch-Russisch-Deutsches Wörterbuch  
Herausgegeben und ergänzt von A. Freiman I (P.  
XIII, 618) Leningrad 1927.

Most of the work on the language in question is done by Miller. It was in the very beginning of his studies that he planned this dictionary, but he died before he could publish it. Then Salemann worked on his manuscript, but he too died, and so the work was entrusted to Freiman. In order to make the work as complete as possible, he

availed himself of the help of the natives that studied under him, and also by visiting their country. Still there are some omissions, to judge from the glossary given by Christensen. The etymology is nowhere given; this should not have been postponed till the second edition, which might not appear at least in the near future. As it is, the work is important, not only for its own sake but also for the closely allied languages. We hope that the remaining parts may soon follow.

Morgenstierne, G.: *An Etymological Vocabulary of Pashto* (P. 123) 4. Oslo 1927.

It is after more than thirty years that we have a second book on the subject,—the first one was by Geiger. The present attempt takes us further in the matter; the etymology of many new words is given, and in some cases new suggestions are made. The index of non-Pashto words is given at the end.

Morgenstierne, G.: *Report on a Linguistic Mission to Afghanistan*. Oslo 1926. P. 23. Maps 3.

The book contains a general account of different dialects spoken in Afghanistan; some of them are of Indian family, others of Iranian. It contains many new details.

Reichelt, H.: *Die Soghdischen Handschriftenreste des britischen Museums*. In *Umschrift und mit Uebersetzung*. Heidelberg, Carl Winter. 1928. P. VII, 72.

It is not possible here to give an account of the linguistic details from this work; so I shall mention only the names of the texts for those interested in Buddhism: The *Vimalakīrtinirdēśa-Sūtra*, a *Dhuta-Text*, a *Dhyāna-Text*, and some fragments, one of them dealing with the mystic ceremony for producing rain.

In one of the small fragments, the subject of which cannot be ascertained, there occurs the name *zr'ušc*. Reichelt would not connect it with the North-Iranian form of *Zaraθuštra*, as is done by Bang in another case, because the Sogdian *č* occurs only in feminine words. Still the epithet *'rt'w* is not without its significance. *Zaraθuštra* is always called *ašaran* in the Avesta, *ahrav* or *ašo* in the later writings; and *'rt'w* is the Sogdian form of *ašaran*, *rtāvan*. It is rather strange that a number of terms in these few lines reminds one of Zoroastrianism. It is true that *rwγšn'γ rδmnyh* for paradise occurs also elsewhere, but its epithet 'fragrant' is very characteristic. If this fragment does not belong to Buddhism but to Zoroastrianism, as I am inclined to believe, then its discovery must be called unique, since hitherto no reference to the national religion of ancient Persia has been found in the large mass of MSS. brought from Central Asia.

13. On the chronological order in the Later Avesta.
14. On the Kayanians.
15. On the relation of Zurvānism with Zoroastrianism.

Christensen, A.: *Etudes sur le Zoroastrisme de la Perse Antique*. (P. 59.) Copenhagen, 1928.

The author sets up the following chronological table as regards the Later Avesta from what we may call internal-external evidence,—from style and diction, from parallel passages, from geographical data and from references to other known facts.

{ Yt. 10 }	pre-Achaemenian, or the early days of the Achaemenian rule.
{ Yt. 13 }	
Yt. 19 }	

{ Yt. 5 }	
{ Yt. 17 }	
{ Yt. 8 }	A chaemenian, probably 4th century B.C.
{ Yt. 14 }	
{ Y. 9-11 }	
{ Y. 57 }	
{ Yt. 15. }	
6-37 }	
Vendidad }	Arsacid time, probably 1st century A. C.
Yt. 9 }	
Yt. 16	Later days of the Arsacid rule.

I cannot repeat the whole discussion, but some bare facts will not be out of place. Yt. 10 refers only to the north-eastern provinces of Iran, whereas Yt. 19 includes some southern parts like Sistan, but not yet western ones as Yt. 5 does. Yt. 13 is placed before Yt. 19 for another reason. The legendary list in the former begins with Yima—as the Indo-Iranian system requires—and not with Haošya<sup>ta</sup>ha as in Yt. 19 (and other later Yašts). There is another fact that speaks for its antiquity; the ethnic names occurring in it point to primitive times. The *Tūra* and the *Dāha* are Iranian nomads; the *Sairīma* are not Sauromates as suggested by Marquart (Erānšahr 155) but are Sarmatians, and the two are different peoples. All this, however, is not absolutely certain. The connection of the *Sāini* with the Chinese by Darmesteter and West is declared to be very uncertain. The second group of texts contains some allusions to the Achaemenian period. Yt. 5 gives the description of Anāhitā; Yt. 17. 7-14 depicts the picture of luxurious and voluptuous life which necessitates a higher state of civilization; and Yt. 10. 14 refers to the bull-banner. The next group contains marks of Parthian rule. The list of

countries in the first chapter of V. represents the extent of the Parthian empire under Mithridates I. Barring some poetical and hence ancient pieces, its prose style is quite in consonance with this late date. Again the laws, especially those about the disposal of the dead, were common in this period, whereas not so in the earlier one. As to Yt. 9 it uses the uncommon name Dravāspā for Gōuš Urvan (and Gōuš Tašan), later Gōš. Christensen refutes the theory of M. A. Stein about AΠOOCATIO of Indo-Scythian coins, and connects it with Drvāspā, *d* being changed to *l* in east-Iranian dialects. This gives us the date when the name Drvāspā was in fashion, and therewith the probable date of the Yašt in her honour. These few details will give some idea of the admirable and ingenious way in which the author deals with the Avesta. The educated people know that the same method is applied to profane literature, say, to the dramas of Shakespeare: and leaving aside the busybodies, at least the class of our people known as scholars will admit its justification. It is another question, if the data appear to be too meagre, for final decision, especially to a sceptic.

While dealing with Yt. 13 the author dwells upon several other points. As regards the formation of names of the persons the repetition of a component part in the names of the members of a family is peculiar, which fashion reappears under the later Sasanians. The view that the legend about the division of the earth among his three sons by Frētōn has its traces in Yt. 13 is refuted. Christensen explains how the legend arose under the Arsacid period.

On the question of the Kayanians the author says that the few notices about the heroic Kavis are to be taken as reminiscences of some old dynasty, and not as astronomical myths. He quite agrees with Hertel that the term *kavi* is used in the Gāthā as a common designation for petty princes; and therein he sees the fact that that old dynasty did not

exist at the time, and that Kavi Vištāspa of the Later Avesta is not an immediate descendant of the other Kavi-s. Hertel's arguments about this last point may well be compared here; and there remains no doubt about the forged character of the later genealogy. On the other hand Christensen denies the identity of Vištāspa of the Gāḍā and that of the Old-Persian inscriptions. At least it can be said that there are various facts which speak against Hertel's supposition about the identity which must be given up in any case.

As regards Zurvānism Christensen first gives the representative accounts in chronological order, and then comes to the following conclusion. It was one of the primitive elements of Zoroastrianism; the prophet refers to the eternal good and bad spirits as a twin; in the Achaemenian days the theological and astrological speculation connected them either with Time or with Space. The former view prevailed. In the Parthian time the doctrine was more or less effaced. In the North Dialect or Middle Parthian *zurvān* is used only in the sense of 'old age'. This explains why the extant Avesta has so little on the subject; but the doctrine was in vogue in certain parts of Iran. And it was reintroduced under the Sasanians in books like the *Dāmdāt Nask*. Immediately before or more probably after the downfall of the Sasanians there arose a new orthodox party which denounced Zurvānism as a heresy. This is one of the causes to which is due the missing of a large part of the Sasanian Avesta. (This is, to my mind, a wrong view; because almost all the Nasks existed till the end of the 10th century and most of them had nothing to do with Zurvānism as can be seen from their summary.) The Zurvānism was given up because its myths were very grotesque owing to which it was ridiculed by the Christians and would have been more so by the victorious Moslems. Again Zurvān is connected with Destiny and the fatalism preached by it

would have been more dangerous for a religion fighting for its life. So many new points are to be found in this excellent, short monograph. The reader is not burdened with unnecessary, long talks, but is guided in a straight and clear manner.

16. On the Rubā'iyāt of 'Umar-i-Khayyām.

Christensen, A.: Critical Studies in the Rubā'iyāt of 'Umar-i-Khayyām. A revised Text with English Translation. Copenhagen 1927. P. 180.

In this work an attempt is made to settle the genuine verses of the poet, and thereby his genius and character. As the work is in English I need not go into details. It is enough to note that the author divides the manuscripts and editions into those without any order, those with the order of subject-matter, those with single alphabetical order and those with double alphabetical order. Their merit he estimates in the same descending order. Then he counts which quatrains occur in a certain number of manuscripts, etc. of each group. The text of 121 quatrains thus selected are given with variants and literal translation. This can be easily called the best contribution on the subject.

17. On Sasanian Numismatics.

Vasmer, R.: Sasanian Coins in the Ermitage. Reprinted from the "Numismatic Chronicle", Fifth Series, Vol VIII. 1928. P. 86 and Plates 2.

The author fully describes the most noteworthy coins of the first period from Ardashir I to Shapur II, and thereby points out unique features, and refers to parallel or differing coins. The work is in English and so I need not give them nor the new points gained for history etc. (They will be found in Bulletin Iran League, April 1929.)



## 18. On Iranian History and Geography.

Barthold, W. : Turkestan down to the Mongol Invasion. Second Edition translated from the original Russian and revised by the author with the assistance of H. A. R. Gibb, M.A. (= "E. J. W. Gibb Memorial" New Series V.) P. XIX, 513. London, Luzac & Co. 1928.

Although the title of the work refers to Turkestan only, the reader will find a mass of historical and geographical materials about a part of Iran. The Introduction deals with the sources; really speaking it forms an essay on the Perso-Arabic historical and geographical works. The chapters are: Geographical Survey of Transoxania, Central Asia down to the Twelfth Century, Qarā-Khitāys and Khwārazm-Shāhs, and Chingiz-Khan and the Mongols. There are also given: Chronological Summary of Events, Bibliography, General Index, and Reference Table of Medieval and Modern Place-Names with a Map. New light is thrown on many a difficult problem in this work.

## 19. On Iranian Archaeology.

Herzfeld, Ernst : *Archaeologische Mitteilungen aus Iran* Band I Heft 1. P. 40 and 23. Plates 3 and 30. Maps 2. Berlin : Dietrich Reimer 1929.

Herzfeld intends to publish periodically the results of his research work on the subject. In the first number of this series are included a short account of the excavations at Pasargadae carried on in 1928, and a report on the condition of the ruins of Persepolis with suggestions for their preservation. The latter work was done in 1923-24 and has been given here in French and Persian as desired by the Persian Government. The monuments at Pasargadae will be given in the first volume of the parallel series, *Iranische Denkmäler*. Those of Persepolis are included here according to the original plan. The figures are beautifully executed, and the author promises to make them appear still

better in the following numbers.

The ruins of Mashhad i Murghab were generally identified as the remains of Pasargadae. Objections to this supposition were refuted by the author in *Klio* of 1907, but as some were not fully convinced, he undertook the present excavation. First he describes the topographical situation; it is similar to that of Ecbatana. The weather is much colder than that of Persepolis, and hence more suitable for the conquering immigrants coming from the cold parts about the Aral Sea. The immigration of the Persians as opposed to the Medians took place after the destruction of Elam in 640 B.C. The date of the foundation of Pasargadae is, as shown below, 559-550 B.C. During this interval of 80 years the Persians can be said to have slowly colonised Anzhan, later on called Parsa after them. Only one monument of this period is known,—a tomb on the way between Persepolis and Susa, which in its character and form holds an intermediary place between the Median tombs and those at Naksh i Rostam and Persepolis. It may belong to one of the three ancestors of Cyrus the Great. Then the author dwells on the type of the colony. It is absolutely primitive, it being not a compact city, but groups of buildings scattered far and wide on the plain. There are, however, very meagre rests of a city without any city-wall. Another group of ruins shows the existence of a temple and at least three great buildings; and still another a group of palaces. All this together with the well-known Tomb of Cyrus forms Pasargadae, the city of Cyrus. The author notes here a custom,—surely a very old, pre-Moslem one,—with reference to the tomb: when the herds in their great journey pass by it, they are made to go round it thrice, and with their milk and curds are washed the stones of the socle. The ruins of the temple show that it might have been a great, raised platform in the form of a number (it is six here) of terraces for performing worship thereon, comparable with what Herodotus relates. But Herzfeld:

argues that for such a purpose one of the many natural hills lying hard by would have been used, as has been done in the Sasanian days. Further the comparison with the Babylonian temple ruins leads one to suppose that there was a cella on the highest terrace. In that case the temple was similar to the Tomb of Cyrus, which fact in its turn is a further proof for the author's supposition. There is no wonder that the remains of the cella are not found, for it, like the three upper terraces, must have been built of clay bricks with a wooden roof. As to the palaces the author believes that they were connected with one another by means of a park. There is that grand gate with the four-winged genius in Elamite dress wrongly taken to be Cyrus, because of the inscription there: "I, Cyrus, the King, the Achaemenide", which rightly belongs to the whole building and not to the figure alone. This inscription, which was known to exist till 1840, could not be discovered in spite of great search. The main doors had colossal, winged bulls—the inner pair with human heads. The audience hall differs in its technique from that of Persepolis. The sculptures also are different. They are: three barefooted men, in long and tight clothing reaching up to the ankles, leading a cow; and two genii with naked legs and one of them with bird's claws. In all cases only the lower part is extant. As the genii show some Assyrian features they may be a winged man and a man with bird's head and claws. In the other figure priests may be leading the cow for sacrifice. All this is new; it does not occur at Persepolis. The figures of the animals including the horse, which is again a new fact, are simpler and therefore more beautiful and more effective than those at the latter place. The residential palace is also of a new type. Here the king appears with a servant, both in the same dress as at Persepolis. This is not without its importance, because it does away with the theory of the change of dress concluded from the above mentioned figure of the

genius wrongly identified with Cyrus. There is some difference in the style, and also in the art of showing the eyelashes and the borders of the garments, which art is more primitive and at the same time a direct forerunner of that at Persepolis. There are two inscriptions; the longer one is preserved only in parts and is not thoroughly examined, but it seems to contain blessings on his palace and his portrait. The shorter one runs: "Cyrus, the Great King, the 'Achaemenide'". This is of the highest importance, for it sets at rest all doubts whatsoever about the historical problem of Pasargadae. In the hitherto known inscription the wording was: "The King" and not "the Great King", and hence it could not be definitely connected with the founder of the great empire. But the new inscription with "the Great King" solves that difficulty. It proves the identity of the ruins with Pasargadae, the city of Cyrus the Great. At the same time this inscription decides the date of its foundation. In it there are neither the Babylonian titles as found in his Cylinder-Inscription nor the Median ones, therefore the city was founded before the victory over the Medians, *i.e.*, during 559-550 B.C. The foundation of the capital was a challenge to the sovereign power, just as was the case after 800 years with the foundation of Ardashir-Khurrah.

The importance of the whole work lies in three directions. (1) The inscriptions with their relation to political history and to the history of the cuneiform writing. (2) The unique discovery of a temple. (3) The proof that the architecture and the sculpture of Pasargadae represent a more primitive art than those at Persepolis. This combined with what little we know of Median art shows that the Old Iranian art lives and grows just as all genuine arts, and that the theory, which declares the works of art under Darius as due merely to the will and power of a world emperor, and executed through the hands of his subject races, especially the Greeks and the Egyptians, must be given up for ever as totally wrong.

A LAUDATORY POEM, ADDRESSED TO  
PRINCE KHURRAM (AFTERWARDS  
SHÂH JAHÂN), BY DASTUR KAIKOBAD  
MÂHYÂR, OF NAOSARI, (ABOUT 1617).

BY SHAMS-UL-ULAMA DR. JIVANJI JAMSHEDJI MODI, B.A., PH.D., C.I.E.

I

INTRODUCTION.

I propose giving in this paper, the text, translation and notes of a Persian laudatory poem, addressed in the year 1617 A.C., *i.e.* more than 300 years ago, by Dastur Kaikobad Mâhyâr<sup>1</sup> (Meherji Rana) of Naosari, to Prince Khurram (afterwards Emperor Shah Jahân), at the time when he (Khurram) invaded Dakhan at the direction of his father Jahangir. It is a poem of 90 couplets. It cannot be said to possess any literary merit, but it seems to be a better composition than that of the petition in verse, addressed by Kaikobad to Emperor Jahangir, about a year later. The reason for this superiority seems to be, that this laudatory poem<sup>2</sup> was written leisurely, under no special hurry, but the petition was written rather hastily. It is attempted to be written in the *bahr* (جر) or meter of the *Shâh-nâmeh* of Firdousi. Some of the couplets are faulty in point of meter, but that may be due to the fault of the copyists. In poems or writings of

1 *Vide* for this personage my paper entitled "Petition in Persian verse, made in 1619, by Dastur Kaikobad of Naosari to Emperor Jahangir" (Jour. K.R. Cama Oriental, Institute No. 13, pp. 67-287).

2 I have alluded to this poem in my paper entitled "Notes of Anquetil Du Perron (1755-61) on King Akbar and Dastur Meherji Rana" (Jour. B.B.R.A.S. Vol. XXI, Art. 19, pp. 537-551. *Vide* my "Parsees at the Court of Akbar and Dastur Meherji Rana", pp. 391-92).

this kind intended to be presented to the king or other great personages, one cannot expect the original to be found elsewhere because they must go to the king or the parties for whom they are intended. The copies that come down to later ages are copies of the copy of the original writer. Hence it is that the copyists, one after another, may possibly make it faulty.

The copy from which I give the text and my translation is a well-written copy belonging to the library of the late Mr. Manockji Rustomji Unvala. I will first give the text and the translation and will then explain the historical and other allusions made in it.

## II

### THE TEXT OF THE POEM.

بنام <sup>1</sup> خداوند جان آفریت	ازو باد بر تو هزار آفرین
توسلطان شاه جهان یاک رای	زبان را بذکر خدا برکشای
تو اول بنام خدا یاک گیر	بهرجا شود او ترا دستگیر
تو شاه جهان خرم نیک نام	که بر تخت باشد مقامت مدام
5 شهنشاه شاه جهان خرم است	ابا رامش و خرمی درخور است
که تاج و کلاه است سزاوار تو	تو شاه جهان باش ای نیک خو
شهنشاه شاه جهان نیکبخت	خداوند تاج و خداوند تخت
که زبید ز توتاج و تخت و کلاه	تو هستی شه یاک زیبای گاه
براورنکو تو باشی فرخنده بی	که نامت بماند چو شاهان کی
10 ز مغرب که تا مشرق پادشاه	بدرگاه تو سر نهند با کلاه
ترا کرد ایزد سر سروان	بفرمان تو کرد نام آوران
برو با سپاهی گران بر دکهن	که ییخش بشمشیر از بن بکن
خجسته بتو باد ملک دکهن	عدوان تو بادا همه دل شکن

1 The first line is well nigh the same as the first line of the shāh-nāmah on the meter of which this is written. The first line of the shāh-nāmah is بنام خداوند جان و خرد

- 15 برو با سپاهي گران نامدار جهانگیر امر کرد بتو بر دکهن برو زود بشتاب بر دکهنیان بکن مردم جنگیات همه کار و رزان همه نامدار که نام تو ماند بچرخ بلند چو رستم که با دیو ما زندران که در ملک دکهن بود نام تو ز تیغت گریزد همه دکهنیان جهانگیر شاه از تو را ضی شود در آنجا چو فرخ فریدون شاه نباشد چو تو در چمان نامدار بنوک ستانش بکن سرزنش چو تو تیغ بندی کمر بر میات ملک دکهن تو نما رستخیز ز دشمن نباشد ترا هیچ باک ازو باد بر تو بسی ظفر و مهر همه ملک دکهن بزیر آوری چو روباه بگریزد از ز شیر که از تن جدا کن سر سرکشان از دست او گشت رستم بزیر که چون رستم نیو و پوریشنگ بدست آر دکهن ز فرزانی دکهن را بده گوشمال تو همین که از موم تر نرم خارا شود دیگر توده آجدانگر نیکو فال
- 20 چو دستان رستم به بندی میان که از دست تو تیغ بازی شود نمایان شوی همچو بچرخ و<sup>1</sup> ماه<sup>2</sup> که از ملک شان تو بر آری دمار دکهنیان فریبنده و بدکنش جگایای دارند همه دکهنیان ابا نامداران مردان خیز ترا یار باشد خداوند پاک نگهدار دادار دارنده دهر نمائی که در جنگ زور آوری اگر تو در جنگ باشی دلیر چکاچک شمشیر خنجر کشان دلیری چنان کن چو سهراب شیر باورد که زن تو تیر خدنگ بکویال و شمشیر و مردانگی تو با نامداران بشمیر کین چنان کن که گر نام تو بشنود سیتندرا<sup>3</sup> نمیسر<sup>4</sup> بکن توده حال
- 25 دکهنیان فریبنده و بدکنش جگایای دارند همه دکهنیان ابا نامداران مردان خیز ترا یار باشد خداوند پاک نگهدار دادار دارنده دهر نمائی که در جنگ زور آوری اگر تو در جنگ باشی دلیر چکاچک شمشیر خنجر کشان دلیری چنان کن چو سهراب شیر باورد که زن تو تیر خدنگ بکویال و شمشیر و مردانگی تو با نامداران بشمیر کین چنان کن که گر نام تو بشنود سیتندرا<sup>3</sup> نمیسر<sup>4</sup> بکن توده حال
- 30 دکهنیان فریبنده و بدکنش جگایای دارند همه دکهنیان ابا نامداران مردان خیز ترا یار باشد خداوند پاک نگهدار دادار دارنده دهر نمائی که در جنگ زور آوری اگر تو در جنگ باشی دلیر چکاچک شمشیر خنجر کشان دلیری چنان کن چو سهراب شیر باورد که زن تو تیر خدنگ بکویال و شمشیر و مردانگی تو با نامداران بشمیر کین چنان کن که گر نام تو بشنود سیتندرا<sup>3</sup> نمیسر<sup>4</sup> بکن توده حال
- 35 دکهنیان فریبنده و بدکنش جگایای دارند همه دکهنیان ابا نامداران مردان خیز ترا یار باشد خداوند پاک نگهدار دادار دارنده دهر نمائی که در جنگ زور آوری اگر تو در جنگ باشی دلیر چکاچک شمشیر خنجر کشان دلیری چنان کن چو سهراب شیر باورد که زن تو تیر خدنگ بکویال و شمشیر و مردانگی تو با نامداران بشمیر کین چنان کن که گر نام تو بشنود سیتندرا<sup>3</sup> نمیسر<sup>4</sup> بکن توده حال

1 This is superfluous.

2 These two words are not clear. The second word seems to be the name of a city like Ahmadnagar, the name of which we read in the second line.

- 40 که هردو توده ست بچوگان تو میانش تو می باز جوگان و گو  
 بچوگان شمشیر ظفر قرین بکن کو سر دشمنت بد لعین  
 بیازی بمیدان مردانکین سر دشمنانت بزن بر زمین  
 هم آورد<sup>1</sup> تونی بمیدان جنگ اگر چند باشد چو پور پشنگ  
 نباشد به بیشت کسی بآندار چو بر توسن تیزگشتی سوار  
 بگرزو و شمشیر و تبر و کمان یارای لشکر چو شیري زیان  
 45 تو لشکر گزین کن چنان نامدار که در جنگی باشد چو خنجرگذار  
 بکن میمنه تو یلی شیر گیر که شیر زیانرا بزند متبر  
 دیگر میسره را پست<sup>2</sup> جنگاوران که در جنگ باشد چو نامآوران  
 بسم ستوران زمین شان بکنند سرشات یاوز بنخم کنند  
 50 بده تو زری از خزانه بزرگ بیفشان بانکس که مردي سترگ  
 چنان ساز لشکر چو گودرذ کیو چو برزوی رستم<sup>3</sup> فرامرزیو  
 که سالار<sup>4</sup> لشکر چنان کن کسی که در جنگ نامش که باشد بسی  
 خجسته بتو گاوایانی درفش اباگرز و شمشیر زرین سرش  
 ترا باد فرخ کیانی کلاه که چون<sup>5</sup> بود بفرخ فریدون شاه  
 55 بقلب اندرون جای خود را ساز بتخت کیانی نشسته بنواز  
 بتللید لشکر بهرجا که هست یابند بدرگهت چون ییلان مست  
 اباگرز و شمشیر زوین زره به بیربیان به ابر کره  
 منادی نمایند نقیبان شاه یابند بدرگهت بزودی سپاه  
 عدوانت چو بینند لشکر بسی نه ایستند بیشت در آنجا کسی  
 سرانی سیه را بکن پیشرو که با تیغ و کوبال مانند کو  
 60 سرانی سیه چو بود ییل مست سیه صد هزاران کند زیر پست  
 جوانان چالاک کنند اوران طرید نمایان کنند افکنان  
 سپاهی چو باید باسپی سوار عدو را بگیرد چو شیر شکار  
 که ییلان جنگی بود پیش صف بسی ییل گردان ز و بین بکف

1 Miswritten for آور .

2 for - .

3 Written رستم . In some old writings they used to put three nuktahs below sin.

4 Written سالار vide n. 2. 5 Written چون



- 65 سواران شمشیر و مردان کین  
عنازرا بهر رای سیارند تیز  
چنان میزند تیغ ناماوران  
مسخر شود دکهن از دست تو  
که شاهان سابق در آنجا که هست  
یدرگهت میارند همه بازوساو
- 70 همه راجها از اطراف آن  
هراکه گرفنی تو ملک دکهن  
که از داد و انصاف بود نام تو  
بکستر چنان داد تو پاکیزه کیش  
که بر تخت روشن چو خورشید باد  
75 بکن ناز بر تخت شاه جهان  
همیشه ترا رود رامش بهار  
همه سالهای تو فرخنده باد  
دعا و ثنا کو بتو کیقباد  
خانه زاد شاه قدیمی غلام  
80 که در سایه لطف خود آن بادشاه  
دوسه خدمتی کرد عنایت بن  
مدد معاش سیصد یکه کره<sup>1</sup> داد  
بهشت برین باد ماوای او  
دیگراز جهانگیر سری خسروان  
85 نو شاه جهان یکی مواضع بن  
به بخش تو مواضع شه پاك و تیز  
اگر شاه ببخشد مواضع بن  
ازان عرضی نمایم بشاه جهان  
فرمان سعادت ز درگاه تو  
90 ترا جاویدان باد ایزدان پناه
- سپه صد هزاران زند بر زمین  
بآورد که میکنند رستخیز  
بسندان زند تیک اهنکرات  
در آنجا تو شاه جهان نیکخو  
بدرگهت کنند سجده ای نیکبخت  
ندارند بجنگ کسی هیچ تاو  
که در خدمت تو بیندند میان  
در آن ملک گستر تو داد و امن  
در آن ملک باشد همه کام تو  
یکجا خورد آب با گرگ میش  
نشستگهی تو<sup>2</sup> چو جشید باد  
که چو کرد جشید شاه گیهان  
هر آنچه تو نوشی بود خوشکوار  
همه روزهای تو رخشنده باد  
که جاوید بر تخت تو شاد باد  
که پرورده شاه اکبر نیکنام  
سرافراز مرا کرد درین بارگاه  
سرافراز نمود اکبری پاکتن  
خدا یا بخت که او شاد باد  
خدا یا تو بخشید بروح پاك او  
که فرمان دارم ز روشن روان  
عنایت بفرما تو ای پاك تن  
که نام تو ماند تا رستخیز  
سرافراز شود بنده در انجمن  
تو بخشنده شاه جهان مهربان  
مرادم رسان شاه پاکیزه خو  
بکام تو گرداد خورشید و ماه

تمت

1 This word is superfluous, both for meter and meaning.

## III

## TRANSLATION.

1. By the name of God, the Creator of the soul,  
May a thousand blessings be upon you  
from Him.
2. You Sultan,<sup>1</sup> (you) pure-minded king of the  
world! Offer your tongue in the praise of God.
3. In the beginning, you take the name of holy God.  
He will be your helper in every place.
4. You are the king<sup>2</sup> (shâh) of the world, cheerful  
(khurram) and famous. May your place be  
always on the throne.
5. The emperor, the king of the world, is cheerful  
(khurram). He is worthy of joy and cheer-  
fulness.
6. The crown and the royal cap are worthy of you.  
Oh good-natured man! May you be the king of  
the world.
7. (You are) emperor, a fortunate king of the world  
and a possessor of the crown and possessor  
of the throne.
8. The crown, the throne and the royal cap befit you.  
You are a holy king worthy of the throne.
9. May your auspicious feet be on your throne. May  
your name be (glorious) like the Kayanian  
kings.

---

1 According to Jahangir's Memoirs (Rogers and Beveridge's Memoirs I, p. 338), Jahangir conferred upon Khurram, at the time of his departure for Dakhan, the title of "Shâh" and ordered, that "he should be styled Shâh Sultân Khurram."

2 It is a pun upon the words khurram and shah which form his proper name and title.

10. Kings from west to east, place their crowned heads in (submission before) your Court.
11. God has made you a leader of leaders and has placed illustrious persons under your orders.
12. Go with a large army to Dakhan and extirpate its seed<sup>1</sup> from the root with your sword.
13. May the country of Dakhan be auspicious to you. May your enmity<sup>2</sup> break all their heart.
14. Go with a large and famous army. May all your wishes be fulfilled in that place.
15. Jahangir has ordered you (to go) to Dakhan. If you wish to acquire fame, conquer (lit. break) (the country of) Dakhan.
16. Go quick, hasten towards the Dakhanis (and) attack them with your fighting men.
17. Show bravery before warlike troops, before all fighting men and illustrious men.
18. When troubles will befall the Dakhanis from you, your name will be raised to the highest heaven.
19. Knock their heads with your heavy club, as did Rustam in the case of the demons of Mâzindarân.
20. May God fulfill all your desires. May your name be (glorious) in the country of Dakhan.
21. Tie your waist like the Dastân<sup>3</sup> of Rustam. All the Dakhanis will run away through your sword.

---

1 i.e., the seed of the country invaded. What is meant is: "Destroy the enemy altogether."

2 عدوان enmity or enemies. The line may mean: "May your enemies be heart-broken." But, then, the last word, *del-shekan*, is not quite proper; it must to be taken in the sense of *del-shekasteh*.

3 Zal, the father of Rustam, is also called "Zâl-i Zar, Dastân-i Zand, Dastân-i Sâm or simply Dastân" (Warner Brothers' *Shâh-nâmeh*, Vol. I, Introduction, p. 84).

22. In your hands, the sword will be like a plaything and king Jahangir will be pleased with you.
23. Be as apparent<sup>1</sup> (*i.e.* be boldly forward) as the moon in the sky. Be there (as glorious) as the glorious king Faridun.
24. If you will destroy (*lit.* take out the breath of) their country, there would not be anybody in the world as famous as yourself.
25. The Dakhanis (are) treacherous and mischievous. Rebrke (*i.e.* punish) them with the point of your spear.
26. Where will all the Dakhanis stand, when you will put on your sword over your waist?
27. With your famous active<sup>2</sup> troops, you show the Day of Resurrection to (*i.e.* bring the end of) the country of Dakhan.
28. May holy God assist you. May you have no fear of the enemy.
29. May God, the ruler of destiny,<sup>3</sup> protect you. May there be much of victory and favour over you from Him.
30. Show, that you can bring strength (to your aid) in fight. Bring the whole country of Dakhan under your submission.
31. If you will be brave in fight, (the enemy) will run away like a fox (which runs away) from the brave lion.

1 نمایان appearing, apparent, bold.

2 خیز impatient, bounding, leaping.

3 دهر fortune, destiny, adverse fortune; God, as ruler of destiny.

32. Let there be the clashing of swords of dagger-bearers. Sever the heads of the haughty from their bodies.
33. Show bravery like the brave Sohrab by whose hand Rustam was brought down (to the ground).<sup>1</sup>
34. Aim an arrow (khang) <sup>2</sup> in the battle-field, as the brave Rustam and the son of Pashang (*i.e.* Afrâsiâb) used to do.<sup>3</sup>
35. With a mace, a sword, and (your) bravery, bring Dakhan under your submission through wisdom.
36. With brave men and with your revengeful sword, punish Dakhan; make haste.<sup>4</sup>
37. Act in such a way that when they hear your name, they may become soft (*i.e.* yield) in the same way as that in which a hard stone becomes soft like moist wax.
38. Make the aim of your arrows for the present,<sup>5</sup> ... O fortunate man! Let Ahmednagar be the next (place for the) aim of your arrows.
39. Both these places are the butt of your bat (chow-gân). Play, in their midst, your play of bat and

1 *Vide* Mohl, small edition, Tome II, p. 126. Warner Brothers' Shâh-nameh, Vol. II, pp. 169-70.

2 خدنگ the white poplar, a tree from which they make arrows; an arrow made of it.

3 Afrasiâb and Rustam had several fights (Warner Brothers' Shâh-nameh, Vol. III, pp. 263, 318).

4 هين "Have a care! make haste!" or, for اين "this, thus" (Steingass.).

5 تود the butt or mark at which arrows are shot.

6 The names of the places are not clear.

ball (chowgân-o-gu) (*i.e.* strike blows on these cities and punish them).

40. May victory be associated with the bat of your sword. Make the head of your wretched accursed enemy your ball.
41. Play in the plain (maidân) of fighting men and throw on the ground, the heads of your enemies.
42. Carry a cane in the battle-field, although there may be many (warriors) like the son of Pashang (*i.e.* like Afrasiâb).
43. When you will ride a swift high-blooded<sup>1</sup> horse nobody can stand before you.
44. With mace and sword and arrows and bow, prepare an army (as brave) as a ferocious lion.
45. You select such illustrious troops as would act in the battle like bearers of daggers.
46. Place on the right wing of your army a hero who capture lions and who can strike a ferocious lion with an arrow.
47. Place on the left<sup>2</sup> wing (of your army) a person that would be a pillar of strength (*lit.* support) to warriors, (and) who may act in the battle like glorious men.
48. Dig up their land with the hoofs of your beasts of burden. Bring their heads under the groove of your noose.
49. Give money from your big treasury and throw it towards that man who is an able-bodied man.
50. Prepare an army of persons like Godarz and Giv, like Barzu, Rustam and brave Framurz.

---

1 توسن a high-blooded steed ; a young unbroken horse.

2 Maisara left wing.

51. Let the commander of your army be a person whose name may carry a good weight in the war.
52. May the Kavehâni banner together with the mace and gold-headed sword be auspicious to you.
53. May the Kaeyâni hat be auspicious to you as it was to the fortunate king Faridun.
54. Sitting splendidly on the Kaeyânian throne, take your place in the centre of the army.
55. Call your troops wherever they be. They will come to your Court like brave elephants,
56. with mace and sword, javelin, coat of mail, with military cloaks<sup>1</sup> and buttoned<sup>2</sup> garments.<sup>3</sup>
57. Let the heralds<sup>4</sup> issue a proclamation and the troops will assemble quickly at your Court.
58. When your enemies will see your large army, nobody will stand there before you.
59. Let the commanders of troops march in the front. May they stand like heroes with sword and mace.
60. When the commanders of troops are brave like elephants, they overpower hundreds of thousands of soldiers.
61. (When) intelligent brave young men, who show the way for assaults<sup>5</sup> and who are expert in throwing nooses, (and)

1 بيريان a kind of military cloak made of leopard's skin.

2 کړه a button or anything for fastening garments.

3 براہ the outside of a garment.

4 قيب a servant, whose business is to proclaim the titles of his master and to introduce before him those who desire to pay respects to him.

5 طريقہ assault.

62. Soldiers ride on their horses with soldiers, they capture their enemies, just as a lion would capture its prey.
63. May elephants be in the front of your army. May you command (lit. move) many elephants with javelins in your hand.
64. Troops armed with swords and men bent upon revenge throw hundreds of thousands of soldiers on ground.
65. In every way, they quickly entrust themselves to the reins of their horses and bring about a resurrection in the battle-field<sup>1</sup> (*i.e.* trusting to their horses they fight and cause havoc among the enemy).
66. Famous warriors strike their swords as the blacksmiths strike their belts<sup>2</sup> on the anvil.
67. May Dakhan be subdued (*maskhar*) by your hands. May you be there a good-natured king of the world.
68. O fortunate (prince)! May the former kings who are there do homage to your Court.
69. May they bring toll and tribute to your Court. Nobody has any strength to fight with you.
70. May all the Rajas round about it (*i.e.* the Dakhan) tie their waists (*i.e.* be ready) to serve you.
71. At the time when you conquer the country of Dakhan, you spread in that country justice and peace.
72. Your fame will be established by equity and justice and all your desires will be fulfilled in that country.

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1 آوردگا. a field of battle.

2 نك the silken fringe of a belt.



73. O you pious-natured man! spread justice in such a way that the sheep may drink water at the same place with a wolf.
74. May you be resplendent on your throne like the Sun. May your seat be like that of Jamsheed.
75. O king of the world! sit as merrily on your throne as did Jamsheed, the king of the world.
76. May you always have joy and cheerfulness of spring. May you be happy with whatever you drink.
77. May all your years be happy. May all your days be brilliant.
78. (I) Kaikobad am the speaker of good wishes and praise to you. May you always be happy on your throne.
79. I am an old servant of your royal house and was brought up by the illustrious king Akbar.
80. That king exalted me in this Court under the shelter of his own kindness.
81. He favoured me with two or three services. Pious Akbar exalted me.
82. He gave me 300 *bigahs* as *madad-i-ma'ash*. Oh God! May he be happy in Heaven.
83. May the highest heaven be his abode. O God! have mercy on his pious soul.
84. Again, I have a *farman* from Jahangir who is the leader of kings and who has an intelligent soul.
85. O you pious king of the world! you order some land<sup>1</sup> to be kindly presented to me.
86. O pious and virtuous king! you present me some land so that your name may be perpetuated till the day of resurrection.

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1 Or villages.

87. If the king will present me with land, I, his servant, will be exalted in the Anjuman.
88. I pray for that (favour), to the king of the world!  
O kind-natured king of the world! you are bountiful.
89. O pious-natured king! fulfil my desire with an auspicious *farman* from your Court.
90. May the protection of God be on you for ever. May the sun and moon revolve according to your pleasure.

(Finished.)

#### IV

#### SUMMARY OF THE POEM.

1. The Petition begins with the mention of the name of God. The first line of the first couplet is well-nigh the same as that with which Firdousi begins his *Shāh-nāmeh*, Firdousi's first line runs thus :—

بنام خداوند جان و خرد

Kaikobad's first line runs thus :

بنام خداوند جان آفرین

Having named God, he prays for God's blessings upon Prince Khurram and asks the Prince to praise God (cc. 1-3). He then blesses and praises the Prince (cc. 4-11). He then speaks of the invasion of Khurram upon the Dakhan (دکهن) and says that Khurram went to war at the command of Jahangir. He asks Khurram to strike the Dakhanis as Rustam, the national hero of ancient Iran, struck the Mazindaranis. He asks him to win glory like Faridun (c. 23). He calls the Dakhanis treacherous and mischievous (*faribandeh va bad kunesh*, c. 25). He speaks of Khurram's officers as illustrious and active and says that, if bravery

will be shown by Khurram, the enemy will run away like a fox before a lion (c. 31). He refers to the episode of Rustam and Sohrab in the *Shāh-nāmah* and wishes that the Dakhanis may be brought down to the ground at Khurram's hand, just as Rustam was brought down to the ground at the hand of Sohrab (c. 33). He refers to the episode of the fight with arrow between Rustam and Afrāsiāb, the son of Pashang. He names Ahmednagar as the next place of the Dakhan to which the Prince should direct his attention. He asks him to prepare an army consisting of men like Godurz and Giv, Barzu, Rustam and Framurz. He then wishes that the Kavehāni banner may be auspicious to him and the Kayāni hat be as auspicious to him as it was to Fari-dun (c. 54). He further wishes that all the Rajas may submit to him (c. 70). He exhorts the Prince to spread justice after conquest (c. 73). He prays that he may be as resplendent as the sun and as illustrious as Jamshed (c. 74). Then, at the end (c. 79), he says that he himself was the *Khānē-zād* of the house of Akbar who had given him two or three *khidmats* and 300 *bigāhs* of land (cc. 79-82). He then speaks of having a *farmān* from Jahangir (c. 84) and prays for the gift of some land from him (Khurram). The presentation of that land will exalt him among the Anjuman (c. 84) and so he asks for a *farmān* for that purpose.

## V

### THE MAIN HISTORICAL EVENT REFERRED TO IN THE POEM.

It was Khurram's proposed invasion of the Dakhan that led Kaikobad to write the laudatory poem. It was a great military expedition of the times, because the Dakhan had been long defying the attempts of Akbar and Jahangir to bring it under submission. This fact shows the importance

of the event which led Kaikobad to address the poem to Khurram. So, I will speak here of the subject treated in this poem under the following heads :—

1. An account of the early life of Khurram which led to his being called Shâh as referred to by Kaikobad and which prepared him for the important task of invading the Dakhan.
2. The country of Dakhan, the conquest of which was deemed important by Akbar and Jahangir.
3. Ahmednagar as an important place for conquest.

I will speak here briefly on Khurram's life upto the time of his invasion of Dakhan, to enable one to see how gradually he was prepared to be fit to carry out a great military expedition against Dakhan which was undertaken by his grand-father Akbar but was left unfinished and which suggested to Kaikobad, the idea of writing this laudatory poem. Khurram was the original name of Jahangir's second son. He was born on 5th January 1592,<sup>1</sup> to Jagat Gosâ'in otherwise known as Jodh Bai, who was the daughter of the Motâ *râjâ* (the fat *râjâ*). As a boy, he was known as Bâbâ. Akbar, who was then alive, gave his grand-child the name of Khurram, *i.e.* joyful, because it was believed that, by his birth, he made the world *khurram*, or joyful. In his childhood, he was brought up by Ruqayya Sultan Begum, his step grand-mother, the Begum being one of the several wives of Akbar.

In March 1607, he was given the honour of having a flag<sup>2</sup> and drum and the rank of 8000 personal (zât) and 5000 horse (troops).<sup>3</sup> In 1607, Jahangir got Khurram, who did not enjoy good

1 Memoirs of Jahangir by Rogers and Beveridge I, p. 19, and n. 5.

2 Turkish *ğöğ* togh, a horse-tail standard. 3 Memoirs I, p. 87.

health, weighed in gold, silver and other metals and gave the gold, silver etc. to faqirs and the poor.<sup>1</sup> In the same year, having heard from his Diwan, the news of a conspiracy by his elder brother Khusrâu against the life of his father, Khurram conveyed the news to his father and gained his esteem and love.<sup>2</sup> In the same year, he was given the rank of 8000 personal and 5000 horse and a jagir near Ujjain.<sup>3</sup> In 1609, he was presented with a rubby, set in with two pearls, of the value of Rs. 40000.<sup>4</sup>

In the same year, he was betrothed to a girl, who was the grand-daughter of Sultan  
 Betrothal and Marriage. Husain Mirza Safawi, ruler of Kandahar, when Jahangir sent for the bride a rich gift (ساچہ) of Rs. 50000.<sup>5</sup> The marriage took place in the same year and Jahangir celebrated it with gifts to the rich and the poor.<sup>6</sup> On the New Year's day of the next year (21st March 1611), Jahangir raised his rank to 10000 personal and 5000 horse.<sup>7</sup> In March 1612 (19th Farwardin), the rank was further raised from 10000 to 12000. On 18th Khordad (1612 A.C.)<sup>8</sup> Khurram was married to Arjumand Banu, well-known as Mumtaz-mahal, who, later on, became his favourite wife, and gave him 14 children,<sup>9</sup> and in whose memory, on her death, he built the world-known Taj Mahal, "the toy in marble," of India. She was the daughter of Asaf Khan IV, the brother of Jahangir's queen Nur-Jahan. It was Nur-Jahan who had brought about the marriage and Mumtaz-

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1 This rule of being weighed in metals and of giving the metals or the coins made out of them to the poor was an old custom of Indian kings. Akbar followed it and got himself weighed twice every year, once according to the solar year and for the second time according to the lunar year. *Memoirs I*, (p. 115.)

2 *Ibid.* pp. 122-23.

3 *Ibid.* p. 132.

4 *Ibid.* p. 156.

5 *Ibid.* p. 159.

6 *Ibid.* p. 180.

7 *Ibid.* p. 192.

8 *Ibid.* p. 217.

9 *Ibid.* p. 224.

mahal was to Khurram (Shah Jahan) what Nur-Jahan was to Jahangir. On the New Year's day, 1st Farwardin (1613 A.C.), he invited his father to his own house and submitted New Year's offerings.<sup>1</sup> The Holi festival of the Hindus fell, in 1614, on the anniversary of the death of Akbar.

Jahangir celebrated both, the Holi holiday and the anniversary of his father (Akbar's) death. He sent Khurram to Akbar's tomb to arrange for an assembly there. Jahangir says: "The commemoration of such an anniversary is one of the standing rules and customs in Hindustan. Every year of the death of their fathers and those who are dear to them, each according to his circumstances and ability prepares food and all kinds of perfumes, and the learned men, the respectable and other men assemble and these assemblies sometimes last a week."<sup>2</sup> Jahangir "sent Bābā Khurram to the venerated tomb" and "1000 rupees were given to ten trustworthy servants to divide among fakirs and those who were in want."<sup>3</sup>

On the 6th of Deh (1613 A.C.), he sent Khurram from Ajmer, to subdue the Rana of Udeypore, giving him very rich presents. Khurram went and succeeded. The Rana Amar Singh surrendered in the month of Bahman (January 1615 A.C.). On his return to Court with Karan, the son of Rana, both were received with honour and presents, on the 25th of Deh (1615 A.C.).

Jahangir initiated Khurram, who had, upto now, abstained from drinking, to the habit of drinking. On this day, the ceremony of weighing Khurram was performed and, on that auspicious day, Jahangir said to Khur-

1 *Ibid.* p. 236.

2 *Ibid.* p. 246-47.

3 *Ibid.* p. 247.

ram : "Bābā, thou hast become the father of children and kings and king's sons have drunk wine. To-day, which is the day of thy being weighed, I will give thee wine to drink, and give thee leave to drink it on feast days and at the time of the New Year, and at all great festivals. But thou must observe the path of moderation, for wise men do not consider it right to drink to such extent as to destroy the understanding, and it is necessary that from drinking only profit should be derived."<sup>1</sup> Jahangir then quotes Bu 'Alī (Avicenna),<sup>2</sup> the Arab physician, on the advantage of drinking wine in moderation and disadvantage in drinking it to excess, and enters into a kind of dissertation on wine. On the 19th of Farwardin (April 1616), Khurram's rank was raised from 15000 personal and 8000 horse to 20000 personal and 10000 horse. In the same year, Jahangir sent Khurram for the conquest of the Dakhan. It was at this time that Khurram was given the title of Shāh (king) (A.C. 1616). From that time, some authors called him Shāh Khurram, and some Shāh Jahān.<sup>3</sup> The conferring of the title of Shāh upon him by Jahangir was equivalent to declaring him heir-apparent. Khurram completely subdued Dakhan. In A.D. 1621 (1030 Hijri) Dakhan again rose in rebellion and Khurram was again sent to suppress it, and was successful in subduing it.

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1 *Ibid.* p. 306. For a similar old Zoroastrian view of one deriving benefit from the use of wine, *vide* my paper on "Wine among the Ancient Persians" (*Asiatic Papers*, Part III, p. 240).

2 I had the pleasure of visiting the tomb of Avicenna at Hamadan on 17th November 1925. (*Vide* my *Book of Travels* (1924) 'મારી મુ'બઈ બાહારની સેહેલ,' p. 375). There, he was known more as a physician than as a philosophic writer.

3 Elphinstone's *History of India*, 5th ed. by Cowell, p. 561.

We find the following passage in the *Wakiât-i Jahangir* about Prince Khurram getting the title of *Shâh Jahan*. Jahangir says:

Honours conferred upon him.

"On Thursday, the 20th *Mihr* and the twelfth year of my reign, corresponding to the 11th of *Shawwâl* A.H. 1026, at about three o'clock after noon, Prince Khurram arrived and obtained audience in the fort of *Mandu*. He had been absent from the Court for eleven months and eleven days. After he had paid me his respects, I called him in the window where I was sitting, and with the impulse of excessive paternal affection and love I immediately rose up and took him in my arms. The more he expressed his reverence and respect for me, the more my tenderness increased towards him. I ordered him to sit by me. He presented me with 1000 gold mohurs and 1000 rupees . . . . "Formerly, at the conquest of the Rana, a *mansab* of 20000 and the command of 10000 had been conferred on Prince Khurram, and when he was sent to the *Dakhan*, he was honoured with the title of *Shâh*. Now, in consideration of his present service, his *mansab* was promoted to a *mansab* of 30000 and the command of 20000 horse. I also conferred on him the title of *Shâh Jahan*. It was ordered that henceforth a chair should be placed for him in the Court next to my throne, an honour which was particularly conferred upon him, and had never before been known in my family."<sup>1</sup> From this long passage of Jahangir's *Wakiât*, we learn that Prince Khurram was given the title of *Shâh* before his expedition to the *Dakhan* and the title of *Shâh Jahan* after its successful termination.

About Prince Khurram's second expedition to *Dakhan* to suppress the rebellion, Jahangir speaks as follows in his *Wakiât-i-Jahangiri*:

Second Expedition to *Dakhan*.

"In those happy days,<sup>2</sup> when I was

1 Elliot, History of India (Dowson), Vol. VI, pp.351-52.

2 1029 Hijri, 1620 A.C.



enjoying myself in hunting and travelling in Kashmir, despatches arrived from the Dakhin. When the Royal Court left the capital, evil-disposed men in the Dakhin, failing in duty and loyalty raised the standard of rebellion . . . . . On the former occasion, when I marched with the Imperial army to effect the conquest of the Dakhin, Khurram, who commanded the advance, arrived at Burhanpur. The insurgents, with that craft which distinguishes them, made him their intercessor and abandoned the Imperial territory. Now that they had once more thrown off their allegiance, it was my wish to send the Imperial army again under the command of Khurram, to inflict upon them the punishment they deserved, and to make them an example and warning for others. But he was engaged in the siege of Kangra, and many experienced officers were with him on that service, so that for some days I could not determine what to do. Letters arrived one after another, reporting that the insurgents having gathered strength, numbered nearly 60000 horse, and had occupied many parts of the Imperial dominions . . . . . By the favour of God, Kangra had fallen, and so on Friday, the 4th Deh, I sent Khurram to the Dakhin, and I conferred upon him ten *krors* of *dams* to be collected from the country after his conquest.<sup>1</sup>

Out of the two above successful expeditions to Dakhan, to suppress the rebellion there, Dastur Kaikobad's laudatory poem refers to the first. Dastur Kaikobad died on 29th October 1619 (roz 12, mah 12, year 988 Yazdajardi). So his poem cannot refer to the second expedition which took place in 1621.

Dakhan, i.e. the South, is the country between Northern India, broadly and generally spoken as Hindustan, and Southern India. It is spoken of as the Dakhan, or the South, because it is on the south of Northern India,

2. Dakhan, or  
Deccan.

<sup>1</sup> Elliot's History of India, Dawson VI, pp. 377-78.

which alone in early times was known as India, Hind or Hindustan. The early Aryans had made Northern India, their home, driving away to Southern India the Dravidians, who themselves had come to India as foreigners.<sup>1</sup> The country known as Dakhan (Deccan) was a kind of midland between the two. It had taken up the culture of both parts, the culture of the Aryans of the North and the culture of the Dravidians of the South. It had, one after another, passed through the influence of the Mauryan emperors of Magadha in the North, of the Andhra kings in the South, of the Gupta kings—who, to a certain extent, may be said to be its own kings,—and of king Hars'havardhan in the North and Pulakesin in the South. Mr. Beni Prasad, whose chapter<sup>2</sup> on the Dakhan sums up in brief the ancient history of the Dakhan, seems to say very properly that “the Deccan policy of the Mughals was a legacy of two thousand years of Indian history.”<sup>3</sup>

The Mahomedan history of the Dakhan began with Alaudin Khilji (about 1303 A.C.), who is supposed to be the predecessor of Akbar in his thought of giving one religion to the whole of India, with this difference that, when Akbar thought of doing so by discussions and persuasions, Alaudin Khilji thought of doing so by the force of his sword.<sup>4</sup> In his conquest, Alaudin Khilji was ably assisted by his general Kafur. The sway, exercised by Alauddin from Delhi, did not continue long. It gave way in the time of Mo'hammed Tuglak (1325-1351) and the Dakhan generals chose Hasan Gangu Bahmany to be at the head in 1347. His rule and his dynasty's rule lasted for a

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1 Fergusson speaks of them as allied to the Arcadian races of the West. (*Cave Temples of India*, p. 7).

2 *History of Jahangir*, Ch. XI, pp. 254 *et seq.*

3 *Ibid.* p. 254.

4 *Smith's Akbar I*, 209.

century and a half (1347-1498) and then it broke up into five following independent principalities :

1. The Imad Shahs at Berar (1484-1572).
2. The Barid Shahs at Bidar (1492-1609).
3. The Nizam Shahs at Ahmednagar (1490-1637).
4. The Adil Shahs at Bijapur (1489-1686).
5. Qutb Shahs at Golconda (1489-1686).<sup>1</sup>

The Dakhan, at the time, included Khandesh, Berar, Bidar, Ahmednagar, Golconda and Bijapur.<sup>2</sup> All the above Shahs, though they quarrelled at times among themselves, had united to overthrow the growing power of the Vijayanagar Empire in the further south.

It seems that, at first, Akbar's main object in conquering Dakhan was not so much for the country itself, but for the object of breaking the growing power of the Portuguese in India. Their maritime strength led them, at times, to be too exacting in the matter of the Mahomedan pilgrims who went on pilgrimage to Mecca from Surat. Owing to this maritime strength, Akbar did not dare to challenge them directly, but he was on a look out to find some means to curb their power. Vincent Smith thus speaks on the subject: "His (Akbar's) early direct attacks on the foreign (*i.e.* the Portuguese) settlements having failed, Akbar perceived that the subjugation of the Sultanates of the Deccan plateau was the necessary preliminary to a systematic assault in force on the European possessions along the coast."<sup>3</sup>

Akbar, in about 1591, first thought of conquering the above Shahi kingdoms of the Dakhan which had risen on the ruins of the Bahmani Empire. In August 1591, he sent

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1 History of Jehangir, by Beni Prasad, p. 255.

2 Smith's Akbar I, p. 32.      3 *Ibid.* p. 264.

four missions to the kings of Khandesh, Ahmednagar, Bijapur, and Golconda. Khandesh, under its ruler Rajab Ali Khan of the Faruki dynasty, whose capital was Burhanpur, submitted and with his submission the great fort of Asirgadh<sup>1</sup> passed into the hands of Akbar.<sup>2</sup> Akbar, at this time, did not proceed further. In fact his peaceful mission to acquire Dakhan failed. In 1593, Akbar began a military invasion. At first, Ahmednagar was taken. In this affair, the celebrated brave lady, Chand Bibi, made a name. In the end, she made peace.<sup>3</sup> In 1567 Akbar had a victory, but Salim's (Jahangir's) attempts at rebellion stopped him from further action in the Dakhan.

When Jahangir came to the throne, he thought of continuing his father's attempts of conquering the Dakhan. But, at first, just as his Jahangir's attempts for the conquest of Dakhan. (Jahangir's) rebellion had prevented Akbar from carrying out his design in the Dakhan, so, his son Khusrau's rebellion prevented him from carrying out his design. The well-known general Malik Ambar, a born Abyssinian, was a great general who stood in the way of his conquest of Ahmednagar. The later rise of the Mahrathas, which culminated in the successes of Shivajee, indirectly owes a good deal to this Abyssinian Malik Ambar. Finding, that he could not stay against the large trained army of Jahangir in a pitched battle, he resorted to a kind of guerilla warfare among the mountains against Jahangir's army, and, for this purpose,

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1 For a brief account of this fort and its connection with Jahangir, Shah Jahan and Aurangzeb, *vide* my paper entitled "A Persian Inscription of the Mogul times on a stone found in the District Judge's Court at Thana" (Journal B.B.R.A.S., Vol. XXIV, pp. 187-161. *Vide* my Asiatic Papers, Part II, pp. 149-173.)

2 Smith's Akbar, pp. 246-247.

3 *Vide* Smith's Akbar, Chap. X, for Akbar's operations in the Dakhan.

he trained and commanded Ma'hratha troops. This training under Malik Ambar laid the foundation of the rise of the power of the Ma'hrathas. Under all the above circumstances, the conquest of the Dakhan became a necessity for Jahangir. After several failures, he sent Khurram for its conquest and it is this event that forms the subject of the laudatory poem of Kaikobad. Jahangir first thought of going to Dakhan on the 2nd of Farvardin of the 10th regnal year (March 1615), when he was at Ajmer. He wanted, at first, to go to Mandu, from where he could better carry on operations. So, he gave orders that a new building may be built there for him and that the old may be repaired.<sup>1</sup>

He appointed Khurram to lead the vanguard, and, on the 8th of Aban of the next year (28th October 1616 A.C.). the camp equipage of Khurram's advance guard left Ajmer.<sup>2</sup> Raja Suraj Mahal was to accompany Khurram. Mu'tammad Khan was to accompany Khurram as the paymaster of his army.<sup>3</sup> The *mansabs* of both these officers were increased. On the 20th of Aban (9th October 1616), on the day appointed for his departure, Khurram paraded before Jahangir with the "pick of his men" and was given the title of Shah which was made a part of his name. He was now ordered to be called Shah Sultan Khurram. He was presented with a robe of honour, an Iraq horse with a jewelled saddle, a Turki horse, an elephant named Bansi-badan (flute-bodied), an English-fashioned carriage, a jewelled sword, and a jewelled dagger.<sup>4</sup> Jahangir prayed that he may gain renown in his expedition. The following high officers accompanied Khurram in his advance guard :

1. Raja Suraj Mahal, who had a *mansab* of 2000

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1 Memoirs of Jahangir. Rogers and Beveridge's Translation, Vol. I, p. 280.    2 *Ibid.* p. 337.    3 *Ibid.* p. 338.    4 *Ibid.* pp. 338-9.

- personal and 2000 horse.
2. Mu'tammad Khan, who served as paymaster and had a *mansab* of 1000 personal and 250 horse.
  3. Abdu-llah Khan Firuz Jang.
  4. Dayanat Khan.
  5. Karan, the son of the Rana of Dudpur, who joined the army of Khurram, during the march.

Jahangir himself started for Dakhan from Ajmer on 21st Aban (10th November 1616), in a splendid English carriage drawn by four horses. As to the reason, why he started in a carriage, Jahangir says as follows:—

“It is the custom of the people of India that if the movement of kings or great men for the conquest of a country is towards the east they should ride a tusked elephant, and if the movement is towards the west on a horse of one colour; if towards the north in a palanquin or a litter (*singhāsans*), and if towards the south, that is in the direction of the Deccan (as on this occasion), on a *rath* which is a kind of cart (*arāba*) or *bahāl*<sup>1</sup> (two wheeled car).”<sup>2</sup>

In the march, there was continued communion between Khurram, who led the advance guard, and Jahangir. For example, Jahangir once sent two falcons to Khurram.<sup>3</sup> Khurram once sent a message, and, on his recommendation, the *mansab* of Badīu-z zamān, son of Mirza Shahrukh, was fixed at 1500 personal and 1000 horse.<sup>4</sup> Jahangir entered Mandu on Monday, the 23rd of Isfandār maz (February 1617). He took 4 months and two days to cover the distance of 159 *kos* between Ajmer and Mandu, travelling leisurely, drinking and hunting, visting Sanyāsis like Jadrup and

1 Cf. Gujarati *vehel* વેહલ, Eng. wheel and *vehelvān* (વેહલવાન), one who drove carriages.

2 Memoirs I, p. 340.

3 Vide Beni Prasad's History of Jahangir, p. 287, for Jahangir's itinerary from Ajmer to Mandu.

4 Memoirs I, p. 160.

doing daily official work. After some days, he received a report from Khurram's advance guard, that Adil Khan, of his own choice, came and offered submission and promised to restore all the provinces seized by (Malik) Ambar. Early next year (12th Ilahî year, commencing on 20th of March 1617), on the 10th Farvardin (29th March), Jahangir sent a dress of honour to Khurram.

It was on the 29th of Tir (June 1617) that Jahangir received the good news of the victory in the Dakhan. He says: "Sayyid 'Abdu-llahî Bârha, the envoy of my son,...waited on me, and presented a letter from that son containing news of a victory over the provinces of the Deccan. All the chiefs laying the head of duty in the noose of obedience, had consented to service and humility, and laid before him the keys of forts and strongholds, especially the fort of Ahmadnagar. In gratitude for this great favour and beneficence, placing the head of supplication on the throne of that God who requires no return, I opened my lips in thankfulness, and humbling myself, ordered them to beat the drums of rejoicing. Thanks be to Allah, that a territory, that had passed out of hand, has come back into the possession of the servants of the victorious State, and that the seditious, who had been breathing the breath of rebellion and boasting, have turned towards supplication and weakness, and become deliverers of properties and payers of tribute."<sup>1</sup> As Nur Jahan Begam gave him the first news of victory, he gave her "the *pargana*h of Boda, the revenue of which is 200,000 Rupees."<sup>2</sup> Jahangir expected "an offering from the Deccan as no other king of this age has received."<sup>3</sup> He adds that, some days before, he had taken an augury from the Diwan-i Hafiz<sup>4</sup> and had a hope of victory.<sup>5</sup> Then,

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1 Memoirs I, p. 380      2 Ibid.      3 Ibid.      4 Ode 192 "of Brockhaus' edition, p. 112, first couplet."      5 For the practice of taking augury from the books of great poets, cf. Sortes Virgilliance.

on the 3rd of Shahriyār (Shehrivar) a letter was received from Khurram "announcing the coming of Afzal Khan and Ray Rayān and the arrival of the ambassadors of Adil Khan, and their bringing suitable offerings of jewels, jewelled things, elephants and horses,—offerings such as had never come in any reign or time and expressing much gratitude for the services and loyalty of the aforesaid Khan (Adil Khan), and his faithfulness to his word and duty. He asked for a gracious royal *farman* bestowing on him the title of *farzand* (son) and for other favours, which had never yet been vouchsafed in his honour." Jahangir acted accordingly and gave the Khan, the title of *farzand*. Khurram himself went to his father at Mandu on the 20th of Mihr (12th October 1617). The separation between the father and son was, says Jahangir, of 11 months and 11 days. Jahangir embraced his son and rewarded his officers. He rewarded his son with a *mansab* of 20000 personal and 10000 horse. A special dress of honour, decorated with pearls, worth 50000 rupees, a jewelled sword with a jewelled belt and a jewelled dagger were presented to him. Again Jahangir "poured over his head a small tray of gold coins."<sup>2</sup> Not only that, but Jahangir poured over the head of Sarnak, an elephant of unusual size, form and beauty sent to him by Khurram (now Shah Jahan), a quantity of gold coins and gave it the name of Nur-bakht (light of fortune). Nur Jahan also gave an entertainment and presented to Khurram a dress of honour and other valuable things, all costing about Rs. 300000.<sup>3</sup> Khurram, on the other hand, presented to his father Jahangir articles worth "Rs. 2260000 or 75000 *tumans* of the currency of Iran....Such offering had never been made during this dynasty."<sup>4</sup>

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1 *Ibid.* pp. 387-88.

2 *Ibid.* p. 395.

3 *Ibid.* p. 397.

4 *Ibid.* p. 401.



1 Kaikobad speaks in his poem of Ahmednagar as the next  
 3. Ahmednagar, place of importance which should draw  
 c. 39. the attention of Khurram. Kaikobad

seems to have thought very properly of the strategical importance of the city and its territory from what had happened in Akbar's time. In the territories comprised in the Dakhan, and in the history of 'the Dakhan, Ahmednagar played a very important part. When Akbar first thought of conquering the Dakhan, Ahmednagar, being close to his territories, was the first to draw his attention. It was in October 1593 that Akbar sent an army of 70000 horse and a large number of infantry under his son Danyal, aided by able officers, for its conquest, but with no success. In June 1595, Prince Murad was appointed at the head of the army in place of Danyal. By that time, its king Burhan-ul-mulk died (4th April 1595). Just then, when the officers and the people got apprehensive about the future of Ahmednagar, there appeared on the scene for the defence of the country a brave lady, who has immortalized, not only her name, but the name of the brave womanhood of India. She was Chand Sultana, popularly known as Chand Bibi, who was the widow of the late king of Bijapore and sister of the deceased king Burhan-ul-mulk. She bravely commanded the defence of Ahmednagar and inspired with courage her soldiery, during the siege by the army of Akbar. But, in the end, she could not stand against the vast resources of Akbar and concluded peace, acknowledging the suzerainty of Akbar. Her powerful personality secured easy terms for Ahmednagar. She then formed an union of three states of the Dakhan—Ahmednagar, Bijapore and Golconda,—but mutual jealousies and quarrels did not make the union successful. Chand Bibi died in a fight and Akbar's imperial army won a great success in February 1597. Akbar himself went to Dakhan to carry the victory

to a more successful issue and besieged Asirghad, which fell after a long and arduous siege. At this time, Jahangir (then Salim) rose in rebellion in the North and Akbar had to leave the Dakhan to suppress the rebellion of his son. Thus, the fruits of his victory were lost.

We read as follows in the Wakiat-i-Jahangiri about this town of Ahmednagar: "From the time of the conquest of Ahmednagar by my late brother Daniyel to the present, the place had been under the command of Khur Aga Beg Mirzâ Safawa, a relation of Shah Tahmâsp of Persia; but since their late success the Dakhanis had invested the town. Every effort was made to defend the place . . . Khur Aga Beg did his best to console and encourage them (the troops); but in vain, so he capitulated on terms and retired with men to Burhanpur."<sup>1</sup>

## VI

### REFERENCES IN THE POEM TO THE PERSONAGES OF ANCIENT IRAN.

Kaikobad's poem refers to several personages and events mentioned in the ancient History of Iran. I will now speak of them. Among the personages, we find the mention of the following with brief references, here and there, to their doings: Rustam and Sohrab, c. 33; the son of Pashang, cc. 34, 42; Jamshed, c. 74; Faridun, c. 23; Godurz, c. 50; Giv, c. 50; Barzu, c. 50; Framarz, c. 50.

Rustam was the national hero of Iran. He is the Râstâstân of the Pahlavi Bundelesh.<sup>2</sup> He is also referred to in the Pahlavi Aiyâdgâr-i Zarîrân<sup>3</sup> and Shatroiha-i Airân.<sup>4</sup> The known etymology, which derives his name

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<sup>1</sup> Elliot's History of India (Dowson) II, pp. 323-24. <sup>2</sup> S. B. E., Vol. V, 1st ed., p. 140. Bundelesh Chap. XXXI, 41. *Vide* my Bundelesh, p. 176. <sup>3</sup> *Vide* my Aiyâdgâr-i Zarîran, p. 11. <sup>4</sup> *Ibid.* p. 91.





is that her marriage with Giv was a kind of royal Swayamvara<sup>1</sup> (marriage or self-choice).

He was a grandson of Rustam. To describe his feats,

Barzu, c. 55. Attai, one of the poets who imitated

Firdousi, has written a special poem called Burzo-nâmeḥ. \* It is an epic of about 65000 couplets.<sup>2</sup>

He was the youngest son of Rustam and he is spoken

Framarz, c. 50. of as having come even to India. His exploits are sung by one of the poets of Persia who has written a special poem known as Framarz-nâmeḥ.<sup>3</sup>

Kaikobad says to Khurram, "Knock them (the Dakh-

The Devs of Mazindaran, c. 19. anis) down with your heavy club as did Rustam in the case of the demons of Mazindaran. Mazindaran was the nor-

thern part of Persia bordering on the Caspian sea. It often gave trouble to the Iranian kings. The "Div-i-Mazindarân" of Kaikobad's poem are the "Daeva Mazainya" (دَیوای مَزایَا) of the Avesta (Vendidad XVII 9, 10).<sup>4</sup> It is said that "Mâzindarân occupied in the Iranian legend nearly the same place as Ceylon in the Ramâyana." As to Rustam's wars with the wicked people (demons) of this country, we have a very long account in the Shâh-nâmeḥ of Firdousi,<sup>5</sup> wherein, the Div-i-Sufid, i.e. the White

1 For another instance of this, *vide* my paper "An Instance of Royal Swayamvara as described in the Shâh-nâmeḥ of Firdousi," Jour. B. B. R. A. S. of 1918. *Vide* my Asiatic Papers, Part III, p. 57 *et seq.*

2 *Vide* M. Mohl's Shâh-nâmeḥ, Introd. pp. 77 *et seq.*

3 *Vide* M. Mohl's Preface of his Livre des Rois (small edition), Introd. pp. 73 *et seq.*

4 Kavasji Edulji Kanga's Avesta Dictionary, p. 404.

5 *Vide*—

(a) Mohl's French translation, small edition, Vol. I, pp. 424 ff.

(b) Dastur Minochehr's Translation, Vol. I.

(c) Kutar Brothers' Gujarati Translation, Vol. II.

(d) Warner Brothers' English Translation, Vol. III, pp. 253 *et seq.*

Demon, may be taken as a counterpart of the Ravan of Lanka (Ceylon).

## VII

### KAIKOBAD'S AUTOBIOGRAPHICAL REFERENCES IN THE POEM.

Kaikobad refers in this poem to Akbar as one, of whom he was a *khaneh-zâd*, cc. 79, 81. He says that Akbar had given him two or three offices (*khedmat*)<sup>1</sup> and had given him 300 *bighas*, as *madad-i-maash*. As I have spoken on these matters fully in my paper on "The Parsees at the Court of Akbar and Dastur Meherji Rana" and also partly in that of Kaikobad's petition,<sup>2</sup> I will not speak on them again here.

Kaikobad speaks of Jahangir three times in this poem, cc. 15, 22, 84. He says that Jahangir had ordered Khurram to go to the Dakhan, and so he (Kaikobad) would be much pleased if Khurram won a victory. He adds that he had a *farman* from Jahangir. This seems to refer to the *farman* about the Desâigiri of Naosari and Parchol, given to him by Jahangir and referred to in Kaikobad's petition. I have spoken more fully about this in the paper on Kaikobad's petition. So, I will not say that again here.

Kaikobad does not give the date, as to when he addressed his poem to Prince Khurram. But we can approximately fix the time. Akbar had failed to conquer the country Dakhan as a whole. Jahangir, on coming to throne, had in mind his father's project of conquering it. But the revolt of his son in the early part of his reign prevented him from

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1 The Persian line expressive of this is well-nigh the same as that in Kaikobad's petition. 2 Journ. K. R. Cama Oriental Institute No. 31.

carrying out his project successfully. Malik Ambar, the Abyssinian general of Ahmednagar, had recovered all the territories that were lost to the Mogul kings. In 1608, Jahangir had sent Khan Khanan there with a large army. In 1610, Prince Parvez was appointed to be the head of the army. Then Khan Jahan Lodi was sent there in 1610. He could not do much. So Khan Khanan was re-appointed and sent there in 1612. He gained partial success. He continued in command till 1616. This Moghal commander could not gain a complete success as the Dakhanis were carrying on a kind of guerilla warfare. So, at last, Jahangir himself thought of moving nearer to Dakhan. He arranged to go to Mandu and carry on arrangements from there. Khurram desired to go to the Dakhan. Nur Jahan recommended that Khan Khanan may be recalled and Khurram sent there. He started in October 1616. So, it appears, that the poem was written in or about October 1617.

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BY SHAMS-UL-ULMA DR. JIVANJI JAMSHEDJI MODI, B.A., PH.D., C.I.E

(Afrin-i-Gahm̄bâr, 2-4).<sup>2</sup>

Translation.—May we all be one in co-operation with the righteous men of all the seven regions (*i.e.* the whole world) ... May we be one with them and may they be one with us. May we all benefit one another..... May all these (good deeds of ours) reach the treasury of Ahura Mazda, the brilliant, the resplendent, and of his Amesha-spands (the Immortal higher Intelligences, from whom it may be redistributed among all deserving ones).<sup>3</sup>

3 *Vide* my "Moral Extracts from Zoroastrian Books", p. 45.



In the circulated prospectus of this Parliament of Religions, it is said that "the general subject for consideration is 'How to combat the prevailing apathy towards Religion in Modern Society, promotion of world peace and human brotherhood'." So, I take up, for the subject of my paper, the subject of "A Zoroastrian View of Brotherhood."

It is, as it were, a fashion for all ages, to cry that "there is not that bond of brotherhood among us now as that which existed before our times". Plutarch (A.C. 50-120) made a similar remark about 1800 years ago. He said: "But I see Brotherly Love is as scarce in our days as brotherly hatred was in ancient times."<sup>1</sup> It seems that there are ebbs and tides by which humanity passes from age to age. The Sat-yugs (golden ages) have not left us for ever. If we are in the Kal-yug (dark age), we will not continue to be so. It is generally said, that we are now in the midst of the ebb. If so, let us pray for the tide. Prayer without action is not of much avail. So let us act. The movement handled by the Brahmo-Samaj is therefore in the right direction.

The Pazend *âfrîns*, or prayers invoking blessings among the Parsees, present, to a great extent, the view of Brotherhood entertained by the ancient Zoroastrians. The passage of one of the *âfrîns* placed at the head of this paper, is a typical passage, the spirit of which pervades all the *âfrîns* and most of the older Avesta Scriptures. The *Âfrîn* prayers play a tune, which sings, as it were, "Be in tune with the Universe." These *Âfrîns*, recited after the *Afringâns*, ask the worshippers to be in harmony with the whole Nature.

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1 Plutarch's Morals, Vol. III, Part VII, p. 137.

They speak of observing *hamâzôr* with Space and Time—with divisions of Space and Time.

One will easily observe, that the word *hamâ-zôr* repeatedly occurs in these *afrîns*. It is one of the few technical words of the Parsee scriptures, which cannot be properly translated into another language. In order to give an idea of the signification of the word, I will quote here, what I have said on the subject in my paper, entitled "The Kiss of Peace among the Bene-Israels of Bombay and the *Hamâ-zôr* among the Parsees."<sup>1</sup>

"The word *Hamâ* in *Hamâzôr* is Avestâ *hama*, Sanskrit *sam*, Lat. *similias*, English *same*. The word *zôr* is Avesta *zaothra* and comes from the root, 'zu,' to perform a ceremony. So, the word *Hamâzôr* means 'to be the same or to be one in ceremony'. One of the principal celebrants or participants in the ceremony, by passing his hands in the hands of others, makes them symbolically participate in the ceremony he had performed. The members of the congregation, by performing the *Hamâzôr* with one of the principal celebrants, make themselves participants in the ceremony. While performing the *Hamâzôr*, they recite the words 'Hamâzôr, Hamâ ashô bed' i.e. 'May you be one with us in the ceremony, may you be ashô or righteous.' The recital of the words signify and emphasize the object and aim of the performance of the *Hamâzôr* ceremony. The ultimate aim of all ceremonies, rites and sacrifices, is to elevate the mind and thoughts of the performers of the ceremony or of the worshippers. A sacrifice

<sup>1</sup> Journal of the Anthropological Society of Bombay, Vol. VIII, No. 2, pp. 84-95. Vide my Anthropological Papers, Part I, pp. 283-94. Vide p. 287 for the quotation. Vide my "Religious Ceremonies and Customs of the Parsees, (1922), pp. 401-407. Vide my Lectures and Sermons on Zoroastrian Subjects (Gujarati), Vol. II.

does not fulfil its object, unless it makes the participant 'sacred', unless it elevates his thoughts, unless it makes him a better man. So, the celebrants or the participants in the ceremony, by performing the Hamâzôr and uttering the above benediction, wish each other to be *asho* or righteous.

"From the fact that the Hamâzôr was performed in the liturgical services, with a view to signify participation and unity, and with a wish that the person with whom it was performed may be righteous, the Hamâzôr has come to signify a religious or solemn way of communicating one another's good wishes on the Naoroz or the New Year's Day. It is in connection with the New Year's Day that the Hamâzôr is best known to the laymen. Early in the morning that day, after washing themselves and putting on new suits of clothes, members of the family exchange this form of salutation and expression of good wishes. Friends do the same when they meet one another. Members of a family, or friends, if at variance, are expected to forget, on the New Year's Day, their differences and to unite and be friendly by performing the Hamâzôr with one another. A generation or two ago, it was a custom for the head of a main family, *i.e.* the senior or older member representing the chief block from which several families had descended, to call a *mi/las* or a gathering at his place in the morning of the New Year's Day for the purpose of the Hamâzôr. All the members of the family met there and exchanged this form of salutation.

"We see, from what is said above, that behind the exoteric or outward passing of the hands in the Hamâzôr, signifying unity and harmony, there lies the esoteric idea which demands, that the participants must unite in the work of righteousness. Thus, behind what we may call 'physical Hamâzôr', there is what we may term the 'spiritual Hamâzôr'.

The participants in the ceremony are asked to be one with the chief celebrants in some religious acts which may lead to an increase of righteousness in the world.

“From that view of the question, we find that, there is not only the idea of the Hamázôr—the physical Hamázôr—between man and man, but there is also a kind of Hamázôr—a spiritual Hamázôr—between Man and Nature, between Man and Nature’s God. The Pazend Âfrins recited in the Âfringân ceremonies, at the end of which the Hamázôr is performed, are replete with expressions about this kind of Hamázôr with Nature and Nature’s God. For example, in the Âfrin of Ardâfrosh, there is a long list of such spiritual Hamázôrs—Hamázôr with Ahura Mazda and Hamázôr with many abstract ideas—all leading to the conception of a righteous, moral life. The lesson, which this part of the Âfrins inculcates, is this: one must try to be one with the Harmony, Order, System, established by God in Nature. The divisions of time and space in the grand Infinity of Time and Space—divisions brought about by the movements of heavenly bodies—are all intended with a view to Harmony, Order, System. So let Man try to be one with that Harmony, that Order, that System in Nature.”

From this point of view, man has to do his duty not only to Man, but to all animal world; not only to animal creation but even to vegetable creation; not only to the animate world but even to the inanimate world. Each and all objects in this Universe, created at the hands of that great Architect of the world, have to be useful to the other objects of the Universe, small or great. That Man is a fortunate man, a god-gifted man, who does his best to bring about results, by which all the objects of the world may be useful to one another. It is this idea, which is at the bottom, when Ruskin says that even a part of the vegetable world, the beautiful trees and shrubs of a forest grieve when a war is being waged

in the country. Owing to the war, owing to the presence of the enemy close by, people do not dare to go out in the country and to enjoy the beautiful bloom of flowers, shrubs and trees. The trees and flowers, as it were, burn with the desire to show their new foliage to the people of their country and thus to be useful to God's human creation, but they are disappointed to find that, owing to war, people do not go out to enjoy their beauty. Wherever there is perfect beauty, beauty of body and beauty of mind, there is Truth and God is Truth. So, a Parsee divine,<sup>1</sup> thinking in the above train of Zoroastrian teaching, advises, that whenever you see a thing of beauty, say "Ba nām-i Yazad" (i.e. by the name of God).

When a Parsee recites his prayer of Nemô-âonghâm, known as *Châr dishâ ni namâz* (ચાર દીશાની નેમાઝ) and utters words of homage to the Nature, animate and inanimate around him, his line of thoughts suggests a kind of Universal Brotherhood, not only Human Brotherhood but brotherhood with the whole Nature. But we have to be confined to-day to the question of Human Brotherhood.

Upto a few years ago, after the recital of the *afryn* which treats of the *hamâ-zôr*, the *râthwi*<sup>2</sup> went to all worshippers who had assembled for prayers and performed a manual, a hand to hand, *hamâzor*. This *hamâzôr* "is a particular way, in which, at the end of several ceremonies, one person passes his hands into the hands of another person. One person, say A, holds forth both his hands flattened out and in the position of the thumbs being uppermost and the palm of one hand facing

1 *Vide* my Persian *Farziât Nâmeh* and *Khollasehi Din* of *Dastur Darab Pahlam*, pp. 21 of the text and 31 of the translation.

که هر چیزی که خوش آید بچشت بنام ایزد بگو از روی حرمت

2 The assistant priest, *vide* my *Religious Ceremonies and Customs of the Parsees*, p. 202.

parallel to the palm of the other. Another person B, with whom he makes the hamâzôr, similarly holds forth his hands placing his flattened right hand between A's flattened hands. This process places the flattened right hand of A, in turn between B's flattened hands. Thus each holds the right hand of another in the folds of his hands. Having thus placed them, they, with a graceful movement, withdraw the right hands and similarly pass their left hands in the folds of the hands of another. After thus passing their hands into each other's hands, they lift their hands towards their heads just as if to touch them with the tips of their fingers, which is the usual way of saluting elders or superiors."<sup>1</sup> In religious gatherings all the members present perform the hamâzôr with the next few persons on their left and right and in their front or at their back. Thus, the whole assembly however large it may be, performs this hand to hand hamâzôr.

The performance of the hamâzôr is accompanied with the recital of these four words: 'Hamâzor Spiritual Hamâzôr hamâ asho bed', i.e. 'May you be one with us. May you be perfectly *asho* or righteous.' Behind this physical hamâzor, which symbolizes hand to hand co-operation there is the spiritual hamâzôr, spiritual co-operation, in the cause of brotherhood for advancing righteousness all round. Thus hamâzôr symbolizes Brotherhood—brotherhood that imposes upon all the duty of mutual help.

The word brother, which is common among many Aryan or Indo-Germanic nations, is very significant. It is Avestan brâtar (Pahl. barât, Pers. barâdur برادر, Sanskrit bhrâtar भ्रातर, Signification of the word, Brother.

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1 My "Religious Ceremonies and Customs of the Parsees", pp. 401-2.

Gothic *brothar*, German *bruder*, Lat. *frater*, Fr. *frère*. It comes from an old Aryan root *Av. bar* ( 𐬨𐬀𐬎𐬌 ), Sans. ( भर ), Pahl. 𐭠𐭣𐭥𐭥, Pers. بردن, Lat. *ferre*, English *bear*, i.e. to bear or carry, help or support others. So, though generally and ordinarily, the word brother is used in connection with one's family, in its broad etymological sense, it refers to brotherhood, beyond the family circle, to the brotherhood of the great family of humanity.

It is one of the laws enjoined by Nature that all must be, as it were, "in tune with the Universe." Brotherhood, as it were, "in tune with the Universe." In order to fall in that tune, to observe a Law of Nature.

brotherhood among mankind is essential. Aristotle is said to have affirmed that: "Whoever delighted in solitude is either a wild beast or God." We are not gods; so, to be free from the stigma of being taken as wild beasts, we all have to cultivate relations of brotherhood. Aristotle held that man is primarily a social being, and that, in order to have a full and happy life, he must have a social organization. Brotherhood is at the bottom of, or is the basis of, such organization. Among the numerous definitions of religion, given by various thinkers, one is that which, according to the derivation of the word (*re* and *legere*, to bind or collect) points to brotherhood. Religion tells us how to observe a kind of relationship with the Architect of the Universe and with His universe. Relationship carries with it the idea of duty. As a recent writer says: "It is not too much to say that without the help of others an individual man could not succeed in maintaining his existence. He depends for existence upon parents and upon their capacity and willingness to help him through the incompetent stages of infancy and childhood, and his dependence upon others accompanies him throughout his life."<sup>1</sup> The Parsis wear a sacred

<sup>1</sup> Article on "Church and State" by the Right Reverend the Bishop of Oxford, in the *Contemporary Review* of November 1928 p. 553 ff.

thread (*Kûsti*) and their word *bast-Kûstîon* i.e., all those who tie the (*Kusti*), suggests a binding tie of brotherhood.

That "German Hafiz", Goethe, has in his *Parsi-nameh* of his *West-östlicher Divan*, excellently presented the inspiring and uplifting view of the ancient Zoroastrians on this subject of mutual help or brotherhood. In this democratic age, it is not only inspiring and uplifting for the masses but soothing and pacifying. In this age, when Labour has risen and is rising against Capital in an aggressive way, the old Iranian view, if well perceived by Labour, will pacify them.<sup>1</sup>

Goethe represents an old Iranian as making his last Testament, and presents a beautiful view of the "Dignity of Labour" and of the noble spirit in which Labour takes pride in helping the cause of Brotherhood in the world. Indirectly, it teaches Capital to suppress or subordinate its pride, if any, and to meet Labour in a broad spirit of Brotherhood as a man. However rich one may be, even if he were a king or a prince, he has to depend, not only for his happiness, but even, as it were, for his existence, upon the poor labourer, who hews the wood and plucks cotton-buds (*pumbé*) from cotton plants. As Sir Walter Scott says: "The race of mankind would perish, did they cease to aid each other. From the time that the mother binds the child's head, till the moment that some kind assistant wipes the death-damp from the brow of the dying we cannot exist without mutual help. All, therefore, that need aid, have a right to ask it from their fellow-mortals; no one who holds the power of granting, can refuse it without guilt."<sup>2</sup>

1 *Vide* my Paper "Goethe's *Parsi-Nameh* or *Buch des Parsen*" i.e. the Book of the Parsees (*Jour. B.B.R. A. Society* Vol. XXIV pp. 66-95. *Vide* my *Asiatic Papers*, Part II, pp. 119-148).

2 "Sir Walter Scott", quoted in "Many Thoughts of Many Minds."





For such broad ideas of Brotherhood, we must have some high ideals before us for guidance. Zoroastrian ideal in conformity with the broad idea of Brotherhood. Zoroastrian books speak of such high ideals to be drawn by us from various directions. The best ideal for all is that of God Himself. Man must try to be to all and to everything round him, as Ahura Mazda, as God himself, is to his grand Nature. In his Articles of Faith, a Zoroastrian says:

"Yā varanō Ahurō Mazdāo.....tā varenāchā-takaeshachā." The literal rendering of this Article of Faith is: "I am of that desire, which is the desire of Ahura Mazda. I am of that law (*i.e.* Ahura Mazda's law):" I think, of all the translators, Darmesteter has very well put in, the teaching of this article of faith. "Ce qu'aime Ahura Mazda... ..c'est là ce que j'aime, c'est là ma loi"<sup>1</sup>, *i.e.* "What Ahura Mazda likes.....is what I like; that is my law."

Here the Zoroastrian worshipper holds Ahura Mazda, God Himself, before his mind, as the highest ideal. In the marriage blessings (*ashirvād*), recited over a Parsee marrying couple, it is prayed by the priest: "Kām anjām bed chūn Ahura Mazda Kudāe pa dāmān-i khish", *i.e.* "May the end of your desires be like those of Ahura Mazda in His creation." Here also, the highest ideal of desires in life, held before the marrying couple and before all Zoroastrians,<sup>2</sup> is that of God Himself. It means to say that "Let your desires be like those of God in connection with His world." A similar blessing is: "Hū kerdār bed chūn Ahura Mazda Khodāe ba dāmān-i Khash, *i.e.* May you be a worker of good as is Ahura Mazda in His Creation." The pith of

1 Le Zend Avesta, Volume I. p. 129.

2 This blessing also forms a part of the Afrin (Prayer of blessing), known as "Afrin-i Buzorgān", *i.e.* The Blessings in the names, of the great.

all these teachings is: "Be like God." Let God be your highest ideal for conduct. Your *guru* of *gurus*.

This teaching is well illustrated by a classical story. Emperor Julian is said to have given us in his History of the Cæsars, an idea of how to best observe our relationship with God. He imagined the souls of various well-known kings as passing before the gods, so that the gods may declare who was the best ruler. He first represented Alexander the Great as passing before the gods. They questioned him: "What was his principal aim in life?" His reply was: "To conquer the world." The soul of Julius Cæsar said that his principal aim was to acquire the highest post in his State. Augustus Cæsar said in reply that his aim in life was "to rule well". When the turn of Marcus Aurelius came for a reply, he said, his main object was "to imitate the gods". It is said, that the judging gods were pleased with this reply. The object of the reply was, that Man's ideal in life must be the highest and the best. That best and highest ideal is that of God. The best thing for a man is to imitate God.

We all love our own Scriptures which present before us the commandments of God. A Hindu has his Vedas, a Mahomedan his Koran, a Jew his Talmud, a Christian his Bible, a Parsee his Zend-Avesta. These books may differ and do differ. Even people, and even scholars, of one and the same religion, though possessing the same book of Scriptures, differ. But there is one book which is common to all and that is "The Book of Nature". When all people do not read, and even if they read, do not well understand their own scriptures, this Book of Nature is one which all can read for themselves and understand. You can freely draw

from it, lessons for your conduct, and among them, the lesson of brotherhood.

We generally speak of the teaching of the three R's (reading, writing and arithmetic). If we speak in a similar abbreviated form, the three L's (Law, Labour and Love) learnt from the Book of Nature. Book of Nature gives us an excellent lesson

of the three L's—Law, Labour and Love. Goethe has said: "Gazing at Nature formed the basis of the worship of the ancient Parsees. Whilst adoring the Creator, they turned towards the rising Sun, as the most striking glorious phenomenon. They fancied, they saw there God's throne, surrounded by brilliant angels. The pomp of this elevating worship was daily within reach of every one, even the most lowly. The poor would step forth from his hut, the warrior from his tent, and the most religious of actions would be accomplished. To the new-born child the baptism of fire was administered in such rays, and all day long, and all life long the Parsee saw himself accompanied by the Great Luminary in all his doings. The moon and the stars were lighting up the night; they too were out of reach belonging to the realms of the endless. Fire, on the contrary, walks by man's side, giving light and warmth to the best of its capacity. It becomes a sweet and pious duty to say prayers in the presence of this substitute, to bow to what was felt as infinite."<sup>1</sup>

Gaze, as said by Goethe, to Grand Nature and you will find everywhere, Law, Labour and Love. Love points to brotherhood. There is perfect brotherhood in the work of Nature. Mutual help is seen everywhere. We have not to speak of Law and Labour at present but have to confine ourselves to Love. The beautiful Moon looks to the Sun for its light. The Sun, in its turn, looks to Ether for the trans-

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<sup>1</sup> Vide my paper "Goethe's Parsi-nameh". Jour. B.B.R.A. Vol. XXIV, p. 92. Vide my Asiatic Papers, Part II, p. 145.

mission of its light to the earth. The Earth has to look to the heavens, to the clouds, for rain to fructify it. The clouds have to look to the air to drift them to the different parts of the earth. The Air has to look to the Sun again for the production of its air-currents or winds to carry rain to various parts of the earth. Thus, the grand Nature presents to us the lesson of Love, Brotherhood, Mutual help. Even the Law (Order, Harmony, System) prevalent in Nature gives us deserving lessons of brotherhood. There is co-operation everywhere in Nature. Even Labour observed in Nature is not without its lessons. There is Labour, Work, Energy everywhere in Nature. There is hard Work, there is Economy and there is Mutual help in Nature, thus reminding us of the advice:

Get all you can (by Work)

Save all you can (by Economy)

Give all you can (through Love, Brotherhood).

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# THE K. R. CAMA ORIENTAL INSTITUTE,

## REPORT FOR THE YEAR 1928.

• The Executive Committee of the K. R. Cama Oriental Institute beg to submit their report of the work of the Institute for the year 1928.

*Public Lectures.*—During the year under report, three public lectures were delivered under the auspices of the Institute as under:—

1. "Iranian Civilization in Central Asia", by Prof. Luders, Professor of Sanskrit at Berlin University. President: Mr. M. P. Khareghat, I.C.S. (Retd.). 12th January 1928.

2. "The Zend Avesta and the Magyars—Turan and Iran", by Prof. Francis Zajti of Budapest, Hungary. President: Shams-ul Ulama Dastur Dr. Darab Peshotan Sanjana, B.A., Ph.D. 18th December 1928.

3. "The Development of the Magyar Psyche", by Prof. Francis Zajti of Budapest, Hungary. President: Mr. M. P. Khareghat, I.C.S. (Retd.). 19th December 1928.

*Government Fellowship Lectures.*—Prof. Ernest P. Horowitz of Hunter College, New York City, who was appointed Government Fellowship Lecturer for 1928, delivered a series of eight lectures on "Indo-Iranian Philology, a Study of Semantic Etymology, History of Cultural Words", as under:—

1. "Phonetics and Semantics, The Indo-Iranians". 30-1-1928.
2. "Vagrants and Farmers, The Racial Rift". 2-2-1928.
3. "Family Life". 6-2-1928.

4. "Romance of Numerals". 7-2-1928.
5. "Religious Terms". 9-2-1928.
6. "Dragon Fight". 10-2-1928.
7. "Barter and Trade". 15-2-1928.
8. "Morals and Metaphysics. The Need of Semantic Studies in Indian Schools". 16-2-1928.

Revd. Fr. Dr. R. Zimmermann, S.J., Ph.D., was appointed Government Fellowship Lecturer of the Institute for the year 1929.

*Celebration of the anniversary of the death of Mr. K. R. Cama.*—The nineteenth anniversary of the death of Mr. K. R. Cama was celebrated on Monday the 20th August 1928, at 6 p.m. (S.T.) in the Hall of the Institute, when Revd. Father H. Heras, S.J., Professor of History, St. Xavier's College, presided. Shams-ul Ulama Dr. Jivanji Jamshedji Modi, B.A., Ph.D., C.I.E., gave a discourse on "The Petition in Persian Verse of Dastur Kaikobad Meherjirana to the Moghul Emperor Jahangir".

*'The Sarosh K. R. Cama Prize (Rs. 500) for 1927.*—A prize essay was invited by the 31st December 1927 for the Sarosh K. R. Cama Prize for 1927, of Rs. 500 as under:—

"A lucid and thoroughly intelligible translation in English of the Khorddeh Avesta consisting of the undermentioned prayers, in due accordance with grammar and philology, with notes and comments wherever necessary:—

Ashem Vohu, Yatha Ahu Vairyo, Kem na Mazda and other prayers.

Three essays were received and Messrs. Behramgore Tehmuras Anklesaria, M.A., and Bomanji Nusserwanji Dhabhar, M.A., were appointed examiners. According to the report of the examiners, none of the essays was found worthy of the prize. The Executive Committee announced the same subject for a fresh prize competition of Rs. 500,

the day for submitting the prize essay being fixed at 31st May 1929.

*The Sarosh K. R. Cama Prize (Rs. 225) for 1928.*—As declared in the last report, a prize essay was invited by 31st December 1928 for the Sarosh K. R. Cama Prize for 1928 of Rs. 225 as under:—

“A lucid and thoroughly intelligible translation, in English, of the following Yashts, in due accordance with grammar and philology, with notes and comments wherever necessary: *Ahan Yasht, Khorshed Yasht, Mah Yasht, Tir Yasht, Gosh Yasht, Meher Yasht.*”

The Committee regret to say that no essay was received for this competition.

*Publications.*—1. The English translation of the five Gathas, by Mr. Khodabax Edalji Punegar, B.A., for which he was awarded the Sarosh K. R. Cama Prize of this Institute, is being printed as a separate number of this Institute's Journal. In this work, Mr. Punegar has given a full translation of the Gathas in due accordance with grammar, discussed the text wherever necessary, given notes on difficult Avestan words, including their interpretation by others, and added a substance and a summary of the Gathas.

The Executive Committee have resolved to publish 500 extra copies of the translation and summary as a separate publication of this Institute.

2. Prof. Horowitz's Government Fellowship Lectures are being printed in the Institute's Journal and 300 extra copies are being issued as a separate publication.

3. The work of copying out the two volumes of the Persian *Burzo Nameh* sent for from the Columbia University of New York City has been completed during the year



of the report. The question of publication is under consideration.

*The New Exective Committee.*—The three years' term of office of the Exective Committee appointed in 1925 having terminated on 31st July 1928, the Trustees of the Institute have made new appointments to the same to be in force for three years from 1st August 1928 to 31st July 1931, as under:—

Mr. M. P. Khareghat, I.C.S. (Retd.), President.

Shams-ul Ulama Dastur Dr. Darab Peshotan Sajana, B.A., Ph.D. } Vice-  
Presidents.

Mr. Sorabji Edulji Warden,

Mr. Rustam K. R. Cama, B.A., LL.B.,  
(Solicitor).

Miss Serene Manekji Cursetji.

Dr. S. K. Belvalkar, M.A., Ph.D.

Mr. Jehangir R. Patel, B.A., LL.B.

Revd. Fr. Dr. R. Zimmermann, S.J.,  
Ph.D. } Members.

Mr. Shapurji K. Hodivala, B.A.

Mr. Ratanji F. Gorvala, M.A.

Mr. Kaikhus'ru H. Cama.

Ervad Bamanji N. Dhabhar, M.A.

Mr. Pestonji K. Motivala, M.A., LL.B.

Prof. N. D. Minocherhomji, B.A.

Shams-ul Ulama Dr. Jivanji Jamshedji Modi, B.A., Ph.D., C.I.E. } Jt. Hony-  
Secretaries.

Mr. Behramgore T. Anklesaria, M.A.

*The Fifth All-India Oriental Conference.*—The following gentlemen were elected delegates to represent this Institute at the Fifth Session of the All-India Oriental Conference held at Lahore in November 1928 :—

Revd. Fr. Dr. R. Zimmermann S.J., Ph.D.

Dr. S. K. Belvalkar, M.A., Ph.D.

Shams-ul Ulama Dr. Jivanji Jamshedji Modi, B.A.,  
Ph.D., C.I.E.

*The Thirteenth Maratha Literary Conference.*—Mr. S. K. Hodiwala, B.A., was appointed a delegate for the Thirteenth Session of the Maratha Literary Conference held at Gwalior in April 1928.

*Members of the Institute.*—In the beginning of the year, there were 233 Life Members and at the end 222.

The Annual Members in the beginning of the year numbered 71 and their number at the end of the year stood at 71.

*New Life Member.*—Sir Currimbhoy Ebrahim, Bart.

*New Annual Members.*—Mr. Hoshang T. Anklesaria. Mr. K. A. Gai, Mr. Ardeshir Maneckji Surveyor.

*Committee Meetings.*—Four meetings of the Executive Committee were held in 1928.

*Obituary.*—The Executive Committee regret to record the sudden death of the second Sir Currimbhoy Ebrahim, Bart., who was the President of the Board of Trustees of this Institute and took a great interest in the work thereof.

*Donation.*—The Executive Committee convey their best thanks to the sister and children of the late Bai Aimae K. R. Cama for their kind donation of Rs. 100 contributed to the Bai Aimae K. R. Cama Prize Fund on the occasion of the 33rd anniversary of her passing away,

The Committee's thanks are also due to "a well-wisher" for a donation of Rs. 10 on the occasion of the anniversaries of the death of his father and mother.

*Gifts of Manuscripts.*—The Executive Committee beg to convey their best thanks to a Parsi sympathiser, who has chosen to remain anonymous, for kindly presenting to the Institute a very valuable manuscript of the Persian Ardai Viraf Nameh in verse, 300 years old, containing illustrations painted in different colours. This manuscript was purchased by the anonymous donor for Rs. 300 and presented to

this Institute. The Ms. was written by Burzo Kamdin, the compiler of the Rivayet known by his name.

The Committee's thanks are also due to the same gentleman for presenting a manuscript of the Persian Burzo Nameh, which was bought by him for Rs. 200.

*Gifts of Books and Journals.*—The best thanks of the Executive Committee are due to the institutions and private individuals, who have presented the following books, journals, reports, etc. to the Institute:—

#### LIST OF BOOKS AND JOURNALS PRESENTED.

“Mirat-i-Ahmadi”, Persian Text, Part II (Gaekwad's Oriental Series, Volume XXXIV) (presented by the Baroda State).

“A Descriptive Catalogue of the Sanskrit Manuscripts” by Kuppuswami Sastri (presented by the Government Press, Madras).

Shree Sayaji Sahityamala, Nos. 59, and 108 to 117 (presented by the Baroda State).

Shree Sayaji Baldnyanmala, Nos. 71 to 77 (presented by the Baroda State).

“શ્રીના સ્વપનાની ગરબીઓ” presented by Dr. J. J. Modi, B.A., Ph.D., C.I.E.

“The Gathas of Zarathushtra” by Poure-Davoud (presented by Muncherji Framji Cama Athornan Institute.)

તોહફે જમશીદ.

સદફરે બહેરે તવીલ.

માકુલાતે બહમની.

હબસ્તાનનો તરજુમો.

કીસ્સે હામ રૂપ ઓર કલાકામ.

(Presented by  
Fakirji Kersaspji  
Golwalla, Esq.).

(The following nine books were presented by Mr. Kaikhushro Dadab'hoj Choksi of Colombo):—

ઈરાનના ઓળખાવ લોકોએ જરથોશ્તી લોકોની રાહ રાસ્તી ઉપર મેહેજર લખ્યા છે.

એક કરીશતી તા. એક જરથોશ્ટી વચ્ચે સવાલ જવાબ.

સુરતના પારસીઓના કાવરને અનનુમતે લખી આપેલા મેહબૂબી.

રવાનોને અવલમંજલ પોંચાડવા સંબંધી રાસ્ત ગોફતારે ઉઠાવેલી તકશારનો રદ જવાબ.

- મદદે ફરેરતે.

મરહુમ હસ્તુર એહલજ દારાખજ શંખના મરત્યુક બાબે જમેજમશેદમાં છપાવ્યું તે ઉપર શરેહ.

Agreement in Persian between Brahmins and English.

પાદશાહ ઈઅજઢેઝરદ તખતે બેઠો તેના વરસની ગનતરી.

અરદાએ વીરાફ, ૩૩ થજદોની સ્ત્રેતાએશ, તથા બહુમન મરત (ગુજરાતી હસ્તલેખ.)

“Le Bayon d’Angkor” by Philippe Stern (Annales du Musée Guimet Bibliothèque de Vulgarisation, Tome 47) (represented by the author).

“Ain-e Zardusht” (Persian) (presented by the author).

“Les Castes dans l’Inde” by Emile Senart (presented by the author).

“Ameshaspandan” (Persian Verse by Aga Poure-Davoud and translation by Mr. D. J. Irani) (presented by a friend).

“Archæological Survey of India,” Volume XIII, New Imperial Series (presented by Shams-ul Ulma Dr. Jivanji Jamshedji Modi, B.A., Ph.D., C.I.E.).

“A brief sketch of the life of the Prophet of Islam,” (presented by the Ahmadiyya Anjuman Ishaat Islam, Lahore).

“Mirat-i-Ahmadi”; A History of Gujarat in Persian (presented by the Baroda State).

“Vaishnavism of the Gowd Saraswat Brahmins, etc. and a few Konkani Folklore Tales”. (Presented by Rao Saheb Dr. V. P. Chavan, L.M. & S.).

"The Konkani Proverbs" (presented by Rao Saheb Dr. V. P. Chavan, L.M. & S.).

"The Archæological Survey of India; The Bakhshali Ms." Pts. I and II (presented by Shams-ul Ulma Dr. Jivanji Jamshedji Modi, B.A., Ph.D., C.I.E.).

"Memoirs of the Archæological Survey of India, No. 25, Basreliefs of Badamip" (presented by Shams-ul Ulma Dr. Jivanji Jamshedji Modi, B.A., Ph.D., C.I.E.).

"Mirat-i Ahmadi". Supplement (presented by the Baroda State).

"Le Musée Guimet, Annales Du Musée Guimet" (1918-1927) (presented by Mons. Bibliothèque de la Musée Guimet).

Bulletin de la Maison Franco-Japonaise (presented by Mons. Bibliothèque de la Musée Guimet).

"The Vidyamadhaviyam of Vidya Madhava with Vishnusarma's Muhurthadipika" (presented by the Curator, Government Oriental Library, Mysore).

"The Sarasvativilasa of Sri Prataparudram Mahadeva Maharaja Vyavaharakanda" (presented by the Curator, Government Oriental Library, Mysore).

"Abhilashitartha Chintamani of Someswara Deva)" (presented by the Curator, Government Oriental Library, Mysore).

"Turanian Songs by Arpad Zemleni" (presented by Dr. Kurtz Gusztavne, Budapest VII, Tstvan, ut 11).

"Cambodge Fetes Civiles et Religieuses par Adhemard Leclere" (presented by Musée Guimet).

"La Theorie de la Connaissance et la Logique" (presented by Musée Guimet).

"Amulettes Siamoises." Notes on (presented by Musée Guimet).

"Trois Conférences sur les Gatha de l'Avesta" (presented by Musée Guimet).

"The Supposed Sculpture of Zoroaster on the Tak-i-Bostan" by Sir J. C. Coyajee (presented by the author).

દેવ્ય કુટુંબની વંશાવલી (presented by Mr. Nadirshaw Dhunjibhoy Debu).

"Advaita and Platonism" by Prof. Ernest P. Horowitz, New York (presented by the author).

Government Oriental Series, Class A. No. II. "Siddhantabindu," by Madhusudanasarasvati, (presented by the Director of Public Instruction, Poona).

Government Oriental Series, Class B, No. 2. "Collected Works of Sir R. G. Bhandarkar, Vol. II," by Narayan Bapuji Utgikar (presented by the Director of Public Instruction, Poona).

"Bombay Sanskrit and Prakrit Series No. XLIX. Nyayakosa or Dictionary of Technical Terms of Indian Philosophy" by Mohamahopadhyaya Bhimacarya Jhalakikar (presented by the Director of Public Instruction, Poona).

"બરજેર નામુ' (હસ્તાન સુસન રામીશગર)" by Dhunjibhoy Nowroji Patel (presented by a Parsee gentleman).

"Zoroastrian Studies" by Prof. A. V. W. Jackson (presented by the author).

"A Triennial Catalogue of Manuscripts collected during the Triennium 1919-20 to 1921-22" (presented by the Government of Madras).

"રમુજ ગરબાઓ અથવા રાસરા ગાવાની તીજ નવી ચોપરી." બનાવ નાર શોરાબજ હોરમજ (presented by a friend).

"રમુજ ગરબાઓ અથવા રાસરા ગાવાની ચોપરી" (presented by a friend).

"Arja Es Kankazusi Elemek. A Finn-Magyar Nyelvekben", by Munkacsı Bernat (presented by Prof. Francis Zajti).

"A Hun Magyar Ostorténelem", by Prof. Francis Zajti (presented by the author).

"A Zend Avesta Vallasi Rendszere" by Dr. Haitsch Gyula (presented by Prof. Francis Zajti).

"A Hunokrol Akik Meghodontottak Indiat", by Prof. Francis Zajti (presented by the author).

"Zarathustra Zend-Avesztaja", by Prof. Francis Zajti (presented by the author).

"The Moral and Ethical Teachings of Zarathushtra", by Manecks'haw Nowroji Dastur, M.A. (presented by Dr. Jivanji Jamshedji Modi).

"Amas'iaspandān (Persian Verse)" by Aga Poure-Davoud (presented by a friend).

The following Journals etc. were received in exchange of the Institute's Journal or presented by individuals or publishers:

Memoirs of the Archæological Survey of India, No. 32, by Pandit B. B. Bidyabinod (presented by Dr. Jivanji Jamshedji Modi, B.A., Ph.D., C.I.E.).

A Guide to the Brahmanical Gallery of the Archæological Section, Prince of Wales Museum of Western India, by G. V. Acharya.

Die Letzten Jahre der Sund. Inaugural Dissertation zur Erlangung der Doktorwurde, Vorgelegt von Harald Frisch.

Gottingische Gelehrte Anzeigen, September 1927 to October 1928.

Rabghuzis Syntax von Jacob Schinkewitsch Inaugural Dissertation by Friedrich-Wilhelms.

Bulletin of the Madras Government Museum. The Littoral Fauna of Krupadai Island in the Gulf of Manaar by Madras Government.

The Asiatic Review, New Series, Vol. XXIII, No. 76, October 1927; Vol. XXIV, No. 77, January 1928; Vol. XXIV, Nos. 78-79-80 and 81, April, July and October 1928 and January 1929.

Journal of the Telugu Academy (four numbers).

Bulletin de la Maison Franco-Japonaise Sere Francaise I, 1927.

Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenlandischen Gesellschaft Neue Folge Band 6—Heft 3-4 1927 (Band 81) Band 7 Heft 1-2 1928 (Band 82).

The Quarterly Journal of the Mythic Society, Vol. XVIII, Nos. 3 and 4, January and April 1928; Vol. XIX, Nos. 1 and 2, July and October 1928.

The Quarterly Journal of the Andhra Historical Research Society, Vol. II, Parts 2-4 (October 1927, January and April 1928); Vol. III, Part I (July 1928).

The Indian Historical Quarterly, Vol. III, No. 4, December 1927; Vol. IV, Nos. 1-3 (March, June and September 1928).

Ayandeh, Vol. II, Nos. 8 to 10, Revue Politique, Tehran 1928.

The Journal of the Bihar and Orissa Research Society, Vol. XIII, Parts III and IV (September-December 1927); Vol. XIV, Parts 1 and 2 (January-March 1928).

Bhārata Itihāsa Sanshodhaka Mandala, Quarterly, Vol. VIII, Nos. III and IV, Vol. IX, No. 1.

Journal of the American Oriental Society, Vol. 47, No. 4 (December 1927); Vol. 48, Nos. 1-3 (March, June and September 1928).



*Studi e Materiali di Storia delle Religioni*, Anno III, 1927, Vol. III, Fascicolo 1, 2, 3 and 4.

*Bulletin of the School of Oriental Studies*, London, Institution Vol. IV, Part IV.

*Le Monde Oriental*, Vol. XXI, Fasc. 1-3, 1927.

*Journal of the Society of Oriental Research*, Vol. XII, No. 2 (April 1928) and No. 3-4 (October 1928).

*Journal and Proceedings of the Asiatic Society of Bengal*, Vol. XXII, No. 6; Vol. XXIII, 1927, Nos. 1 and 2.

*Nachrichten von der Gesellschaft der Wissenschaften zu Göttingen*, 1927, Heft 2-3; 1928 Heft 1.

*Reports of the Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute for 1926-27 and 1927-28.*

*Journal Asiatique Recueil de Memoires et de Notices*, Tome CCXI, July-September 1927.

"Sudmand", a Journal in Persian Language.

*Asiatica* (a monthly record of literature), Vol. 1

*British Mazdaznan*, Vol. IV, Nos. 5-12; Vol. V, Nos. 1-4, January-December 1928.

*Annual Report of the Mysore Archaeological Department for the year 1928.*

*Annals of the Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute*, Vol. IX, Part I (1927-28).

*Report of the Archaeological Department of His Exalted Highness the Nizam's Dominions.*

*Bulletin of the Iran League*, March to October 1928.

*Bulletin de l'Universite de l'Asie, Centrale* Livraison 16.

*Proceedings of the Annual Meeting of the Numismatic Society of India*, 1927.

*Journal of the Bombay Historical Society*, Vol. I, Nos. 1-2, March and September 1928.

नागरी प्रचारिणी पत्रिका, भाग ८-अंक २

राष्ट्र वंशुश्च पुस्तक ६, वे. ४; पुस्तक १० वे. १-३.

कौमुदी, साहित्य અને સંસ્કારિતાનું ત્રીમાસીક ચોપાન્યું.

### BOOKS PURCHASED.

The following books have been purchased during the year under report:—

“A History of Urdu Literature” by Ram Babu Saksena.

“Philips’ Authentic Imperial Maps for Tourists and Travellers. Persia, Afghanistan and Baluchistan.”

“Sanskrit-Drama and Dramatists” by K. P. Kulkarni.

“Sanskrit-German Dictionary,” Vol. VII, by Bohtlingk and Roth.

“History of Indian Philosophy, Vol. II. The Creative Period,” by Messrs. S. K. Belvalkar, M.A., Ph.D., and R. D. Ranade, M.A.

“Early Religious Poetry of Persia” by J. H. Moulton.

“The Cambridge Ancient History,” Vol. I. Egypt and Babylonia to C. 1580 B.C. (edited by Messrs. Bury, Cook and Adcock).

“The Cambridge Ancient History, Vol. II. The Egyptian and Hittite Empires to C. 1000 B.C.” (edited by Messrs. Bury, Cook and Adcock).

“The Cambridge History of India, Vol. I. Ancient India” (edited by E. J. Rapson).

“The Cambridge Medieval History, Vol. II. Foundation of the Western Empire (with maps)” by Messrs. Gwatkin and Whitney.

“The Excavations at Babylon” by Robert Koldeway.

“A short History of Indian Literature” by Ernest Hornwitz.

**K. R. CAMA ORIENTAL INSTITUTE**

- "Babylonian Problems" by Lt.-Col. W. H. Lane.
- "The Poems of Nizami" described by Laurence Binyon.
- "Le Livre des Rois" (Firdousi), Tomes 1 to 7.
- "The Persian Gulf. An Historical Sketch from the Earliest Times to the Beginning of the 20th Century."
- "The Psychology of Asia."
- "The Bakhtiariis."
- "The Financial and Economic Situation of Persia, 1926."
- "A Periplus of the Persian Gulf."
- "History of the Mission of the Fathers of the Society of Jesus."
- "The Indo-European Telegraph Department."
- "The Literature of Persia."
- "The Importance of Persia."
- "The Charm of Persia."
- "A little Persian not a dangerous thing."
- "The Beauties of Persia."
- "The Persian Press and Persian Journalism."
- "An Account of the Main Events in Persia during 1912 to 1913."
- "Persian Autonomy."
- "Persia. Its people and their Language."
- "The Cambridge Ancient History," Vol. III.
- "Vedic Metre in its Historical Development."
- "Comparative Religion."
- "The New History of the Mirza Ali Muhammad the Bab."
- "A Vocabulary of the Persian Language" in two parts.
- "Correspondent de l'Academie" (Coup d'Oeil sur l'Histoire).

"A Journey through Azerbaijan and Persian Khurdistan."

"Persian Culture."

"Persian Manners and Customs."

"The Book of the Dead." (Vols. 1 and 2).

"Die Sonne und Mithra im Awesta."

"Das Awesta Alphabet und der Ursprung der Armenischen und Georgischen Schrift."

"Les Contes du Perroquet."

"Le Livre de Gerchasp Poeme Persan d'Asadi Junior de Tous."

અહીં વિશદનાયુ, જેડોમી by Jehangir Burjorji Sanjana, B.A.

"Persian Translation of Sir John Malcolm's History of Persia" by Prof. Isphani.

એહવાલે રાહનુમાએ માજમુરનાન પ્રગત કરનાર પાહલવનજ બરજોજ દેશાઈ.

"The Empire of the Great Mogol" (by J. S. Hoyland).  
Aklaq-i mohsini.

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The audited accounts are attached hereto.

## THE K. R. CAMA

*Balance Sheet as on*

LIABILITIES.				Rs.	a.	p.
<b>Balance of—</b>						
General Fund	...	...	...	2,00,260	0	5
Fellowship Fund	...	...	...	30,211	4	2
Dr. E. J. Khory Fund	...	...	...	14,529	8	0
Sarosh K. R. Cama Fund	...	...	...	5,997	12	4
Bai Aimai K. R. Cama Fund	...	...	...	3,563	10	9
Surat Parsi History Fund	...	...	...	2,898	15	6
K. R. Cama Anniversary Fund	...	...	...	1,631	15	6
T. R. N. Cama Fund	...	...	...	6,212	9	0
Revayat Publication Fund	...	...	...	3,983	2	6
Total				2,69,288	14	2

KAIKHASRU HORMUSJEE CAMA,  
*Hon Treasurer.*

## ORIENTAL INSTITUTE.

31st December 1928.

ASSETS.		Rs.	a.	p.
<b>Cash with the Imperial Bank of India (Rs. 5,024-5-4)</b>				
Bai Aimai K. R. Cama Fund Account ...	...	919	12	9
Sarosh K. R. Cama Fund Account ...	...	1,170	4	4
All other Accounts ...	...	2,943	4	3
<b>Securities of Rs 2,62,408-1-6:—</b>				
(With Imperial Bank of India as per Safe Custody Receipt).				
3½ per cent Government Promissory Notes Rs. 74,200 face value ...	...	58,806	15	0
5 per cent Government Promissory Notes of Rs. 500 ...	...	500	0	0
6 per cent Government Promissory Notes (1931) of Rs. 84,300 ...	...	84,512	6	6
4 per cent Improvement Trust Bond Rs. 500 ...	...	500	0	0
4 per cent Bombay Port Trust Bonds Rs. 1,17,800		1,18,088	12	0
Furniture and Fixtures...	...	1,856	4	7
<b>Total ...</b>		<b>2,69,288</b>	<b>14</b>	<b>2</b>

Examined and found correct.

NAVROZ A. DAVAR &amp; Co.,

*Incorporated Accountants (London),**Honorary Auditors,*

Bombay, 4th June 1929.

## THE K. R. CAMA

No.

*Account of the General Fund for the*

CREDIT.		Rs.	a.	p.
OPENING BALANCE (Rs. 1,99,834-0-10).				
Securities on 1st January 1928 consisting of—				
3½ per cent Government Promissory Notes of	Rs. 59,800	47,018	12	0
5 per cent Government Promissory Notes (1945-55) of	" 500	500	0	0
6 per cent Bonds (1931) of	" 34,000	34,212	6	6
4 per cent Improvement Trust Bonds of	" 500	500	0	0
4 per cent Bombay Port Trust Bonds of	" 1,15,500	1,15,788	12	0
Furniture and Fixtures	...	1,814	2	4
RECEIPTS (Rs 11,500-4-10)—				
Life and Annual Membership subscriptions	...	810	0	0
Donations	...	10	0	0
Interest on Investments	...	8,761	5	0
Fees for use of Institute Hall	...	55	0	0
Income transferred from Dr. W. J. Khorys Account	...	861	12	0
Sundries	...	42	12	0
Addition to furniture and fixtures	...	140	0	0
Administration charges received from Sarosh K. R. Cama Fund	...	18	13	10
" " Bai Aimal K. R. Cama Fund	...	8	11	0
" " K. R. Cama Anniversary Fund	...	6	4	0
" " The Fellowship Fund	...	125	11	0
" " The Mulla Feroze Library.	...	660	0	0
Total Rs.		2,11,334	5	8

Examined and found correct.

NAVROZ A. DAVAR &amp; Co.

*Incorporated Accountants (London),**Honorary Auditors.**Bombay, 4th June 1929.*

## ORIENTAL INSTITUTE.

*year ending 31st December 1928.*

DEBIT.				Rs. a. p.		
Balance on 1st January 1928	...	...	...	1,836	0	0
CAPITAL PAYMENTS :—						
Addition to Furniture and Fixtures	...	...	...	140	0	0
Depreciation of Furniture and Fixtures	...	...	...	97	11	0
OTHER PAYMENTS (Rs. 9,000-10-3)—						
Salaries and Wages	...	...	...	3,620	0	0
Rent	...	...	...	3,300	0	0
Books and Periodicals	...	...	...	1,292	7	0
General Charges	...	...	...	424	14	9
Printing and Stationery	...	...	...	164	4	0
Postage and Stamps	...	...	...	113	10	6
Clothing to Peons	...	...	...	69	0	0
Insurance	...	...	...	25	6	0
CLOSING BALANCE (Rs. 2,00,260-0-5) on 31-12-1928 :—						
Cash	...	...	...	383	10	7
Securities as on 1st January 1928	...	...	...	1,98,019	14	6
Furniture and Fixtures	...	...	...	1,856	7	4
Total Rs.				2,11,334	5	8

KAIKHASRU HORMUSJEE CAMA,  
Hon. Treasurer.



No.

## FELLOWSHIP

Dr.

1928			Rs.	a.	p.
March 19	Journal Printing charges	...	777	8	0
June 8	Paid Prof. Horowitz	...	1,200	0	0
July 18	Journal Printing charges	...	571	4	0
Dec. 31	Administration charges at 7 per cent on income	...	125	11	0
	Balance	...	30,211	4	2
			32,885	11	2

No.

## DR. E. J. KHORI

Dr.

1928			Rs.	a.	p.
Dec. 31	Transferred to General Fund account	...	861	12	0
	Balance	...	14,529	8	0
			15,391	4	0

No.

## SAROSH K. R. CAMA

Dr.

1928			Rs.	a.	p.
	Stamp on Cash Certificate	...	0	1	0
	Transfer fees charged by Bank	...	6	2	0
	Administration charges at 7 per cent on income	...	18	13	10
	Balance	...	5,997	12	4
			6,022	13	2

2

## FUND ACCOUNT.

*Cr.*

1928		Rs. a. p.	
Jan.	1	Balance:—	
		6 per cent Bonds ...	30,000 0 0
		Cash ...	1,090 3 2
			31,090 3 2
		Intrest on Bonds in 1923 ...	1,795 8 0
			32,885 11 2

3

## FUND ACCOUNT.

*Cr.*

1928		Bs. a. p.	
Jan.	1	Balance:—	
		6 per cent Bonds ...	14,400 0 0
		Cash ...	129 8 0
			14,529 8 0
		Interest on Bonds received during 1928.	861 12 0
			15,391 4 0

4

## FUND ACCOUNT.

*Cr.*

1928		Rs. a. p.	
Jan.	1	Balance:—	
		B. Port Trust Bonds ...	1,000 0 0
		6 per cent ...	3,700 0 0
		3½ per cent G. P. Notes ...	127 8 0
		Cash ...	927 15 2
			5,755 7 2
		Interest on Securities ...	267 6 0
			6,022 13 2

No.

## BAI AIMAI K. R. CAMA

Dr.

1928			Rs.	a.	p.
	Stamp on Cash Certificate	...	0	1	0
	„ Power of Attorney	...	10	0	0
	Transfer fees	...	3	10	0
	Renewal fees	...	3	0	0
	P.D.O. Charges re P/A.	...	1	0	0
	Administration charges at 7 per cent on income	...	8	11	0
	Balance	...	3,563	10	9
			3,590	0	9

No.

## SURAT PARSI HISTORY

Dr.

1928. Dec. 30			Rs.	a.	p.
	Balance	...	2,898	15	6
			2,898	15	6

No.

## K. R. CAMA ANNIVERSARY

Dr.

1928			Rs.	a.	p.
	Anniversary gathering expenses	...	48	0	0
	Administration Charges at 7 per cent on income	...	6	4	0
	Balance	...	1,631	15	6
			1,686	3	6

5.

## FUND ACCOUNT

*Cr.*

1928				Rs.	a.	p.
Jan. 1	Balance:—					
	6 per cent Bonds	...	700 0 0			
	B. P. T. Bonds	...	1,300 0 0			
	3½ per cent G.P. Notes					
	Face Value Rs. 900	...	652 14 0			
	Cash	...	714 10 9	3,367	8	9
	Interest on Securities	...	...	122	8	0
	Donation received	...	...	100	0	0
				3,590	0	9

6.

## FUND ACCOUNT

*Cr.*

1928				Rs.	a.	p.
Jan. 1	Balance:—					
	3½ per cent G. P. Notes					
	Rs. 3,700 purchased at	...	2,379 9 0			
	Cash	...	390 6 6	2,769	15	6
	Interest on securities received during the year	...	...	129	0	0
				2,898	15	6

7.

## FUND ACCOUNT

*Cr.*

1928		Rs.	a.	p.	Rs.	a.	p.
Jan. 1	Balance:—						
	6 per cent Bonds	...	1,500 0 0				
	Cash	...	96 7 6	1,596	7	6	
	Interest accrued on Bonds during the year.			89	12	0	
				1,686	3	6	

No.

T. R. N. CÂMA

*Dr.*

1928 Dec. 31	Balance	...	...	..	Rs. a. p. 6,212 9 0
					6,212 9 0

No.

REVAYET PUBLICATION

*Dr.*

1928 Dec. 31	Balance	...	...	..	Rs. a. p. 3,983 2 6
					3,983 2 6





